

Old age - Housing and care

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY

SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WELFARE

HOUSING CONDITIONS AND LIVING PATTERNS
OF AGED PERSONS IN A DETERIORATED URBAN AREA

A contribution to the study of the
housing needs of aged persons in
the Western Addition District of
San Francisco.

A REPORT OF A GROUP RESEARCH PROJECT
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE SCHOOL
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PREFACE

The following group project is the result of the work of seven graduate students in the Graduate School of Social Welfare at the University of California. This project was carried on through the academic year of 1950-1951.

It was felt there was great value in having the same group of students work on the initial planning of the project through to the final analysis of the material. The arrangement of the research in this regard gave a feeling of continuity, a better understanding of all the problems involved in the research, and finally carried with it a sense of accomplishment.

Inasmuch as the group consisted of students representing varied interests and specialties in the field of social work, this experience was enriched by the exchange of ideas presented by three different students. Students from medical social work, child welfare, family welfare, psychiatric work and delinquency prevention were members of the student group. And of perhaps the greatest importance in evaluating the year's work in research, we felt we shared together a positive group experience.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The group wishes to express its appreciation for the excellent direction given by Mrs. Julia Tarnopol, Lecturer in Social Research. Her intimate knowledge of the subject matter was invaluable in the planning and conducting of our project, as well as her ability to help us realize the broader application of the research methods to our own specialty in social work. An equally vital contribution was her well-timed encouragements and reassurances throughout the year.

We wish to give thanks to Dr. Alexander Simon of the Langley Porter Clinic, San Francisco, California, for his material on the psychological needs of older people. Also we wish to thank the San Francisco Planning Commission for providing us with maps of the Western Addition. Finally, we wish to acknowledge the help and assistance given us by the ten students of Social Welfare Research 265, who did a part of the enumeration and interviewing of the older people.

HOUSING CONDITIONS AND LIVING PATTERNS
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PART 1. THE PROBLEM AND METHOD OF RESEARCH

THE PROBLEM:

This study of the housing needs of aged persons was undertaken at the request of the San Francisco Urban Redevelopment Agency. A plan for redevelopment of a portion of San Francisco known as the Western Addition area, had been proposed to enable the city to take advantage of Federal legislation which offers assistance in rebuilding blighted areas. Since 1946, a number of studies have been made of living conditions, composition of the population and other factors characteristic of the district.

One of the major problems confronting the city before any clearing or rebuilding of a blighted area could begin, would be the removal and resettlement of the existing families within the area to new quarters. In the Western Addition area at the present time are living approximately 86,000 people. Thirteen percent of these people are over sixty years of age according to a survey made by the Urban Redevelopment Agency.¹ Many of these older people are single adults living alone. In fact one-third of all single person households within this area are of this older group.²

Why has this area where so many thousands live and work been condemned as "blighted?" The Western Addition is a large section of the city consisting of 280 square blocks. It is bounded by Van Ness, Duboce, Masonic, Presidio and California streets. Large parts of it are level and the climate is much superior to that of most of San Francisco. Its nearness to downtown San Francisco and general attractive living conditions made it one of the earliest and most popular of the residential districts. Today this area is known however for its generally depressed economic conditions. Large numbers of buildings within it have deteriorated from lack of paint and repair over the years. Many large old homes have been converted into business and living quarters. Others have become rooming houses known to be overcrowded, poorly constructed, with inadequate and unsanitary plumbing facilities. In a number of instances cited by the San Francisco Fire Department safe fire exits are lacking.³

¹"A Survey of Population and Housing in The Western Addition District," report by San Francisco City Planning Commission and San Francisco Housing Authority. Table XIV. Typewritten report. July 1947.

²"Additional Tabulations." Sample based on 380 households. Ibid.,

³"Second Report on Housing Conditions in San Francisco," report by Edmund G. Brown, District Attorney. Mimeographed. p. 12.

Those who live here today cannot boast of its general beauty and spaciousness as did a bygone generation but its mild sunny climate and gently sloping sites are still two of its major attractions. Other reasons which have contributed to more and more people jamming into its boundaries, particularly in the post-war years, are the low rentals due to the depressed conditions, its central location close to the business section of San Francisco and the availability of rooms or other living quarters to people of minority groups who often are unable to find housing elsewhere. Many of the older people living here have grown old with the area, but many also have sought housing here because of the district's conveniences. How important these conveniences are to the older people living in the neighborhoods of the Western Addition will be fully discussed in a later section of this report.

The housing needs of older people are probably quite different from the housing needs of other groups. What might fit the plans and needs of a young couple with growing children is likely to be unnecessary for a retired older couple as well as uneconomical. Older people are apt to have limited incomes, different health problems, need certain conveniences and facilities which are unique to this group. Their wishes and desires, their fearfulness of change and other psychological factors must also be considered. Thus to gain some understanding of influences affecting their choice of housing, should it be necessary for them to move, it is important to learn something of the patterns of living among these older people.

The research problem was therefore defined as one of discovering the patterns of living of this group within five major areas;

1. What living arrangements do these older people have at the present time? What kinds of physical dwellings do they occupy? With whom do they live?
2. What is their economic position? What limitations are imposed on income and resources by age and health?
3. What kind of social contacts do these aged have within the neighborhood? The City? The San Francisco Bay area?
4. How mobile are the older people? Where do they carry on their major activities?
5. What are the wishes and desires of older people in the choice of housing and neighborhood?

Development of Hypotheses.

The life cycle of a person will bring with it different wants and needs. For those who have passed their years of achievement, what does their present hold for them? Though many older people continue to work, and not always from financial need, the majority of those past sixty can no longer find employment even if they so desired. There would indeed be great frustration and anxiety in older people if the drive and ambition of their younger contemporaries were present in full strength in them also. But this is not so. For aging is the process of slowing down--physically, emotionally and mentally. It is also the process of returning to the day dreams and hopes of the adolescent who has not yet tried his strength against an impersonal, competitive society.⁴

This slowing down process of aging would mean that for this group the neighborhood in which they live is of primary importance.⁵ Most of their major activities are likely to be carried on within this neighborhood. For the same reason, social contacts would probably be limited to relatives, friends and acquaintances nearby. Their homes are important to them and the longer they have lived in the house the greater the emotional attachment to the dwelling and the things it has of their personal lives. Therefore regardless of the condition of the place in which they live--its inadequacies and its lack of comforts, it will be more desired than some other place they might live.

Older people are likely to be independent and fussy in their ways. Those who have gotten used to living alone will prefer this arrangement to any other that might be suggested, even though they may be lonely at times. Those who live with their spouses will prefer their independence to sharing a home with their children, and those who live with their children as dependents are likely to have feelings of resentment regarding this dependency. How they live and with whom they live are likely to be related most significantly with their economic level. And throughout this area, the general economic resources of the old are apt to be very restricted and limited.

⁴From lectures and material given by Dr. Alexander Simon, Langley Porter Clinic, U. C., San Francisco, California.

⁵Many groups would not be "neighborhood centered," but city or even multiple city-centered. Living in the San Francisco Bay area, many people work in one city, such as San Francisco, live across the bay in Oakland, and have most of their social life and activities in still other nearby cities.

In summary it was proposed that older people are too limited in material, physical and psychological resources to adjust easily to change in living arrangements. The complete statement of these generalized hypotheses is included in the appendix.

In order to establish these hypotheses, it was decided the study should be limited to those having similar social and cultural backgrounds. An earlier pilot study of this area done in the spring of 1950 by another student research team from the School of Social Welfare, showed that nearly sixteen percent of those over sixty years of age in the area belonged to non-caucasian groups. These included Negroes, Japanese, Chinese and Mexicans. A small number of homeowners and boardinghouse owners made their homes here also. Their economic position differed widely from those renting places to live. These two groups were thus eliminated from this study. A final decision in further limiting the population was to select only permanent residents who were age sixty-five years or over. This decision was made since the patterns of economic adjustment, employment and employability is quite likely to be different for those between sixty and sixty-four and those sixty-five years and over. Many people continue to work up to sixty-five which is generally accepted as the age of retirement. At sixty-five also, old age assistance is available to those who do not have adequate resources. Since it was the hope of this study to show patterns of living which are not likely to change among the older people every decision concerning the selection of the population was made in order to select as stable a group as possible.

The Method of Research

Since some of the information needed would be based upon attitudes, wishes and personal opinions, an interview schedule was designed to be used in gaining information directly from the older people themselves. This schedule covered the household membership, including data regarding the place of the older person as a member of the household, descriptive material regarding present housing and the major activities of daily living. A second section was designed to learn the older person's likes and dislikes regarding housing, and the kind of housing he desired most. A copy of the schedule is included in the Appendix.

The first major job confronting the research group was to locate the persons to be interviewed within the Western Addition. It was decided at the onset of the study to interview only one hundred individuals who were to be chosen by random sampling. All blocks within the area were numbered and a sample of twenty-two blocks were then randomly drawn using Tibbet's Tables of Random Numbers. The occupants of all households within

these twenty-two blocks were then enumerated by sex, age, home ownership and race. Hotels in which only transients lived were not included.

In this enumeration, 1,564 households were counted. Among these households were 320 households in which older persons were living. Thus 20% of the sample included households with one or more persons of sixty-five or over, living for the most part in apartments, flats or rooming houses.

NUMBER OF AGED HOUSEHOLDS WITHIN THE SURVEYED BLOCKS

<u>Number of Households with older People</u>	<u>Number of blocks with older households</u>
Less than 5 households	6 blocks
5 - 9 households	7 blocks
10 - 14 households	4 blocks
15 - 24 households	5 blocks

Only one person was to be interviewed within a household. If a married couple were both over sixty-five years of age, the man was to be interviewed as head of the household. The selected blocks showed considerable disparity in the number of aged households they contained. Households for interviewing were therefore randomly drawn in proportionate order from the surveyed blocks. It was necessary to draw a considerably larger sample of households than were actually interviewed due to many difficulties in obtaining interviews.

Reasons for inability to obtain Interviews

Language difficulties	10 persons
Hearing difficulties	7 persons
Too ill to be interviewed	15 persons
Suspicious or unable to understand interview	24 persons
Never found at home	10 persons

PART II: THE POPULATION: STUDY AND ANALYSIS

Chapter 1. The People: Their Characteristics

The question has been asked, "Why do so many older people live in the Western Addition?" The answer lies in understanding the complicated relationships which tie them to this area. The old people living here are not newcomers nor are they transients. They are people with homes and ties to an older section of the city in which many of them have spent their entire lives. Their length of residence here substantiates the popular supposition that older people tend to remain in a place for a long time at least partly because of the memories and familiarity of their homes and the neighborhood.

TABLE 1

Length of time 100 older people have lived at their present addresses, Western Addition Area, San Francisco, by marital status and sex.

Number of Years at Address	All persons		Males				Females			
			Alone		Married		Alone		Married	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Less than 5 yrs.	36	36.0	15	45.0	6	33.3	14	31.1	1	35.0
5 - 19 years	55	55.0	17	51.5	12	66.7	23	51.1	3	75.0
20 yrs. and over	9	9.0	1	3.0	0	0	8	17.8	0	-
Total	100	100%	33	100.0	18	100.0	45	100.0	4	100.0

The data in Table 1 shows that sixty-four percent of the persons had lived in the same house for five or more years. Investigation of those who had lived at their addresses less than five years revealed that one half of these people have moved only once. Eleven have moved twice. A very small percent have moved more than three times. Further indication of the tendency of the older people to stay within the Western Addition Area is supported by the information that twenty-three of the thirty-six of the more recent householders have moved from other homes within this section.

Single men moved about considerably more than did single women. Slightly over fifty percent of the single men, i.e. men without present marital ties, had lived less than five years in their present dwellings while only thirty percent of the single women had been as mobile. Women who are alone apparently find it easier to make a real home for themselves than do men.

Among the reasons given for moving, half of those who had moved said they had been forced to move because the house had been sold. "To find better living conditions," was the reason fifteen people decided to move. Others moved to their present neighborhood because they felt the location was better or it was nearer to their work or children. A few

stated the need for cheaper rent. In general the pattern of mobility showed these older people moved mainly because of enforced conditions.

The majority of older people (70%) were between the ages of sixty-five and seventy-four years. Four out of five of these people have been married at one time or another. Though an equal number of men and women were interviewed, (by pure coincidence in selecting the sample) only four of these women chosen to be interviewed were married at that time. This bias in the small number of married women is partly attributed to the choosing of the man for interviewing in a household of two married elderly people.⁶ Also a much larger number of single women than men make their homes in this area--in this sample almost one-third again as many single women than men were located. One out of every two of the unattached group was a widow or widower.

TABLE 2

Ages of 100 Older People, in the Western Addition Area, San Francisco, by sex.

Ages in Years	All Persons		Male		Female	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
65 - 69	35	35.0	19	38.0	16	32.0
70 - 74	35	35.0	16	32.0	19	38.0
75 - 79	21	21.0	11	22.0	10	20.0
80 - 84	5	5.0	3	6.0	2	4.0
85 and over	4	4.0	1	2.0	3	6.0
Total	100	100.0	50	100.0	50	100.0

The first area to be explored in discovering the life patterns of these older people was in obtaining data regarding the people they lived with in the home, the kind of house, and homes they had, and the facilities within those houses. What kinds of familial relationships were to be found? Could the meaning these familiar relationships had to the older person be discovered?

TABLE 3

Type of Households Maintained by 100 Older People, Western Addition Area, San Francisco, by marital status and sex.

Type of Household	All Persons		Never Married		Married		Widowed or Divorced	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Living Alone	60	60.0	16	94.1	44	72.1	17	27.9
Living with Spouse	19	19.0	—	—	19	86.4	—	—
Living with relatives or friends	21	21.0	1	5.9	3	13.6	17	27.9
Total	100	100.0	17	100.0	22	100.0	61	100.0

⁶In single family households, the Census defines the man, if present, as head of the household. In this study the man in cases of married couples was also selected as the person to be interviewed because pre-test of the schedule showed the wife to be lacking in essential information regarding the economic situation in the household. Women were interviewed in place of the man, if he was too sick or could not be reached.

Table 3 shows that sixty percent of the respondents live alone. This includes all of those who never married plus a significant number of the widowed, separated or divorced. The older married couples continue to live in separate households from their children. Altogether four-fifths of this population live independently.

The number of older people living with relatives or friends was one out of every five. No significant differences were found among the men or women in this regard. In half of the cases where the respondent stated he was living with relatives, he was actually living with his unmarried son or daughter. Only four older persons lived in a household with a married son or daughter, and in only two of these were there grandchildren in the home as well.

TABLE 4

Type of dwelling units occupied by 100 Older People, Western Addition Area, San Francisco, by type of household.

Type of Household	All Persons		Type of Dwelling Units					
	No.	%	Apartments		Flats		Rooming Houses	
			No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Living alone	60	60.0	27	52.9	5	31.3	28	84.8
Living with Spouse	19	19.0	13	25.5	1	6.2	5	15.2
Living with relatives & friends	21	21.0	11	21.6	10	62.5	-	--
Totals	100	100.0	51	100.0	16	100.0	33	100.0

Although a number of changes have been responsible for making this area a "blighted" area, one of the more obvious reasons has been the conversion of large numbers of deteriorated old houses into multiple family dwellings. These are now rooming houses, or houses with makeshift apartments. Flats, usually a two family dwelling unit of a two story design, are also numerous throughout the district. Finally, regular apartment houses, generally fairly old and often run down, are also very common due to the need probably to house as many families as possible in this early congested section of San Francisco. Since these three types of dwellings are more numerous than any other kind in this area, it was decided to interview only in households living in these housing quarters.

One half of the population studied lived in apartments, while the remainder occupied flats or rooms in rooming houses. Of this latter fifty percent, twice as many lived in rooms rather than flats. Most of the rooming house tenants were people who lived alone, though slightly over fifteen percent of all roomers were married and living with their spouses. The majority of the older married couples however lived in apartments. Another large group of people living in apartments were people who lived alone. Surprisingly enough, since flats are usually fairly large, a few of those who lived alone occupied these dwellings. In this sample, over

30% of those living in flats were single people. The numbers however, as seen in Table 4, are too few to be significant. As might be expected the majority of flat tenants were enlarged family groups where the older people lived with their relatives or friends.

TABLE 5

Housing facilities of 100 Older People, Western Addition Area
San Francisco, by type of dwelling unit

Dwelling Unit	All persons		Kitchen Facilities								Bathroom Fac.			
			PC ¹		PM ²		Shared ³		None ⁴		PC ⁵		Shared ⁶	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Apart-ments	51	51.0	43	69.3	7	27.1	1	12.5	0	-	28	66.6	23	39.6
Flats	16	16.0	14	22.6	1	1.4	1	12.5	0	-	13	30.9	3	5.3
Rooming Houses	33	33.0	5	8.1	18	71.5	6	75.0	4	100.0	1	2.5	32	55.1
Total	100	100.0	62	100.0	26	100.0	8	100.0	4	100.0	42	100.0	58	100.0

1. Private complete. Available solely for use by respondent and his family. Separate room with all kitchen facilities.
2. Partial makeshift. Private facilities but inadequate. Room with hot plate and wash basin as sink, or room with partial facilities such as stove and no sink.
3. Shared. Used jointly with another family or families.
4. None. No facilities within dwelling unit.
5. Private complete. Available solely for use of respondent and his family. Bath, toilet and wash basin together in one room.
6. Shared. Used jointly with another family or families, so that facilities are in another part of the dwelling such as down the hall.

As a result of large scale conversion of old homes, many of the dwelling units studied showed the inadequacies of the housing facilities. Specific questions regarding kitchen and bathroom facilities available to the older people are tabulated above in Table 5. As one might expect, flats which had not been converted, had both complete private bathrooms and kitchens for the most part. In most of the apartments, kitchens were found both private and complete, but only half of the apartments were similarly equipped with bathrooms. In the rest of the apartments, bathrooms were shared with other families.

The poorest accommodations for cooking and bathing were found in the rooming houses. In these houses existed a variety of arrangements in making kitchen facilities available to the occupants. Makeshift arrangements were common and found in over half of the rooms. Usually these consisted of a small plate burner and a wash basin serving a dual purpose. In one case, the burner was placed in the closet of a single room. Where these makeshift arrangements were lacking, kitchen facilities were likely to be found in another part of the building to be shared with other families. These shared arrangements were quite incomplete since they lacked ovens, cupboards and hot water. In only four of these living quarters were there no cooking facilities at all, indicating the need for the older person to have some means of preparing his own food.

In almost all rooms in rooming houses, the bathroom was shared by other families. In only one case did the occupant have his own facilities. In many of these cases everyone in the rooming house used the same bathroom with tremendous overcrowding and resulting lack of privacy. Typically, the toilet was at one end of a hall, with washbasins at the other. Sometimes each floor had its own toilet, but only one bath for all roomers. Often these facilities, whether shared, partially constructed or private, appeared badly in need of repair, were unfit for use, and were old and dirty. Nevertheless, despite the health conditions they imperiled, they were in constant use by the tenants.

Chapter 2. How Much Can They Spend?

One important question regarding these elderly people is "what are the actual economic resources and security needs which they have?" Are they housed here because of a generally low economic level? If so, what is their ability to pay higher rents elsewhere if they were forced to move? In fact, what resources would they have to make the move itself? To answer these questions a thorough resource and income picture was obtained.

TABLE 6

Rentals paid by 84 Older People, Western Addition Area, San Francisco, and rentals they estimate ability to pay.

Amount of Rent	Rentals Paid		Rentals able to pay	
	No.	%	No.	%
\$1.00 - \$14.99	8	9.6	3	3.3
\$15.00- \$24.99	28	33.3	28	33.3
\$25.00- \$34.99	18	21.4	22	26.2
\$35.00- \$44.99	17	20.3	23	27.3
\$45.00 and over	13	15.4	7	8.3
Not available			1	1.6
Total	84	100.0	84	100.0

TABLE 7

Other rentals paid for 16 Older People, Western Addition Area,
San Francisco, by sex

<u>Rental Paid by Whom</u>	<u>All Persons</u>		<u>Males</u>		<u>Females</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Relatives paid	13	81.2	4	57.1	9	100.0
Board & Room	5	31.2	3	42.9	2	23.3
Rent only	5	50.0	1	14.2	7	77.7
Others paid rent	1	6.3	1	14.2	-	
Work for rent	2	12.5	2	28.6		
Total	16	100.0	7	100.0	9	100.0

Tables 6 and 7 show that over four-fifths of the sampled population pay their own rents and that only 14% of the group rely on others for their rentals. Over a third pay less than \$25.00 per month for their accommodations. Only about one in seven pay as much as \$45.00 per month. In estimating rentals respondents felt they could afford to pay if it were necessary to move, those with the lowest rentals felt they would be able to pay a slightly higher rent, whereas those now paying the highest rentals felt they could not afford these rentals and actually would have to pay lower rentals. In estimating rentals able to pay, nearly 90% of the older people felt they could only afford rentals under \$45.00.

Most of the older people who do not pay their own rent depend upon relatives. These were generally people who lived with their relatives, though in a few cases, the relatives paid the separate maintenance of the respondent. Two who did not pay actual rent worked for their rentals by doing janitorial work. The small percentages in the categories shown in Table 7 do not permit any generalized conclusions other than the apparent necessity for most of these people to be independent in providing for their housing.

TABLE 8

Monthly income of 100 households of Older People, Western Addition Area, San Francisco, by primary source of income and sex of household head.

Monthly Income	All Households		Male Heads			Female Heads								
			Earnings	Public Assistance	Other	Earnings	Public Assistance	Other						
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%						
Less than \$100.00	64	64.0	5	38.4	15	75.0	10	62.5	-	-	25	96.1	9	64.3
\$100. to \$199.00	20	20.0	2	5.4	5	25.0	5	31.3	4	100.0	1	3.9	3	21.4
\$200. and over	9	9.0	6	46.2			1	6.2					2	14.3
Not available	7	7.0												
Total	100	100.0	13	100.0	20	100.0	16	100.0	4	100.0	26	100.0	14	100.0

In Table 8, the entire monthly income of the respondents is given. This income does not apply to the individuals needs but rather to the household which may consist of more than one person. Also this table shows the primary source of income earned or given to the household head. Supplementary sources of income are included in the total monthly income received by the household but tabulated separately in Table 9 by their source. These supplementary sources of income might be earned by the spouse also working, or received from income saved or limited public assistance. Included as "other income" in both tables are moneys received from relatives, pensions, savings or other resources which were too varied and small to tabulate separately.

TABLE 9

Supplementary Sources of Income of 35 Households of Older People, Western Addition Area, San Francisco, by sex of respondents

Supplementary Income	All Persons		Males		Females	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Earnings	4	11.4	1	5.0	3	20.0
Public Assistance	5	14.3	4	20.0	1	6.7
Other	23	65.7	14	70.0	9	60.0
Not available	3	8.6	1	5.0	2	13.3
Total	35	100.0	20	100.0	15	100.0

In this study, 64% of the older people are living on less than \$100.00 per month. This is an extremely low income figure for any individual to adjust to, particularly during a period of rising prices in the necessities of living. Only about one in ten had an income for himself and his family of \$200.00 or over. Almost two-thirds of those in the lowest income bracket depended upon public assistance grants which was given as a flat grant of \$75.00 per month. In some cases both husband and wife attempted to live on this monthly income when the other partner had either not reached the proper age for old age pension or was unable to work.

Approximately one-fifth the respondents received some income from earnings, but three fourths of these older people earned less than \$200.00 per month. Most of these individuals who were able to work were men. Of those reporting "other" income as their primary source of support, two-thirds of this group lived on less than \$100.00 per month.

	Unable to Eval- uate	
Earnings	7%	
		Public Assistance
		46%
Other		
30%		
(Relatives, pensions & savings)		

Figure 1.
Monthly income of 100 older households
In the Western Addition, San Francisco, May 1951

The low income level and poor earning ability of this sampled group of older people show a direct relationship to their need for inexpensive housing, inadequate though it may be. Special attention should be given to the information as illustrated in Figure 1 that almost one-half are dependent upon a fixed income from public assistance and another third upon such sources as relatives, pensions and savings which are not likely to be increased.

TABLE 10

Financial resources of 60 households of Older People in the Western Addition Area, San Francisco, by type of resource and sex of household heads

Value of resources	All households		MALE			FEMALE			Other					
			Savings	Life		Other	Savings	Life						
				No.	%			No.		%	No.	%		
Under \$500.00	16	26.7	3	27.2	4	30.8	1	33.3	6	35.3	2	22.2	--	--
\$500 - \$999.99	15	25.0	3	27.2	4	30.8	-	-	2	11.8	5	55.5	1	33.3
\$1000-2999.99	13	21.6	2	18.2	4	30.8	-	-	4	23.5	2	22.2	1	33.3
\$3000-and over	12	20.0	3	20.2	1	7.7	2	66.7	5	29.4			1	33.3
Not available	4	6.7	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Total	60	100.0	11	100.0	13	100.0	3	100.0	17	100.0	9	100.0	3	100.0

Forty of the one hundred persons interviewed said they had no resources of any kind outside of their monthly income. Men and women were about equal in this regard. Of the remaining sixty two had some small financial resource, these were for the most part small savings accounts or life insurance policies to take care of them at death. These households did not have either a variety of financial resources to take care of them. They tended to have only one type of security--either a bank account or a life insurance policy or a small investment. Of course it is also possible the interviewers were not able to secure complete information pertinent to this item because of the fear and insecurity older people have in giving this kind of information. Nevertheless, it seems quite evident that this is not a group who would have much to draw on in case a financial emergency presented itself. If such a group were forced to move, undoubtedly great financial strain and loss would be involved for the residents.

TABLE 11

Occupations of Employed Older People in the Western Addition Area,
San Francisco, by sex.

Occupation	All Persons		Males		Females	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Proprietors & Semi Professionals	4	31.	3	27.3	1	12.5
Skilled & unskilled operatives	2	10.5	2	18.2	-	-
Service workers	12	63.2	6	54.5	6	75.0
Not Available	1	5.3			1	12.5
Total	19	100.0	11	100.0	8	100.0

Though the great majority (81%) of the sampled respondents do not work to earn a living, nineteen are actually members of the labor force. As shown in Table 11, most of the employed work in the service trades such as polishing shoes, selling papers, cleaning houses and yards and so forth. Two of the employed older workers own their own businesses. One was an eighty-two year old proprietor who owned a second-hand shop. Although he had very little business and averaged less than \$50.00 clear per month, he expressed pleasure in being able to chat with his customers. The other was a sixty-seven year old popcorn vender who owned his own popcorn truck and moved to various parts of the city for his business. He said he averaged about \$12.00 a week, depending upon the season.

These two proprietors are representative of the kind of establishments which characterize the various neighborhoods of the Western Addition area. Many of these places are one-man outfits, such as a corner grocery store, a lunch counter, a barber shop or a tailor shop. There are also a large number of second hand stores and junk shops. This is an area of small scale

enterprises where proprietors put in long hours and get a minimum of return for their work. Such marginal enterprises are indicative of this depressed district where the customers live on a bare subsistence level.

Those who were employed were asked how long they expected to continue working. One third expect to stop within four years, but the others were unable to make any estimate. Most of their answers to this question were related to their health such as "as long as I can maintain my health and keep going--health is the most important thing in life--if you have health, you can work."

The findings reported in this chapter support the hypothesis that economic conditions play an important role in limiting the movement of these older people to this depressed area. In case these people would have to be moved, a large part of the expense and resettlement would be the work of social agencies.

Chapter III How Sick are the Old?

In talking with an older person it is not unusual to find he does have some sort of health problem which limits his activities to some extent. He does not get around with the ease he once did: his bodily functions undergo natural changes and he is inclined to take life easy.

It was not surprising, therefore, to find that 80% of the group being studied reported health problems. These were not the acute disabling illnesses one would find in hospitals and nursing homes, but the chronic illnesses of old age. A very few respondents were disabled to the extent that they could not leave their homes. The rest showed varying degrees of disability, but were able to carry on their daily activities. One out of three, however, indicated that their health problems would limit their choice of housing. These were mostly individuals with heart condition, high blood pressure or crippling illnesses.

TABLE 12

Health Problems of 100 Older People, Western Addition Area, San Francisco, by sex.

Nature of Health Problem	All Persons		Male		Female	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No Health Problems	20	20.0	13	26.0	7	14.0
Sight or Hearing Difficulties	6	6.0	3	6.0	3	6.0
Heart or High Blood Pressure	15	15.0	8	16.0	7	14.0
Crippling Illnesses Gastro-intestinal Disorders	17	17.0	7	14.0	10	20.0
General Health Problems	9	9.0	6	12.0	3	6.0
Minor Illnesses	23	23.0	7	14.0	16	32.0
Total	100	100.0	50	100.0	50	100.0

As Table 12 indicates, there are two outstanding groups of health difficulties among these older people. 32% of the population had either a heart condition, high blood pressure or a crippling condition, such as arthritis or rheumatism. Another 33% reported general health problems or minor illnesses. General health problems included dentistry, yearly check-ups, respiratory difficulties, and short-term illnesses, some requiring hospitalization. Minor illnesses were complaints of fatigue rundown condition, need for vitamins, iron pills and patent medicine.

A comparison of the number of men and women reporting these widely different illnesses of old age shows that 30% of the men and 34% of the women were restricted by the more severe illnesses--heart condition, high blood pressure or crippling conditions. Indicating less serious illnesses were 25% of the men and 40% of the women. This would indicate that, although in the total picture only 8% more women than men have health problems of all kinds, 14% more women complain of minor health problems. It would seem, that women tend to show more concern about minor illnesses.

Of the 80 persons reporting health problems, ten indicated more than one difficulty. The secondary illnesses were mostly of a less serious nature and included sight and hearing difficulties and general health problems.

TABLE 13

Health Problems of 100 Older People, Western Addition Area, San Francisco
by number of Recreational Activities.

Nature of Health Problem	All Persons		No recreation Activities		One Recreation Activity	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No health problems	12	22.2	4	19.0	8	24.2
Serious health problems	20	37.0	10	42.6	10	30.3
Minor Health problems	13	24.1	4	19.	9	27.3
Other Health Problems	9	16.7	3	14.4	6	18.2
Total	54	100.0	21	100.0	33	100.0

In an effort to determine the extent to which people's activities were restricted by health problems, the daily activities, recreational activities and use of transportation were studied. It was found that 80% of the individuals with health problems did their own shopping for food, clothing and incidentals. The remainder either shared the shopping with husband or wife or the spouse carried on the activity alone. Over half of those who did not do all the shopping themselves suffered from one of the more restrictive illnesses. This would show a tendency, then, for those with the more severe health conditions to limit their daily activities somewhat.

Over half of all older persons interviewed indicated they had no recreational activities outside the home or participated in only one. The greatest majority, as shown in Table 13, were persons with the more serious health problems. Since over one-fourth of those with limited recreation were individuals with no health problems, it can not be definitely established that persons with health problems have fewer recreational activities. It is significant, however, that of the 32 persons having serious health difficulties, over one-third participated in some outside recreation. Here again, the tendency is toward limitation of activities rather than complete withdrawal.

TABLE 14

Health Problems of 100 Older People by those using no transportation or Making one Trip during one week, Western Addition Area, San Francisco.

Nature of Health Problem	All Persons		No Trips		One Trip	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No Health Problems	10	15.2	6	20.0	4	11.1
Serious Health Problems	20	30.3	12	40.0	8	22.2
Minor Health Problems	22	33.3	8	26.7	14	38.9
Other Health Problems	14	21.2	4	13.3	10	27.8
Total	66	100.0	30	100.0	36	100.0

In studying Table 14, it is noted that 66 respondents used no transportation or made only one trip during a one week period. Since the percentage of persons with serious illnesses is not higher than those with minor illnesses, there appears to be no significant relation between health problems and use of transportation. The most notable fact is that only 30% of the people with health problems did not use transportation. Thus, 70% of the ill people used transportation one or more times during the week, showing again that in spite of illnesses they are able to get around enough to meet their own needs.

TABLE 15

Health Problems of 100 Older People by Principal Source of Income, Western Addition Area, San Francisco.

Nature of Health Problem	All Persons		Public Assistance & Relatives		Earnings		Pensions & Savings		Not Available	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
	Serious Health Problems	32	40.0	16	39.0	6	42.9	10	43.5	
Minor Health Problems	32	40.0	17	41.5	6	42.9	7	30.4		
Other Health Problems	16	20.0	8	19.5	2	14.2	6	26.1	2	100.0
Total	80	100.0	41	100.0	14	100.0	23	100.0	2	100.0

Slightly more than half of all persons with health difficulties are dependent on public assistance or help from relatives. Another 29% state pensions or savings are their chief source of subsistence. This is in accord with the breakdown of source of income for the total population. It was unexpected indeed to note in Table 15 that of the 19 persons in the total population whose principal source of income was from earnings, 14 were people with health problems. This illustrates the spirit of these older people who, though having health difficulties, continue to be active whenever possible. There is perhaps the additional implication of economic necessity in their continuing to work if at all able.

68% of the population spent from a few dollars to over \$500 for medical needs during 1950. The limited incomes of this group make unexpected medical expenses a serious problem; yet illness is a problem which cannot be ignored. Sacrifices must be made elsewhere when money is spent for medical needs. Even \$100 takes a big slice from a public assistance income. Nearly one-third of this older group spent well over \$100 during the year on health problems. The number of persons spending money for medical needs in 1950 is as follows:

No money spent	32 persons
Under \$100 spent	39 persons
\$100 and over spent.	29 persons

More than one out of three persons spending money for medical purposes had more than one kind of expense. For example, 19 persons spent money on medicine and doctor or clinic fees. Table 16 shows in further detail the medical needs for which money was spent.

TABLE 16

Medical Expenses of 100 Older People by Type of Medical Need. Western Addition area, San Francisco.

Amount of Money Spent	All Persons		Medicine and Appliances		Doctor and Clinic Fees		Hospital and Operations		Other	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Under \$50	36	37.9	17	46.	15	38.5			4	40.0
\$50 to \$99	14	14.3	4	10.8	6	15.4			4	40.0
\$100 to \$199	21	22.1	10	27.	9	23.0	1	11.1	1	10.0
\$200 to \$499	15	15.8	5	13.5	7	18.	2	22.2	1	10.0
\$500 & over	8	8.4	1	2.7	2	5.1	5	55.5		
Not Available	1	1.1					1	11.1		
Total	95	100.0	37	100.0	39	100.0	9	100.0	10	100.0

In the under \$100 group, most of the money went for medicine, appliances, doctor and clinic fees. Whereas, in the over \$500 group most persons spent money for hospital and operation expenses. By the nature of these expenses, this breakdown was as anticipated. The broad class intervals of Table 15 hide the fact that 22% of the persons spending money on medical needs spent under \$25.00 each, mostly for medicine or clinic visits. In all money groupings, except the over \$500 group, the greatest number of expenditures was for medicine and doctor or clinic visits. This bears out the supposition that on the whole these are chronic illnesses being treated

and that the majority of these people spend up to \$200 yearly to maintain the health they have.

Chapter IV. Major Necessities - Where Do They Shop?

Introduction: This chapter will be concerned with the area of major living activities of the population under study. One of the major hypotheses under consideration states the mobility of individuals is affected by age: older people will be more likely to be "neighborhood centered" than other age groups. In order to test this hypothesis it is necessary to determine the area in which these older people residing within the Western Addition move about and carry on their major activities. These activities are defined as shopping for food and clothing, incidental shopping, working, etc. An attempt will be made to ascertain from the data secured just how far these people can reasonably travel for their daily needs and for the fulfillment of other personal considerations. It is also felt that the general de-socialization problems of the aged: financial and physical immobility, and inability to travel long distances, encourage use of neighborhood facilities such as in the Western Addition.

The focus of study of major living activities will be on a determination of the number of these needs which are served within the immediate neighborhoods⁷ of the population, and how many are served outside the Western Addition, as well as the neighborhoods. One basic hypothesis of this study states that most of the needs of these people are served within these limited areas. Does the data substantiate or refute this?

TABLE 17

Major Living Activities of 100 Older People by Number Involved in Activities, Western Addition Area, San Francisco

<u>Major Activity</u>	<u>All Persons</u>	<u>Respondents Involved in Activity</u>	<u>Respondents Not Involved in Activity</u>
Food	100	100	0
Incidental Shopping	100	77	23
Clothing	100	74	26
Banking	100	40	60
Medical	100	47	53
Employment	100	17	83
Other	100	4	96

Table 17 above describes the major living activities of the sample and the number of respondents involved in these activities.

⁷"Immediate neighborhood" as defined in the above introduction is considered as the area within a six block radius of the residence of each respondent in the sample.

The three major activities indicated in the above Table are shopping for food, and incidental shopping, which includes items from hardware stores, cleaning of clothes, household needs, etc., and shopping for clothing. Banking and medical care, the two next major activities in line show that less than 50% of the population studied carry on such activities. Employment and other living activities are also insignificant.

TABLE 18

Major Activities of 100 Older People by Locations from
their Homes, Western Addition Area, San Francisco.

Location of Activities	All Activities		Incidental													
			Food (Persons)		Shopping (Persons)		Clothing (Persons)		Banking (Persons)		Medical (Persons)		Work (Persons)		Other (Persons)	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Immediate Neighborhood	163	45.9	81	81.0	45	58.4	7	9.5	18	45.0	4	8.5	5	29.4	3	75.0
Western Addition Area	27	7.6	9	9.0	9	11.4	2	2.7	3	7.5	2	4.3	2	11.8	0	
Outside Western Addition Area	165	46.5	10	10.0	23	29.9	65	87.8	19	47.5	41	87.2	10	58.8	1	25.0
Total	355	100.0	100	100.0	77	100.0	74	100.0	40	100.0	47	100.0	17	100.0	4	100.0

Table 18 shows that a total of 355 major living activities were reported by respondents in the sample. A study of these activities further indicates that 46% were carried on in the immediate neighborhoods, 8% within the Western Addition, and 46% outside this entire area. This means that 54% of the respondents carried on major living activities within the Western Addition. A possible conclusion that might be drawn from the above data might be that the mobility of older people within the Western Addition, in respect to major living activities, indicates an equal division of neighborhood or Western Addition centered activities, and outside activities. This, however, is not the case and may best be illustrated by examining Table 18. This data indicates that over three-fourths of the respondents shopped for food within their immediate neighborhoods. In the area of incidental shopping, 77 out of 100 older people responded, and over one half of these utilized facilities in the immediate neighborhoods. Furthermore, almost three-fourths of those responding made use of facilities somewhere in the Western Addition. This presents a fairly clear picture of neighborhood and Western Addition centered activity.

Further examination of Table 18 reveals that, in fulfilling their clothing needs, four out of five of the respondents used facilities outside the Western Addition area. Also, in respect to the fulfilling of medical needs, which were reported by only 47 people in the sample approximately an identical four out of five respondents reported the use of outside facilities. A consideration of banking indicates that there is a fairly even distribution between neighborhood and outside activity. The lack of response from 60% of the sample indicates that banking is not a major living activity of these older people. This may be somewhat substantiated by other sections of this study which show a large number of respondents solely dependent on public assistance or pensions for livelihood.

It may be interesting to note that the experience of several interviewers in the study indicated that many respondents preferred to do their clothing shopping in the large, well stocked downtown department stores, where prices were often lower and window shopping was possible. It was also found that the centralization of medical offices and facilities in the downtown area, such as the 450 Sutter Building, proved a determining factor in the fulfillment of medical needs there. An added factor contributing to the use of facilities outside the Western Addition was the location of Stanford Clinic, U.S. Hospital, and S. F. County Hospital, which were utilized by a large number of respondents.

The data relative to employment and "other" activities are fairly insignificant. Only 17% of the sample indicated employment for wages. Although slightly more than half of these worked outside the Western Addition area, it must be remembered that job mobility is based on where the job is, and not on where one would like to go.

In summary, the data in Table 18 indicates that the majority of the respondents carry on the first two of the above activities (food and incidental shopping) in their immediate neighborhoods, or in the Western Addition. Moreover this was done on a daily and/or weekly basis. On the other hand, the great majority of respondents shopped for clothing and fulfilled their medical needs outside the Western Addition area. However, these activities were carried on annually, bi-annually, monthly, or bi-monthly, and by a significantly smaller number of the respondents. Though many of the old use facilities outside the Western Addition, their intensive shopping is definitely confined to the area studied.

TABLE 19

Type of Transportation Used in One Week by 65 Older People by Purpose of Trip, Western Addition Area, San Francisco

Type of Activity	No. of People		Public Transport		Private Transport	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Shopping	40	25.8	38	27.9	2	10.6
Medical	10	6.4	10	7.3	-	-
Recreation	23	14.8	20	14.7	3	15.8
Visiting	27	17.4	24	17.6	3	15.8
Church	8	5.0	8	6.1	-	-
Employment	23	14.8	19	13.9	4	21.0
Other	24	15.8	17	12.5	7	36.8
Total	155	100.0	136	100.0	19	100.0

In order to find out how much older people get about and the extent of their independence in providing for their own transportation, a certain week was chosen for questioning all respondents on the types of transportation they had used and the purpose of the trip. This week was the same week for all respondents and at the end of that week information was taken by the interviewers on all past activities.

Table 19 above shows that public transportation in the form of buses or streetcars was used an overwhelmingly majority of times by respondents for their business. Of those respondents using private transportation, the use of such transportation consisted of rides received from relatives or friends with one exception. This person owned a car.

One third of the respondents reported no transportation of any kind during the week studied.

Chapter V. Recreation - How do they Relax?

Many city planners have thought that the neighborhood as a social unit was disappearing within urban areas. There is definite evidence to support the contention, however, that for certain groups, such as children and older people, which both are limited in their ability to move about, the neighborhood still provides the major area wherein they find their friendships and spend their leisure time. Of major concern to this study is to what extent does the neighborhood provide opportunities for the older person in friendships and socializing experiences!

Social activities are defined here as the friendship and recreational patterns of the sample population. The discussion in regard to these activities will be limited to a description of the friendship pattern as characterized by the visiting habits of the population, and the recreational pattern as shown by the home-centered activities and the use of outside social facilities. Specifically, what kind of activities do older people prefer? Would they like more social participation in groups and activities outside the home, or are they satisfied with individual recreation in the home? Part of the discussion will be approached by the mobility of the population. In other words, where do these older people go to visit their friends and how far do they travel? Where are the recreational facilities and how far do they go to use them?

A general supposition most people have about older people is that their lives are quite lonely and withdrawn due to a lack of opportunity and ability to become involved in recreation and projects outside the home. When the older people of the Western Addition were asked what kinds of things they enjoyed doing most, they responded overwhelmingly with activities definitely belonging in the home. Actually, three-fourths of all activities mentioned were home-centered and included such pleasures as reading, listening to the radio and doing domestic activities. Therefore, the emphasis placed on these home-centered activities seems to give a good reason to believe that the manner in which older people spend

their leisure time is not necessarily a matter of enforced withdrawal, but a result of choice.

TABLE 20

Recreational Activities Preferred by 100 Older People
Western Addition Area, San Francisco, by sex of
respondents

Home Centered Activities	All Activities		Men		Women	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Reading	63	36.5	32	38.7	31	26.5
Entertaining	8	4.0	4	4.8	4	3.5
Radio and Television	52	26.0	30	36.1	22	18.9
Domestic	53	26.5	6	7.2	47	40.1
Recreational	14	8.0	8	9.6	6	5.1
Other	10	5.0	3	3.5	7	5.9
Total	200	100.0	83	100.0	117	100.0
<u>Activities Outside Home</u>						
Walking	29	35.8	21	38.9	8	29.6
Visiting	10	12.3	6	11.1	4	14.8
Watching Sports	18	22.2	14	25.9	4	14.8
Recreational	17	20.9	8	14.8	9	33.3
Church	7	8.8	5	9.3	2	7.5
Total	81	100.0	54	100.0	27	100.0

That older persons do not prefer to use their homes for more sociable pursuits, such as visiting and entertaining, is also shown by Table 20, for only about 10% of the home activities were spent in this way. On the other hand, the most frequently listed recreation was reading, which totaled 1/3 of all activities, and listening to the radio, which was slightly less.

Men and women indicated different choices in ways to spend their time. Men preferred to be more active outside the home than women, doing one out of three of their activities outside, in attending spectator sports, and walking and visiting in the neighborhood parks. Perhaps because home-making has been the women's role, four-fifths of the women's recreational preferences consisted of reading, listening to the radio and domestic activities such as sewing and crafts.

Further evidence of interest in doing things at home was found when the time involved was given. The two best liked recreations, listening to the radio and reading, are mentioned by the majority of older people as occupying more than 20 hours a week each. In comparison, domestic activities were more likely to take up only 10 hours of their time, and

visiting at home was almost negligible as a time-consuming pleasure. Of those who go outside the home for recreation, walking and observing sports take up to 10 hours of their week. Only a few spend this amount of time or more in participant recreation.

Although older persons in the Western Addition like activities which are mainly within the home, 80% of these people spend some time in social places outside of the home. Here the social patterns seem distinctly related to this particular area. The Western Addition is largely a valley surrounded by hills, affording easy communication. There are approximately five movies and seven parks, plus several squares or playgrounds within the area, in addition to a number of similar facilities outside the boundaries but within easy walking distance of several neighborhoods. Churches of all denominations are found here.

TABLE 21

Type of Recreational Facilities used by 100 Older People, Western Addition Area, San Francisco

Type of Activity	All Persons	Respondents Using	Respondents not Using
Movies	100	33	67
Parks, Beaches	100	44	56
Churches	100	43	57
Clubs and Centers	100	24	76

Parks and beaches were used almost equally as much as churches, movies ran a close third while slightly less than one-fourth of the people went to clubs, logges and centers. The majority of all the facilities were located in the immediate neighborhoods or the Western Addition as seen below in Table 22.

TABLE 22

Location of Recreational Facilities Used by Older People by Number of Recreational Activities, Western Addition Area, San Francisco

Location of Facility	All Activities		Movies		Parks or Beaches		Churches		Clubs or Center	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Immediate Neighborhood	62	43.1	13	39.4	19	43.2	23	53.5	7	29.1
Western Addition	25	18.3	5	16.2	9	20.5	7	16.3	4	16.4
Outside Western Addition	57	39.6	15	45.4	16	36.3	13	30.2	13	55.5
Total	144	100.0	33	100.0	44	100.0	43	100.0	24	100.0

Except for movies, clubs, and centers, the population tended to use the facilities within a six block radius of their homes. However, a comparison with Table 23 demonstrates that more than 60% of the population walked to the movies, which suggests that many of the movies, although located outside of the neighborhoods, were within walking distance. The use of clubs, lodges, and centers outside the Western Addition indicates that the population tended to use those facilities within the area but were willing to travel outside if the desired facilities were not available.

TABLE 23

Type of Transportation Used by Older People to Reach Recreational Facilities, Western Addition Area, San Francisco

Type of Transportation	No. of People	Facility							
		Movies		Parks		Churches		Clubs, etc.	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Public Conveyances	62	10	30.3	20	45.4	17	39.3	15	62.5
Private Transportation	5	2	6.1	1	2.3	1	2.6	1	4.2
Walk	77	21	63.6	23	52.3	25	58.1	8	33.3
Total	144	33	100.0	44	100.0	43	100.0	24	100.0

The majority of people used public transportation to reach the recreational facilities when necessary, but more than one half walked. In many instances the respondents listed walking as a major activity. The similarities in the figures for public transportation and walking to parks may be explained by noting that the respondents who reported parks as a major activity seemed to alternate visits to Golden Gate Park and parks closer within the area. Parks were used to visit with friends, and there seemed to be a number of informal groups similar to loosely organized clubs. On the whole, the older people in the Western Addition seemed to have a great amount of socialization related to the area in which they live. The relatively flat area and proximity of facilities tends to offset the tendency to withdrawal seen in many older people where social isolation is noted, as in Table 20, this seems to be a matter of choice. Transportation was used only when necessary with public transportation being used by the majority.

The same tendency toward socialization within the immediate neighborhood is seen in the study of friendship patterns. A total of 300 friends were listed as visiting or being visited by the respondents, and 70% of this number were seen in the immediate neighborhood. The chart below shows the distribution of visiting within the neighborhood, the Western Addition, San Francisco.

Legend

Western Addition

Out of Town

San Francisco

Neighborhood

Figure II. Pie-chart distribution of 300 friends visiting or being visited by 100 older people by location of friends, Western Addition Area, San Francisco

Figure 2 illustrates that beside nearly 75% of friendships are local to the Western Addition, the remaining quarter are largely confined to San Francisco. However, 6% of friendships require a fair amount of traveling by the older people having these friendships, and places such as Sacramento, Santa Rosa, Oakland and Berkeley were mentioned as a few of the places people go to visit with their friends.

As can be seen by the total of 300 friends, these older people are by no means socially isolated. On the average, the older person has two or three friends or relatives whom he sees once a week. These friends are about his age and are of the same sex. While the largest single group of men and women fit into this typical pattern, many older persons vary in their friendship patterns.

TABLE 24

Number of Friends and Relatives 100 older people see by sex of respondents, Western Addition, San Francisco

Number of Friends	Males		Females	
	No.	%	No.	%
None	7	14.0	7	14.0
One friend	8	16.0	4	8.0
Two-Three	22	44.0	18	36.0
Four-Five	9	18.0	13	26.0
Six-Seven	4	8.0	4	8.0
Eight, more	0	-	4	8.0
Total	50	100.0	50	100.0

Over 35% of the men and women have at least four friends or more, a more out-going record than the typical person. About one in every ten persons has only one friend, and 14% can mention no friends. This means that in the more socially withdrawn portion of the population, there are nearly one fourth who have only one or no friends. No large differences in number of friends were found to exist between men and women.

Although most persons see their friends one or more times a week, slightly more than one third see friends only monthly or occasionally. Responses to the question "Are there other people in San Francisco you would like to see and don't, and why?" brought forth only a few reasons, as just 13% wished to see friends they are not now seeing. Among reasons for not seeing additional friends, the distance from the friends and difficulty in transportation were frequently mentioned, as well as the advanced age, immobility, and illness of the older person being questioned.

TABLE 25

Number of Men and Women Friends Among 86 Older People by Sex
of Respondents, Western Addition Area,
San Francisco

Sex of Friends	Total Number of Friends		Male Respondents		Female Respondents	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Male friends	121	40.3	84	64.1	37	21.9
Female friends	179	59.7	47	35.9	132	78.1
Total	300	100.0	131	100.0	169	100.0

Only 20% of the friends were younger people, which further substantiates their desires to be around mostly others of their own ages. This will be more fully discussed later. Some of these younger people were children and other relatives, which makes the choice of younger friends an even smaller number. While the majority of these people have friends of their own sex, as shown in Table 25, men on the average have more friends of the opposite sex than women: about one out of three of their friends was a woman.

Chapter VI. Housing -- What Do They Want?

TABLE 26

Reasons Given by 100 Older People for
Liking Present Housing, Western
Addition Area, San Francisco

REASONS	TOTAL
Total Number Items	152
Total Percent	100%
HOUSING CONDITIONS	<u>31.7%</u>
Convenient Facilities	20.4%
Good Repair	11.3%
OTHER CONDITIONS	<u>68.3%</u>
Privacy and Quiet	11.9%
Sunny	12.5%
People in the House	18.4%
Familiar	6.5%
Location	13.1%
Other	5.9%
NO REASON GIVEN	10%

TABLE 27

Reasons Given by 100 Older People for
Disliking Present Housing Area,
Western Addition Area, San Francisco

REASONS	TOTAL
Total Number Items	90
Total Percent	100%
HOUSING CONDITIONS	<u>82.1%</u>
Indequate Facilities	14.5%
Stairs	14.4%
Dark and Overcrowded	5.5%
Deterioration	47.7%
OTHER CONDITIONS	<u>17.9</u>
People in the House	6.7%
Location	4.5%
Other	6.5%
NO REASON GIVEN	6%

Although the present housing conditions in this area have been found to be inadequate, Tables 26 and 27 indicate that more people were satisfied with their present living arrangements than were dissatisfied. About half of the people interviewed found nothing to dislike about their present housing and only ten people disliked everything about their house. The data showed no significant differences in housing preferences between men and women. This information was obtained by asking the respondents to state what they liked and disliked about their present housing. There were 152 factors mentioned in favor of present housing and only 90 complaints given about existing conditions.

The most numerous types of responses in favor of the present housing conditions were concerned with factors other than the actual condition of the house such as the privacy and quiet provided, the sunny room, the people in the house, the familiar atmosphere, and the location. Only about one-third of the favorable responses pertained to the adequacy of the housing facilities and to the repair of the house. Those liking the condition of the house mentioned that it was convenient, comfortable, clean, had good ventilation and heating, was well-built, or had hardwood floors and a garden.

On the other hand, the principal complaints about the houses were concerned with the actual construction and the deterioration of the building. About half of all the complaints made were about the run-down condition and the lack of repair of the house. Such objections as the house being old, dirty and damp, the faulty plumbing and lighting, and the rats and cockroaches in the house made the house undesirable to many. A good number of responses complained about the inadequate facilities such as no private bath, no hot water, and inadequate furniture.

It appears, therefore, that although the older people tended to like their present housing and to have lived there for a long time, they agreed it was deteriorated and the facilities were inadequate. They liked the house for other reasons than its condition.

Some of the discrepancies between the respondent's opinion of the condition and adequacy of the homes is probably due to the fact that some neighborhoods in this area are in better repair than others.

TABLE 28

Reasons Given by 100 Older People for Liking the Neighborhood, Western Addition Area, San Francisco

REASONS	TOTAL
Total number items	167
Total Percent	100
Near Transportation	16.7%
Near Stores	17.7%
Centrally Located	22.7%
People in Neighborhood	13.1%
Climate	8.3%
Familiar	6.5%
Quiet	10.2%
Other	4.8%
NOTHING MENTIONED	17%

TABLE 29

Reasons Given by 100 Older People for Disliking the Neighborhood, Western Addition Area, San Francisco

REASONS	TOTAL
Total Number Items	80
Total Percent	100
Colored People	35.0%
Deterioration	17.5%
Rough and Noisy	23.7%
People in Neighborhood	11.3%
Other	12.5%
NOTHING MENTIONED	48%

The respondents feelings about their neighborhood was obtained in the same manner as were the likes and dislikes of their housing. Here, as with the opinions about housing, it was found that most people liked their neighborhood. One half of the people found nothing to dislike about their neighborhood. Only eighty complaints were made, while 167 factors were found to be desirable. As with the opinion about housing there were no significant sex differences in the likes and dislikes of the neighborhood.

The principal reason mentioned for liking the neighborhood was the location. It was near the stores and transportation and was centrally located, they said. They also liked it because it was near other facilities such as medical resources, churches, parks, banks and to their work. Another factor making the neighborhood desirable to many was the people living there. It was felt the neighbors were friendly and caused no trouble, and they liked the familiarity and quietness of the neighborhood.

It is interesting to note that the reasons for liking the neighborhood were concrete reasons largely based on the convenience which the available facilities provided, while the complaints seemed to stem largely from prejudiced and emotional feelings about the minority groups. Over one-third of the objections were concerned specifically with the influx of Negroes and another complained about the other people living there and mentioned that there were too many nationalities and they didn't like the newcomers. Only a small percentage of responses objected to the deterioration of the neighborhood.

The overwhelming responses in favor of the neighborhood further supports the belief that older people like to live in a place a long time and are content in familiar surroundings. Their objections were about the more recent changes in the neighborhood.

TABLE 30

Conveniences which 100 older people would Consider if it were Necessary for them to Move, Western Addition Area, San Francisco

<u>Conveniences</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Nearness to Shopping	25.8%
Nearness to Transportation	22.9%
Climate	19.1%
Flat Area	10.0%
Nearness to Relatives and Friends	8.2%
Nearness to Recreation	6.1%
Nearness to Medical Care	5.0%
Other	2.9%
Total	100.0%
Total Items Mentioned	280

In order to discover what people would look for in a neighborhood if they had to move, several items were listed and the respondents were asked to choose the three which they felt would be the most important to them. The items listed were: climate, flat area, nearness to transportation, nearness to relatives and friends, nearness to shopping, nearness to medical care, and nearness to recreation. There were no significant differences between the preferences of men and women.

The most important factor was nearness to shopping. About one-fourth of the people said they would consider this in choosing a new neighborhood. Second in importance was nearness to transportation. This correlated with the reasons given for liking the present neighborhood, in which nearness to stores and transportation were major factors. Climate was considered to be important to several. However, this factor did not seem to be as important a reason for liking the present neighborhood as it might be something to consider if a move was necessary. This may be explained by the tendency to take the weather for granted and therefore it was neglected as a reason for liking the neighborhood.

The other items were not considered as significant, but all were mentioned by at least fourteen people as factors which would be taken into consideration if a move were necessary.

TABLE 31

100 Older People's Opinions regarding their preferences in living alone or in their children's homes by how they believe older people in general would like to live. Western Addition Area, San Francisco.

Respondents Own Desires in Living	All Persons		Respondents Opinion re What Other Old People Want					
			No Opinion		Children's Home		Alone	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No opinion	9	100%	6	66.6	1	11.2	2	22.2
In Children's Home	21	100%	5	23.8	3	15.3	13	61.8
Alone	70	100%	11	15.7	-	-	59	84.3

In determining how these older people lived and what their preferences were, the question was raised--do older people like to live with their children or do they prefer being independent? This pattern varies with different cultural groups, but in this area there was an overwhelming number of people who preferred living by themselves.

Since personal choices might involve guilt feelings and personally be threatening, this information was obtained by asking the question in a projected form--what they felt other people would prefer, then followed by asking them what they preferred. Seventy percent said they would prefer living alone, twenty-one with their adult children and nine people gave no opinion. As the data about their present living arrangements shows that 80% of the respondents lived alone or with their spouse, this indicates they are living as they prefer to live.

It is interesting to note that only four respondents thought other people preferred living with their adult children and none of those living alone felt others would want to live with their children. Seventy-four percent felt most older people preferred living alone and twenty-two percent would give no opinion as to how other people preferred to live.

TABLE 32

100 Older Peoples' Opinion regarding Living around Younger People or their Same Age Group by their Opinion as to the Living Preferences of Older People in General: Western Addition Area, San Francisco

RESP. OPINION FOR SELF	Total		Resp. Opinion as to What Others Prefer					
			No Opinion		Own Age		Younger	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No Opinion	10	100.0	9	90.0	0	-	1	10.0
Own Age	55	100.0	10	18.2	43	78.1	2	3.3
Younger	35	100.0	15	42.8	10	28.6	10	28.6
Total	100	100.0	34	34.0	53	53.0	13	13.0

The same method was used to ascertain whether older people preferred living near their own age group or near younger people. Fifty-five percent thought they preferred living with people their own age and 53% felt other people preferred the same thing. Of the 53 people, forty-three were people who preferred living with their own age group. Of the 35 respondents who preferred living near younger people only ten felt other people preferred the same thing. Only 13% of the respondents felt other people wanted to live near younger people and 10% had no opinion as to what other people preferred.

This data indicates that most older people prefer living alone and with people of their own age group and they tend to feel that other people feel the same way they do.

Chapter VII: The Typical Older Family, Western Addition Area.

Throughout the study it has been apparent that the older people studied tend to be an unusually homogeneous group in many respects. To illustrate this let us show the pattern of living of a typical older family in the Western Addition Area, San Francisco, 1951.

Mr. A. speaks proudly of the fact that he is 69 and "still going strong." His closest companion is his wife who is 67. They consider themselves to be in good health, although Mr. A has a heart condition which restricts him to some extent and Mrs. A visits the clinic regularly for various complaints.

The A's live in a small two-room apartment for which they pay \$28.50 monthly rent. They have their own kitchen, complete with refrigerator, stove, and hot water, and a private bath. They consider themselves fortunate in comparison to their friend Mr. B, a widower, who like many other single men in this area, lives in an old rooming house nearby. He must pay \$18.00 a month for a small dark room with only a gas plate and a tiny sink serving as a kitchen. He shares the bath with ten other occupants of the rooming house, but feels he can tolerate this inconvenience since the rent is low and his old age assistance income would not allow him to pay more rent.

The A's too, receive old age assistance which gives them a combined monthly income of \$150.00. They must plan their expenses carefully as this is their only income and they have no savings or other resources to meet emergencies.

They do most of their shopping for food and incidentals in their immediate neighborhood because prices are relatively low and they can walk rather than have the expense of the streetcar. Mrs. A. does most of the shopping, although often they go together, stopping enroute to visit with neighbors. When they buy clothing, which is seldom oftener than once a year, they go downtown where there is a wider selection and prices are cheaper. For medical care, they go to a large clinic about 12 blocks from their home. The fact that they are so near to shopping districts and quick transportation is one of the things they like best about their neighborhood.

Although neither of them is employed, they find their days well filled and satisfying. Mrs. A. spends most of her time at home, doing household tasks, sewing, and listening to the radio. Mr. A. spends considerable time at home too, but likes to walk around the neighborhood visiting friends and sitting in a nearby park. They do not lead active lives and leave their neighborhood only on rare occasions. This satisfies them, however, and in spite of the complaints they might make about the aging buildings, they express only the positives about the neighborhood. They feel in a sense that they have grown old with the area and have a fondness for it-- as for an old friend.

HYPOTHESES

1. In general older people will not tend to move very readily because of a desire for stability and security. They will not report themselves even with inferior dwellings, since they do not adapt so easily to a change of any kind.
2. People living in this area cannot find housing easily in other areas due to discrimination against older people because of health, economic or other problems they might have.
3. Older people who moved between two and three times within the past 5 years generally have moved because their housing was inadequate to meet their needs within their income.
4. All persons will have difficulty in making any changes calling for new adjustments in living, but the nearer to 65 the more difficult these changes will be.
5. Aged persons who live with their relatives will prefer this arrangement, such as having their own room, if housing is adequate and they have an accepted place in the family which allows for their independence.
6. Older persons living with relatives where housing conditions are inadequate such as overcrowded or poor conditions, are generally dependent persons, forced to accept the situation, either financially or psychologically.
7. Generally an older person, or a married older couple, who has a family and yet is now living alone, has made an adjustment to this kind of living and would prefer an arrangement which would guarantee him his independence.
8. In rooming houses the majority of people will be men rather than women who depend upon cheap restaurants in the area and will need inexpensive commercial facilities where ever they move.
9. If an older person must move, the first thing he takes into account in looking for and choosing housing is the amount of rent he feels he can afford.
10. The majority of older persons find their present housing inadequate, but are unable to afford higher rentals necessary to obtain improved quarters.
11. The majority of persons 65 and over have small fixed incomes in the way of pensions, etc. Any change will present major problems.

12. The majority of families and single individuals can afford rentals not exceeding \$25. to \$35 per month.
13. The majority of people working in the Western Addition are likely to be in semi and unskilled occupations and are therefore likely to have limited and uncertain income.
14. People in the Western Addition are more likely to use medical facilities available in that area and will be anxious about moving because of a desire to continue the same kind of medical care to which they are accustomed.
15. The aged usually need to consider their health in choosing living arrangements.
16. Older persons with physical handicaps will need special housing arrangements to accommodate any limitations they have.
17. Aged women living alone and who are in good health tend to visit with their relatives and women friends more frequently than married couples.
18. Aged men who are living alone and not working, find great satisfaction in their daily visits with their pals at a neighborhood "hang-out." They will be more reluctant to move than aged men who are living alone and working.
19. Aged persons living in the Western Addition whose incomes are limited by pensions or other definite small fixed amounts find that they cannot afford commercial recreational facilities; therefore, this group will be more interested in remaining in a neighborhood where there are adequate public recreational facilities.
20. The aged who are living with and who will continue to live with their relatives when they move, will be less concerned about recreational facilities than those who are living alone.
21. Those living with their relatives are usually included in the recreational activities of the household and have less attachments to neighborhood facilities.
22. Those with the fullest and most satisfying social activities will be married couples living alone and independently.
23. Aged persons or couples who are living alone (apart from relatives) do so because they enjoy their independence. However, because of their limited opportunities in making satisfying relationships with others, they would prefer more opportunity to be living around more people of their own age groups.

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- Panel I - Questioned the utility of the neighborhood concept and the nature of its premises and assumptions on which it was drawn.
- Panel II - Discussed relationship of technological and social research on housing. What does the technician want of the social scientist and visa versa.
- Panel III - Discussed the measuring of effective demand in the housing market as requiring more than statistical analysis of the situation.
- Panel IV - Pointed out that housing needs and housing standards are interrelated and that needs and supplies are based on human goals and aspirations and are capable of scientific determination.

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