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AN ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS OF Barbara Brown Hardy for the
Master of Science in Psychology presented August 28, 1972.

Title: Reminiscence, Disengagement, and Morale in Old Age

APPROVED BY MEMBERS OF THE THESIS COMMITTEE:

Milton K. Davis, Chairman

Hugo Maynard
James A. Paulson

The purpose of this study was to test two hypotheses concerning reminiscence in old age. Reminiscence has been found to be an adaptive mechanism relating to freedom from clinical depression and to a reduced discrepancy between present and past self-concepts in the face of an experimental social threat (Mc Mahon and Rhudick, 1964; Lewis, 1971). Disengagement theory (Cumming and Henry, 1961) proposes that reminiscence is adaptive because it is a defense mechanism which protects the individual from decreasing physical capacities and lack of reinforcement from society.

Disengagement theory hypothesizes that reminiscence and disengagement are similar defenses, and therefore they should occur simultaneously. Activity theory, on the other hand, suggests that reminiscence is adaptive because it is an activity. Activity theory states that social activity is the key to happiness in old age.

The present study used Lowenthal and Boler's (1965) measures of morale and deprivation, Lewis' (1971) interview method for measuring reminiscence, and Cumming and Henry's (1961) indices of disengagement. Significant positive correlations were found between reminiscence and morale both for deprived and non-deprived subjects. Deprived subjects had lower morale than non-deprived subjects. No significant correlations were found between the overall measures of disengagement and reminiscence. However, workers were found to reminisce significantly less than non-workers. This relationship could be an age effect because workers were younger than non-workers. No significant difference in reminiscence was found between deprived and non-deprived subjects. The partial correlations between reminiscence and morale was independent of activity level.

The results supported the hypothesis that reminiscence is an adaptive mechanism in old age, but neither disengagement theory nor activity theory was found to account for this relationship.

REMINISCENCE, DISENGAGEMENT, AND MORALE IN OLD AGE

by

BARBARA BROWN HARDY

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirement for the degree of

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TO THE OFFICE OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH:

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INTRODUCTION

Only two major studies have been done on reminiscence in old age. Mc Mahon and Rhudick (1964) found that reminiscence (defined as talking about events 5 or more years in the past) is not directly related to intelligence or to intellectual deterioration and is positively related to freedom from depression and to survival. Lewis (1971) found that when faced with an experimental social threat, reminiscers reduced the discrepancy between their past and present self-concepts more than did non-reminiscers. Reminiscing was found to be consistent across sessions in this experiment, and non-reminiscers spoke negatively about the past, and thought about it less. Reminiscing is therefore characteristic of individuals rather than random behavior.

Two major conflicting theories in the field of gerontology, activity theory and disengagement theory, suggest contradictory hypotheses about reminiscence in old age. Activity theory proposes that the key to happiness and adjustment after retirement is to keep active and occupied. Disengagement theory suggests that the older person needs to cut down on his activities, because he cannot physically and emotionally maintain the same activity level as a middle-aged person. More than that, however, disengagement

theory suggests that society no longer needs the older person, and thus withdrawal is a mutual and natural phenomenon. These two theories suggest contradictory hypotheses about reminiscence. Cumming and Henry (1961), the originators of disengagement theory, state (p. 225) that when disengagement has begun, there is a gradual shift of interest from outside achievements to reflection on the meaning of the past, and thus an increase of reminiscence. Activity theory, on the other hand, implies that older people enjoy reminiscing simply because it is a social activity. The present study will test these two hypotheses.

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

From the standpoint of disengagement theory, reminiscence has been described as a universal phenomenon of old age which has adaptational significance, enabling the old person to relate more closely with the past in order to maintain self-respect in the face of deteriorating physical and mental capacities (Lewis, 1971; Mc Mahon and Rhudick, 1964). Reminiscing is defined as the act of thinking about or relating past experiences, especially those considered personally significant. Reminiscence appears to be characteristic of the last stage of life, and so researchers have hypothesized that it has adaptational significance.

Butler (1964) hypothesized that the "life review" is a vital process of old age and reminiscence provides the material for this review. However, Butler proposed that the life review is brought on by a fear of approaching death and is associated with guilt and the need to justify the individual's life. Mc Mahon and Rhudick did not find this to be characteristic of their group. The more common type of reminiscing was "glorifying" in the past and is associated with the attitude that one has seen and been a part of the best and has nothing to regret. This type of reminiscing may serve to maintain self-esteem and reinforce a "sense of

identity" and to allay anxiety connected with signs of decline and approaching death.

Erickson's theories on identity and the life cycle also characterize reminiscing as an adaptive process. The eighth and final stage of "ego growth", called "ego integrity", is defined as "acceptance of one's own life cycle as something that had to be." (p. 98). Erickson sees the individual sense of identity as a sense of flowing continuity of one's past, present, and future. Obtaining few "ego comforts" in the present and realizing that the future is coming to a close, the individual turns to the past for comfort. The same idea can be stated in terms of reinforcement by substituting "reinforcement" for "ego comforts." The individual turns to the past because he is no longer receiving reinforcement by society in the present, and his future is uncertain. According to Erickson (1959), the possessor of integrity is ready to defend the dignity of his own life style against all physical and economic threats. The lack of accrued "ego integration" is signified by despair and often unconscious fear of death.

Cleveland and Johnson (1962) suggest that reminiscing also has adaptational significance for young people with uncertain futures. They found that young people with terminal illnesses gave more nostalgic themes on the TAT.

The above studies suggest that reminiscence is an adaptive mechanism related to either lack of reinforcement (or

ego comforts) from society in the present, or the realization of an uncertain future, or a decline in capabilities making the present and future seem less desirable than the past.

Disengagement theory, proposed by Cumming and Henry (1961), suggests that withdrawal from society may also be an adaptational mechanism of old age. Cumming and Henry define disengagement as a withdrawal from society which may be initiated by either the individual because of "ego comforts" or by the society because of organizational imperatives, or by both simultaneously (p. 213). Cumming and Henry also state that when disengagement has begun, there is a gradual shift of interest from outside achievements to reflection on the meaning of the past, and thus an increase of reminiscence (p. 225).

Mc Mahon and Rhudick (1964, p. 294) state:

Decreasing gratifications in the present and the awareness of failing capacities significantly contribute to what has been described in the aged as the process of disengagement or a turning away from the present.

Therefore, disengagement and reminiscence are both theoretically a turning away from the present due to decreasing gratifications and an awareness of failing capacities.

Disengagement theory has fallen into disrepute because it hypothesizes that disengagement is an inevitable process. Postulate 1 of Cumming and Henry's (1961) theory states that the expectation of death is universal and decrement of

ability probable, and therefore a mutual severing of ties will take place between a person and others in his society." (p. 211).

Disengagement theory was proposed as an alternative view to activity theory. Activity theory assumed that successful aging was achieved only by maintaining a high level of activity. In effect, activity theory stated that successful aging consists in being as much like a middle-aged person as possible. Cumming and Henry objected to studies which made the assumption that middle-age is preferable to old age. For example, it was assumed by activity theorists that a group of aging people have low morale if they answered "no" to the question, "Do you still feel useful to those around you?" While activity theory suggests that the American formula for happiness in old age is "keep active," disengagement theory proposes that curtailment of involvement in social systems is an inevitable and universal process beneficial to both the individual and society.

Weinberg (1967) found that exclusion of stimuli and withdrawal from life are adaptive processes. Kutner, Fanshel, Togo, and Lagner (1956, 1961) did two studies in two different communities and found that the extent of friendship participation decreased with age. However, recent studies have come out which reject disengagement theory. Brehm (1968) and Maddox (1964) found disengagement theory applicable only to a portion of old people, and thus they

reject its universality and inevitability. Palmore (1968) suggests that only cross-sectional studies give support to disengagement theory, while longitudinal studies show no decrease in activity over time. Rose and Peterson (1965) suggest that disengagement in later life may simply be a continuation of life-long patterns of low social participation. Videbeck and Knox (1965) found that people whose early life history was characterized by much social participation are not likely to change the level of activity, but it can be modified by alterations in life status. Zborowski and Eyde (1962) found that the few differences in activity found in their study were not related to chronological age, but to an interdependent constellation of age, sex, socio-economic, and occupational variables. Tallmer and Kutner (1969) suggest that physical and social stress rather than age produces disengagement. Havighurst (1961) and Kleemeier (1964) found that old people who maintain activities are the happiest. Carp (1968) suggests that different kinds of disengagement should be differentiated. For example, disengagement from family does not mean the same thing as disengagement from friends. She found negative correlations between disengagement from family and from activities. Williams and Wirths (1965) suggest that disengagement can occur in different aspects of a person's behavior at different rates. Lehr and Rudiger (1969) propose 7 variations of disengagement.

Havighurst, Neugarten, and Tobin (1968) divided disengagement into social and psychological aspects and found that they were usually, but not always related. They found clearer decline in psychological than in social engagement in the 50-year age group, possibly foreshadowing the social disengagement that appears in the 60's and 70's. In general they found that as activity decreased, the sense of well-being associated with it decreased after age 60. However, all four combinations of activity and satisfaction exist, so that neither activity theory nor disengagement theory accounts for the diversity.

Two studies of family relationships by Youmans (1967a, 1967b) give evidence contrary to disengagement theory. Comparing women aged 60 to 64 with those aged 75 and over, no statistically significant differences were found in the frequency of visits with siblings who lived apart, in the proportions whose children and relatives came to them for advice, or who said they helped their children or relatives in some way. Men also evidenced no disengagement from family life.

A study of political behavior by Glenn and Grimes (1968) found no decrease in political behavior or interest. Streib (1965) found that the aged, as a minority group, are not systematically deprived of power and privileges, are not excluded from public facilities, and are not released from jobs they are qualified to perform.

A 5-year follow-up study done by the National Institute of Mental Health made assessments of social environment, daily behavior, interests, satisfactions, and attitudes of 38 healthy men. The men maintained a reasonably steady and consistent course in their activities, relationships, and general feelings toward life.

Youmans (1969) suggests a life course model of aging which, in contrast to disengagement theory, acknowledges the importance of generational phenomenon. Each generation differs by virtue of exposure to different historical experiences and by the changing content of formal education and popular culture. Youmans doesn't deny that some older persons disengage from social relationships, but he suggests that we need to study the factors and conditions producing this behavior.

Brehm (1968) has studied the conditions affecting social participation in aging and has found that the correlation between age and social participation is the result of their mutual relationship to the major statuses of adult life which define an individual's life condition. Sex, socio-economic status, marital status, employment, and familial status all directly affect the opportunity to participate socially. There is a relationship between these life cycle statuses and age, but this does not mean that there is an automatic relationship between age per se and behavior.

Brehm found a direct relationship between activity and morale. However, while average activity scores decreased with age, average morale scores did not. There were deviant cases of low activity--high morale and high activity--low morale. Differences in attitudes and values were found among these cases. The relationship between activity and morale is therefore complex.

Lowenthal and Boler (1965) divided a group of elderly people into four groups: voluntary not withdrawn, voluntary withdrawn, involuntary not withdrawn, and involuntary withdrawn. Involuntary status was based on the factors of forced retirement (including retirement for health reasons), widowhood within a seven-year period, or physical disability at any time during the three-year contact period of the study. Those who were not deprived and not withdrawn had more positive self-images than any of the others. The two deprived groups ranked lower on both self-image and mental health. The deprivation measure influenced morale more than social withdrawal. Those from a higher socio-economic status, who were voluntarily withdrawn (as compared to when they were younger), can still maintain a greater amount of social interaction after withdrawal than some groups do without withdrawal.

Filer and O'Connell (1962) suggest that the response to physical symptoms and illness is influenced by social and psychological factors. They studied two groups of men

who had been classified as eliminated from a planned activity program in a domiciliary care unit because of their circumstances. A "useful contribution" climate was established for one of the groups. This experimental group achieved significantly better levels of success in personal appearance, hygiene, friendship, social adjustment, recreation, and leisure time adjustment than did the control group. The disabilities of the two groups were the same. Perhaps there is a sick-role reaction under less favorable social and psychological conditions independent of actual health status.

A recent study on disengagement and morale (Tallmer and Kutner, 1970) used the same morale factor index as did Cumming and Henry (1961) and found that it correlated neither with activity nor with disengagement. They question the scale Cumming and Henry used to measure morale because it is not exactly clear whether it measured apathy or morale. They suggest that the crucial issue centers around the question of volition in the disengagement process. However, other factors are important in morale besides voluntary and involuntary withdrawal since disengagement imposed by illness may still yield satisfactory adjustment.

The research done on disengagement and activity theories, therefore, suggests that they are oversimplified and that other factors such as deprivation or volition in the disengagement process may be more important to adjustment.

This has important implications for a theory of reminiscence. Disengagement theory would predict that disengagement, or withdrawal from society, is related to reminiscence because they are both a turning away from the present which may be brought on by "ego changes" in the individual, by lack of support from society, by the realization of an uncertain future, or by an inability to participate in the present due to physical disabilities. Activity theory, on the other hand, would predict that reminiscence is an activity and it is correlated with higher morale because activity is correlated with higher morale. Activity theory assumes that those who engage in reminiscence would engage in other activities as well. However, since recent research has shown that other factors besides activity level are important to morale, there is a third possibility--that reminiscence is not related to activity level. Perhaps reminiscence is related to some other factor affecting morale. The present study will consider deprivation as well as activity level as possible factors affecting morale and related to reminiscence.

The measures of disengagement (lifespace, interaction index, and role count) do not measure withdrawal from society over time, which can only be measured in a longitudinal study. The measures proposed by Cumming and Henry (see appendix) measure only activity and interaction with others, and therefore the present paper will make hypo-

theses in terms of "activity" rather than "disengagement."

Hypothesis 1:

Deprived subjects should have lower morale than non-deprived subjects. If an individual has been forced to retire, has been widowed within the past 7 years, or has a physical disability, he should have lower morale than an individual who has not had these handicaps.

Hypothesis 2:

Reminiscence should correlate with morale both for deprived and non-deprived subjects. If reminiscence is an adaptive mechanism, then it should correlate with morale when the level of deprivation is held constant.

Hypothesis 3:

The measures of activity should all be negatively correlated with reminiscence. (This hypothesis takes the stand of disengagement theory.)

Hypothesis 4:

Some aspects of the lifespace measure should correlate positively with reminiscence and some aspects should correlate negatively with reminiscence. (This hypothesis is from the standpoint of recent research on disengagement which suggests that there are different kinds of disengagement and that people may not disengage from all aspects of social activity.) Specifically, the number of friends, work, and membership in (non-religious) organizations should be negatively related to reminiscence since these

imply activity, while church membership should be positively related to reminiscence since an interest in religious activities may be related to the same kinds of variables (i.e. the realization of an uncertain future) as reminiscence is.

METHOD

The sample consisted of 60 people ranging in age from 65 to 85 with a median age of 73. The subjects were chosen from the Northwest area of Portland by the administrators of the Northwest Pilot Project. The project maintains contact with older people in the Northwest area and administers to their needs. The subjects were chosen to represent as wide a variety of activity levels as possible. The sample consisted of older persons who were able to hear and communicate well and to talk spontaneously about their lives. An effort was made to choose subjects with no signs of brain damage, memory loss, or personality disorders.

The measures used on this sample were 1) Cumming and Henry's (1961) indices of disengagement--lifespace, interaction, and role count; 2) Lewis' (1971) interview method for measuring reminiscence; 3) Lowenthal and Boler's (1965) measure of deprivation; and 4) Lowenthal and Boler's (1965) morale index. The three indices of disengagement measure different aspects of social activity. Lifespace measures the number of different people seen over a period of a month, the interaction index measures the number of hours per day spent with other people, and the role count measures the number of social roles played by an individual. (See the appendix for a complete description of the dis-

engagement measures.) Lewis' (1971) interview method for measuring reminiscence consists of a taped non-directive interview in which the subjects were asked to talk about what was important in life and what they talked about with other people. A transcription of each interview was analyzed by sentence units, and ratings made by the examiner as to whether the sentences referred to events 5 or more years in the past. The percentage of sentences about the past was recorded for each subject. The three measures of deprivation used in this study were physical disability, widowhood (within the past 7 years), and forced retirement. Lowenthal and Boler's (1965) index of morale can be found in the appendix.

Spearman rank-order correlations will be used to find associations between the variables. The Mann-Whitney U test will be used to find differences between groups of subjects.

RESULTS

The correlations between the major variables are reported in Table I. The role count index of disengagement is not included because the scores on this measure fell within a 4-point interval and thus there was not enough variability to make a meaningful correlation. Furthermore, this index is the least important of the 3 measures of social activity because, while it counts the number of roles played by a subject, it takes no account of how often these roles are played. For example, a person is given a point for belonging to a church even if he never attends. Therefore, this measure was dropped.

TABLE I
INTERCORRELATIONS OF MAJOR VARIABLES

	MORALE	LIFESPACE	INTERACTION INDEX
REMINISCENCE	.74*	.13	.14
MORALE		.41*	-.01
LIFESPACE			-.18
INTERACTION INDEX			

*P < .001, one-tailed test

Examination of the table shows significant relationships between reminiscence and morale, and between lifespace and morale. The two indices of social activity--lifespace and interaction--do not correlate with each other.

One measures the amount of time spent per day with a person (or persons) and the other measures the number of different people interacted with over a period of a month. The correlation between lifespace and reminiscence was not significant, which is important because it shows that the relationship between reminiscence and morale is not due to the relationship between lifespace and morale and vice versa. This is further illustrated by Table II.

TABLE II
PARTIAL CORRELATIONS

VARIABLE 1 = REMINISCENCE
VARIABLE 2 = MORALE
VARIABLE 3 = LIFESPACE
VARIABLE 4 = INTERACTION INDEX

$$r_{12.3} = .76$$

$$r_{12.4} = .75$$

$$r_{13.2} = -.28$$

$$r_{23.1} = .47$$

$$r_{14.2} = .22$$

$$r_{24.1} = -.16$$

Table II shows that the relationship between reminiscence and morale does not depend on lifespace or interaction, and the relationship between lifespace and morale does not depend on reminiscence.

The deprivation measure was found to be important to morale. Deprived subjects had lower morale than did non-

deprived subjects, $t = -2.42$ ($P < .01$). However, there was no difference in reminiscence, $t = .10$. Within the categories of deprived and non-deprived subjects, there was still a strong correlation between reminiscence and morale. For non-deprived subjects, $r_{12} = .64$, and for deprived subjects, $r_{12} = .70$.

Specific aspects of the activity measures are related to reminiscence in table III.

TABLE III
SPECIFIC RELATIONSHIPS TO REMINISCENCE

Workers vs. Non-Workers	$t = -2.20^*$
Church Members vs. Non-Church Members	$t = 1.11$
Members of Organizations vs. Non-Members	$t = .03$
Married vs. Single	$t = .70$
Number of Friends	$r = .21$

* $P < .05$, one-tailed test

No significant sex differences were found on the four major variables. This may be due to the fact that the ratio of single to married men in the sample was the same as the ratio of single to married women in the sample. This is unusual in an elderly population.

It should be noted that the correlation between lifespace and morale (r_{13}) was found to be .13. With morale held constant, however, the partial correlation ($r_{13.2}$) was found to be $-.28$. This significant change can be explained by looking at the correlations between reminiscence and lifespace at different levels of morale. Figures 1-3 are the scattergrams for the correlations between reminiscence

and lifespan at different levels of morale. For the top and middle 20 scores on the morale index, there is a slightly negative correlation between reminiscence and lifespan. For the bottom 20 scores, there is a positive correlation. Thus the relationship between reminiscence and lifespan is not linear, and this explains the unusual partial correlation between reminiscence and lifespan with morale held constant.

Figure 1. Correlation between reminiscence and lifespan for the top 20 morale scores.

Figure 2. Correlation between reminiscence and lifespan for the middle 20 morale scores.

Figure 3. Correlation between reminiscence and lifespaces for the bottom 20 morale scores.

DISCUSSION

The results of this study show the need for a revision of current theories of reminiscence and social activity. Disengagement theory suggests that reminiscence should occur along with disengagement from society, because both are defenses against the lack of support given by society, decreasing capabilities, and the realization of approaching death.

The present study shows no significant correlations between social activity, as measured by the interaction index and lifespace, and reminiscence. The only specific activity that showed a significant relationship to reminiscence is work. However, this is possibly an age effect since the working people are younger than the non-working people. Figure 4 shows the scattergram for the relationship between age and reminiscence for workers and non-workers. The relationship between work and reminiscence may be due to the relationship between age and reminiscence. Therefore, the disengagement theory of reminiscence is not fully supported, because it predicts that reminiscence is related to disengagement from all forms of social activity. In terms of the hypotheses that were made, hypotheses 1 and 2 are supported by the results, but hypothesis 3 is not.

Figure 4. Scattergram for the correlation between reminiscence and age for workers and non-workers.

From the standpoint of activity theory, reminiscence would be related to morale because it is an activity. Activity theory proposes that activity is the best adjustment to old age. While the present study shows a positive correlation between social activity (lifespace) and morale, this is not the major factor in the relationship between reminiscence and morale. The partial correlation $r_{12.3} = .76$ shows that reminiscence is related to morale independently of social activity. Thus reminiscence from the viewpoint of activity theory is also rejected.

A new theory of reminiscence is needed, because the present theories are oversimplified. Several explanations are possible for the correlation between reminiscence and morale. Perhaps those with higher morale have had happier

lives and thus have more to reminisce about. The deprivation measure used in this study showed that the current life situation had no effect on reminiscence. But no research has yet been done relating the past life situation with reminiscence. Another explanation may be that reminiscence helps to put one's life in order and aids in forming a philosophy of life that leads to greater happiness. Several subjects mentioned that they use the past as a "stepping stone."

This study supports the growing body of evidence that activity theory and disengagement theory are oversimplified, not only in their view of reminiscence, but in their basic premises. Other factors besides activity or inactivity are important to morale in old age. The life situation, which includes forced retirement, widowhood, and illness is one variable affecting morale. Other variables also need to be studied. No theory which takes only one variable into account can ever fully explain adaptation in old age. More elaborate theories are needed. Social activity, reminiscence, present life situation, past life situation, and life-long personality patterns are some of the variables which must be considered.

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APPENDIX

Interaction Index

The interaction index is a subjective judgement based on detailed responses to the question, "I would like you to tell me what a typical day is like for you." and, "What is a typical weekend like?" Scores are assigned on the basis of the amount of time each day spent in situations where others could exercise normative controls over his behavior. However, in the present study we shall use the amount of each day spent in any form of interaction with others.

Lifespace Measure

The lifespace measure consists of the following questions:

1. How many people live here? Frequency score: Assuming daily interaction with each other person in the household, each person (other than the respondent) listed is multiplied by 30 (days).

2. What relatives do you feel closest to? How often do you get together with these relatives? Frequency score: Each relative mentioned is given a score as follows:

If seen every day score 30
If seen once a week score 4
If seen a few times a month score 3
If seen once a month score 1
If seen anything less score 0

3. How many people that you know do you consider close friends--that is, people you can confide in and talk over personal matters with? Now take the friends you are closest to, about how often do you get together with these friends? Frequency score: Same as for relatives.

4. Now, about the people you see for specific purposes--like storekeepers, bus drivers, waiters, salespeople, and so on. About how many of these do you see fairly regularly, would you say? Frequency score: Number stated X 4 (assuming respondents thought in terms of number seen per week).

5. What neighbors do you know best? How often do you get together with these neighbors. Frequency score: Same as for relatives.

6. In the course of a day's work, about how many people do you see and talk to? Frequency score: Number stated X 20 (assuming daily interaction, approximately 20 days per month).

Sum the above 6 elements to get the lifespan score.

Role Count

The score was developed by summing the following elements:

1. Number in household: If only one person other than the respondent lives in the household count 1. If none, count 0. If 2 or more, count 2.

2. Relatives: For each category of relative mentioned, count 1. If none, count 0.
3. Friends: Count 1 if any friends are mentioned.
4. Neighbors: as for friends.
5. Fellow workers: Score 1 if employed, 0 if unemployed.
6. Specific people: Score 1 if any mentioned, 0 if none.
7. Church: Score 1 for membership, 0 if not a member.
8. Organizations: Score 1 for each attended, 0 if none.

Lowenthall and Boler's Index of Morale

Score is the rank-order number of items:

1. On the whole, how satisfied would you say you are with your way of life today? (not very)
2. All in all, how much happiness would you say you find in life today? (none)
3. In general, how would you say you feel most of the time, in good spirits or in low? (sometimes or usually low)
4. How often do you get the feeling that your life today is not very useful? (often)
5. How are your spirits lately? (low or erratic)
6. Have you felt so bad in the past year that you thought life wasn't worth living? (yes)

7. Do you find you are less interested lately in things like your personal appearance and table manners and things like that? (yes)

8. How much do you plan ahead the things that you will be doing the next week or the week after? (almost no plans)

9. How often do you find yourself feeling blue? (sometimes or often)

10. How often do you get upset by the things that happen in your day-to-day life? (often or sometimes)

11. Have you noticed that you sometimes feel very irritable and impatient? (yes)

12. Have there been times during the past year or so that you've felt very worried for no particular reason? (yes)

13. I'd like to live another 20 years. (disagree)

14. I'd rather die than grow older. (agree)