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The Daily Life of the Average Japanese Senior Citizen

1. PREFACE

There have been many surveys taken of the daily lives of elderly citizens. In general, they were made in order to provide countermeasures for small income earners and bedridden elders who compose 10 per cent of the entire group.

It is attempted here in "The Daily Life of the Average Japanese Senior Citizen" to show conditions of the average elderly person, which covers 80 per cent of the whole senior citizen group. The remaining 10 per cent belong to the moneyed class.

2. AVERAGE SENIOR CITIZENS

With the increase of age, one individualizes the way of one's daily living. They do not lead a uniformed, daily life; for example, the time to get up, the relations between himself and those with whom he lives, differences in taste of food, ways to make use of their spare time, physical changes, mental changes, etc.

Though all the elderly, we see in streets, may be grey-haired in appearance and slow in movement, there are great differences in quality in the details of their lives.

The "average senior citizens" discussed here are the Japanese, middle-ranked, aged general public whom we see in shopping streets, or who are visiting spas or health resorts for relaxation.

It is difficult for a public organization (statutory body) to approach these elders, so the writer took the opportunity and decided to select elderly people who live next door to the students of women's colleges with which the writer has a relationship, so that, at any rate, they would willingly answer the questions in detail about their lives when the students approached

and asked them.

As a rule, not only the elderly but also the entire Japanese are apt to reject answering questions on money matters for an investigation. However, when girl student of her acquaintance visits, or when a girl student's relative asks questions, she can get frank answers beyond expectation though her personal and neighbourly approach. Although the writer does not think this investigation perfect, I think it is the first attempt to obtain knowledge on the lives of average senior citizens such has never been done in Japan before.

Women's colleges which took part in the investigation were Kobe College and Ootemae Women's College.

(1) The Method of the Investigation

I requested the girl students to select the elderly people whom they could personally interview during the period from January to November in 1972, and they interviewed according to the face sheets done by me.

(2) Residential areas of these people are mostly in Osaka and Kobe. There are also some other places which students selected when returning home for their summer vacation: but these are few.

(3) Age

Persons over 60 were tentatively selected.

3. RÉSUMÉ OF THE INVESTIGATION

(1) The Number Subjected to the Survey

Table I

	Number				
	Sex \ Age	60's	70's	80's	Total
Subject (elders)	Male	53(43%)	72(44%)	25(43%)	150(43%)
	Female	69(57%)	93(56%)	33(57%)	195(57%)
	Total	122(100%)	165(100%)	58(100%)	345(100%)

As you can see in Table I, above, the total number is 345, 43 per cent are male and 57 per cent female.

(2) Previous Work Record (Table II)

As the greater number are from Osaka and Kobe, large cities, most of them had had trades as their occupation, followed by office work, and then factory workers. The reason the number of operatives is small is that operatives were only a few whom girl students could approach. In comparison, the number of civil servants (schoolteachers) is large, which shows that girl students are closely related to elderly people who belong to intellectual group.

Next, the majority of the females had been engaged in housework as housewives. Fewer of them had been engaged in trades and agriculture. That there are 13 female senior citizens who had been civil servants (schoolteachers) shows also the real aspect of elderly females who live where girl students can approach them.

Table II Work Record in Youth

Occupation in Youth \ Age		Male				Female			
		60's (53)	70's (72)	80's (25)	Total (150)	60's (69)	70's (93)	80's (33)	Total (195)
Categories	Tradesman	14	19	6	39	8	20	7	35
	Factory worker	3	26 ⁽¹⁾	1	30	1	1	—	2
	Office worker	14	15	5	34	1	2	—	3
	Farmer	8	13	7 ⁽¹⁾	28	9	14	9	32
	Operative	2	2	—	4	—	1	—	1
	Civil servant (including schoolteacher)	6	10	3	19	5	6	2	13
	Housework	—	—	—		44	53	15	112
	Home side job worker	—	—	—		2	4	1	7
	And others	8	8 ⁽²⁾	5	21	5	2	1	8

(1): (Includes duplication)

(2): (Construction workers, etc.)

(3) Present Occupation (Table III)

Among male 60's, 88 per cent are working. The percentage decreases to 44 per cent among 70's, and among 80's only few work.

As it is particularly difficult to help the seniors over 70 to find jobs, more effort should be made to find jobs to recommend to these people over 70 years old.

Females in the 60's have already been compulsively retired, though 15 per cent of them still wish to work.

Some elderly females age more than males due to their consciousness that they have no place in the labour market.

The chief requirement is the provision of jobs for the senior citizens especially among male 70's and female 60's. Otherwise, they need work in Sheltered Workshops.

Table III

		Male			
Present Work		60's(53)	70's(72)	80's(25)	Total(150)
Classification	Working now	36(88%)	24(44%)	4(17%)	64(54%)
	Can work but no work	3(7%)	11(20%)	1(1%)	15(13%)
	Cannot work	1(2.5%)	6(11%)	12(52%)	19(16%)
	Do not want to work	1(2.5%)	13(24%)	7(30%)	20(17%)

		Female			
Present Work		60's(69)	70's(93)	80's(33)	Total(195)
Classification	Working now	20(38%)	29(37%)	4(13%)	53(33%)
	Can work but no work	8(15%)	7(9%)	—	15(9%)
	Cannot work	10(19%)	24(31%)	22(71%)	56(35%)
	Do not want to work	9(17%)	18(23%)	5(16%)	32(20%)
	Unknown	6(11%)	—	—	6(3%)

One should be careful to note here that not all of them who answered they were "working now" were at work, nor getting wages. For instance in one case, a certain aged male means by "working now" that he is helping in his son's shop, and a certain aged female means that she is helping take care of the housework of a household.

We may interpret those who answered "can work but no work" and "do not want to work" that they expressed their will to work for the purpose of getting an income.

On the survey of the senior citizens under "working now," some of those who go to work once a week on a part-time basis will answer they are "working now." We can include the senior citizens who work on "time-free occupations" into which age does not enter, such as, keeping a boarding house, management of apartment house, shop care-taker, farmer, custodian of real property, judicial scrivener (a notary). Looking at answers of those among the 80's who answered "working now," some, for example, by going to an office three times a week as unsalaried staff member of a social organization.

(4) Widows and Widowers

Both male and female seniors lose their partners by death as they grow old.

That 58 per cent of the female 60-s have no partners makes us feel the necessity of helping them to get married.

Table IV

Male					
		60's(53)	70's(72)	80's(25)	Total(150)
Life partner	Have (1)	47(89%)	52(72%)	12(48%)	111(74%)
	Do not have (2)	6(11%)	26(28%)	13(52%)	39(26%)

		Female			
		60's(69)	70's(93)	80's(33)	Total(195)
Life partner	Have (1)	29(42%)	24(26%)	6(18%)	59(30%)
	Do not have (2)	40(58%)	69(74%)	27(82%)	136(70%)

(1): (Unknown first or second marriage)

(2): (Includes widowed or separated by death)

Half of the elderly males in 80's and females in 60's have no partners.

(5) Co-inhabitants (Family groups)

Among male 70's, 25 per cent are living alone with their wives, and among 80's, 28 per cent. Perhaps, many male 80's have remarried.

In 60's, both male and female elderly people have unmarried sons and daughters to support.

Table V

		Male			
		60's(53)	70's(72)	80's(25)	Total(150)
Co-inhabitants	None (living alone)	—	(4%)	(16%)	(5%)
	Alone with his wife	(47%)	(25%)	(23%)	(33%)
	With unmarried son and daughter	(19%)	(8%)	—	(11%)
	With his son and his wife	(28%)	(43%)	(44%)	(38%)
	With his daughter and her husband	(4%)	(10%)	(12%)	(8%)
	With others (with his brothers or sisters)	(2%)	(3%)	—	(5%)

		Female			
		60's(53)	70's(72)	80's(25)	Total(150)
Co-inhabitants	None (living alone)	(10%)	(15%)	(18%)	(14%)
	Alone with her husband	(15%)	(5%)	(6%)	(9%)
	With unmarried son and daughter	(17%)	(8%)	(18%)	(13%)
	With her son and her husband	(35%)	(53%)	(55%)	(40%)
	With her daughter and her husband	(16%)	(9%)	(12%)	(15%)
	With others (with her brothers or sisters)	(7%)	(10%)	(1%)	(9%)

As many female 60's have lost their partners, they live with married sons or daughters. In the case of elderly women, many live with their unmarried daughters even those in their 80's, which reveals the intimacy and strength of the relationship between mother and daughter. The fact that an unmarried daughter is taking care of her old mother in the 80's may mean that the daughter missed her opportunity to marry because of the war, and in a son's case because he is divorced. Both daughters and sons are over 45 years of age.

The three-generation family, in which an elder lives with his married son or daughter, has been the most usual family formation in the old pattern of Japanese traditional eldest-son-inheritance. But, lately, especially because of post-war social situations, not all elderly people can expect to live with their sons.

You can see in Table VI, the result of a precise analysis of elderly people who live with their married children.

Table VI

	Male				Female			
	60's	70's	80's	Total	60's	70's	80's	Total
Live with a child	17	3	14	69	35	57	22	114
includes [with his son and his wife	88%	82%	79%	83%	69%	86%	82%	76%
includes [with his daughter and her husband	12%	18%	21%	17%	31%	14%	18%	24%
Live with a grandchild	4	25	11	40	13	32	13	63
	24%	66%	79%	58%	51%	56%	59%	53%

If an aged female lives with her daughter and her husband, she will not have young-wife and mother-in-law problem and will have a peaceful daily life.

One reason an aged male lives with his daughter and her husband can be supposed that he subsidizes their domestic economy.

The general understanding is that the economically wealthy male living with his daughter and her husband will contribute financially and the female in 60's will help take care of her grandchildren.

(6) Cultural Life

According to this investigation, only 4 to 6 per cent of senior citizens do not possess television sets.

		Male	Female
T. V. set	Have	94%	96%
	Do not have	6%	4%

As to subscription of newspaper, the result of survey is as follows;

	Male				Female			
	60's	70's	80's	Total	60's	70's	80's	Total
Taking	98%	94%	87%	94%	96%	94%	84%	93%
Not taking	2%	6%	13%	6%	4%	6%	16%	7%

In the 80's, 13 to 16 per cent of both male and female do not subscribe to a newspaper by the month. Regarding this point, no answers were shown, in the past investigation into the culture of senior citizens, with the question: "Do you often read newspapers?"; which is as follows:

Answers to above question	Male				Female			
	60's	70's	80's	Total	60's	70's	80's	Total
No answers	2.5%	4.8%	8.3%	3.8%	7.7%	7.8%	16.0%	9.3%

(Feb., 1972. Investigation of seniors in Sumiyoshi District, Osaka City.)

In the result of the investigation in Sumiyoshi District, as you see above, 16 per cent of female 80's gave on answers. This does not mean that it does not take a newspaper. For reference, we may suggest that the number of 13 to 16 per cent approximates to the figure of senior citizens living

alone (Refer to Table V), 16 to 18 per cent. Namely, solitary elderly people in 80's may think that to subscribe to a newspaper alone is wasteful.

With regard to telephones, they are not so wide spread in our country as in other progressive countries.

Our survey shows that 87 per cent of males and 85 per cent of females possess telephones. Especially, telephones are convenient with the increase of age, but the fact is contrary. It is possible for elderly people to have contact with the outside world through the use of telephones, inspite of physical incapacitation of the legs and decrease of opportunities to have social communication. Therefore, a policy of installing telephones at public expense is taken up. Actually, welfare telephones are lent to bedridden senior citizens in some regions.

		Male				Female			
		60's	70's	80's	Total	60's	70's	80's	Total
Tele- phone	Possess	95%	85%	78%	87%	83%	80%	71%	85%
	Do not possess	5%	15%	22%	13%	17%	20%	29%	15%

It is clear that aged females are leading needy and inconvenient lives culturally, compared with males.

As the present writer mentioned above, the average senior citizen's cultural life is said to be poor. In social welfare for senior citizens, financial fulfillment, (for example, pension, allowance etc.) is the essential point, and next in priority life under comfortable circumstance and senior citizens approach to modern culture should be taken up as important considerations.

(7) Pocket Money (Table VII)

Sources of seniors' pocket money are (a) money earned by himself, (b) money presented by children, (c) income through stocks or property,

(d) public funds, such as pension.

The number of males who are given pocket money increases rapidly after over 70. It shows lowering of resources because of unemployment, and the increase of sons' and daughters' understanding and economic aid to their parents. As they grow older more of both sexes are provided with pocket money.

Table VII Pocket Money

		Male			
		60's(53)	70's(72)	80's(25)	Total(150)
Receiving		25(47%)	49(68%)	18(72%)	92(61%)
Pocket Money	From a son with whom he is living	11(1)	20(1)	10(1)	41(1)
	From a wife of a son living together	2	4	2	8
	From a daughter living together	2	5	2	9
	From a son living apart	7(2)	11(2)	2	20(2)
	From a wife of a son living apart	1	6	3(3)	10
	From a daughter living apart	4(3)	10(3)	4(2)	18(3)
	From brothers and sisters	2	1	—	3
	From others	3	2	—	5
Not receiving		28(53%)	23(32%)	7(28%)	38(39%)

		Female			
		60's(69)	70's(93)	80's(33)	Total(195)
Receiving		52(75%)	73(78%)	27(82%)	152(78%)
Pocket Money	From a son with whom she is living	22(1)	27(1)	10(1)	59(1)
	From a wife of a son living together	12(2)	16(2)	5(3)	33(2)
	From a daughter living together	8	14	—	22
	From a son living apart	10(3)	15(3)	7(2)	32(3)
	From a wife of a son living apart	6	8	2	10
	From a daughter living apart	10(3)	15(3)	7(2)	32(3)
	From brothers and sisters	—	2	2	4
	From others	3	3	2	8
Not receiving		17(25%)	20(22%)	6(18%)	43(22%)

(1), (2) stand for the larger number of cases.

Many aged females obtain pocket money from wives of their sons with whom they are living; in relations between a young wife and her mother-in-law, we can see they are making an effort to approach a natural parent-and-child relation. Many females receive support from their sons living apart. It shows that the relations between sons' wives and their mothers-in-law are shallow. As regards qualification for employment, it is difficult for females in their 60's to find jobs, so they need to receive pocket money from the children. Not all the elders who do not receive pocket money are in need of it, because some of them have property and pension.

As there are many, both among males and females, who live with their own son, many sons hand pocket money directly to the elders as a matter of course. But in cases where the elders live with their real daughters and their husbands, the number of cases in which the daughter gives her old parent pocket money is small. The reason why daughters do not give can be understood in that few females in the 80's appear to need pocket money. Daughters tend to buy daily requirements for their elderly mothers, or go shopping with them and pay for their purchases, which eliminates the need for pocket money.

When old parents are in their 80's, their own daughters are about 50, and so they are housewives who hold power over domestic economy. Though some of them live apart from their parents, most male and female elderly people receive pocket money from sons primarily and from daughters secondly, because the daughters (50's) are holding power over the household management.

Few females with husbands get pocket money from sons or daughters, but many from their own husbands.

(8) When do Elderly get Pocket Money?

Both males and females obtain a certain amount monthly.

Seniors' Day on the 15th of September has become grander and grander annually as a social event, and the meaning of the day comes to be accepted at home when male seniors are over 70. That is, males are accepted as elderly (indicated by their impression) when they are over 70 years of age.

Over 70, aged males may get pocket money offered when they go on a trip, but in 60's, they do not, because their children think they are able to go on a trip at their own expense.

According to this survey, parents' birthdays are not recognized, but pocket money is habitually given them on the Festival of the Dead(Bon).

Also, for aged females, New Year's Day is still the occasion to receive New Year's monetary present.

Regarding the significance of Father's Day, Mother's Day and Seniors' Day, the latter is more wide spread among aged males and is better known to everybody than Father's Day. And among females, Mother's Day as well as Seniors' Day is a family event.

When the elderly people go on a trip, it offers them a good opportunity for getting pocket money. Aged females are happy at New Year's time, and males look forward to the month of their son's bonus.

Table IX Opportunities to Get Pocket Money

Opportunities for male seniors are shown in order of the number of persons and times.

	Male			
	60's(53)	70's(72)	80's(25)	Total(150)
Receiving a certain amount monthly	31(1)	26(1)	12(1)	69
When sons (daughters) get bonus	6(2)	10	2	18
On New Year's Day	5(3)	9	3	17
When he goes on a trip	3	11(3)	3	17

	Male			
	60's(53)	70's(72)	80's(25)	Total(150)
On Senior's Day	2	12(2)	2	16
On Festival of the Dead (Bon)	3	6	3	12
When a son visits	5(3)	5	2	12
When a daughter visits	3	6	2	11
When he visited son's or daughter's house	1	6	2	9
On his birthday	3	4	1	8
On Father's Day	1	6	1	6
When daughter-in-law comes	2	1	2	5
When he helps	—	—	—	—
And others (including when his daughter's husband comes)	1	4	4	9

Table IX Opportunities to Get Pocket Money

Opportunities for female seniors are shown in order of the number of persons and times.

	Female			
	60's(69)	70's(93)	80's(33)	Total(195)
Receiving a certain amount monthly	27(1)	45(1)	15(1)	87
On New Year's Day	9(3)	16(2)	12(2)	37
When she goes on a trip	4(2)	14(4)	5	33
When sons (daughters) get bonus	4(2)	15(3)	3	32
On Festival of the Dead (bon)	7	12	9(3)	28

	Female			
	60's(69)	70's(93)	80's(33)	Total(195)
When a daughter visits	5	16(2)	7(4)	28
On Senior's Day	8	11	5	24
When she visited son's or daughter's house	2	16(2)	5	23
On Mother's Day	6	13	3	22
When a son visits	6	8	3	17
On her birthday	5	4	1	10
When daughter-in-law comes	5	4	—	9
When she helps	1	—	2	3
And others (including when her daughter's husband comes)	4	3	2	9

The amount of pocket money from son is large, but only occasional.

That from daughter-in-law and daughters is small, but frequent.

When elderly people receive pocket money there is a great psychological effect. Pocket money provides not simply financial but also mental satisfaction for those who receive it: so the elderly get joy in receiving.

(9) Usage of Pocket Money

You can see the figures of the senior citizens' use of the pocket money in Table X. Expenditure on grandchildren and on traveling occur frequently among both males and females. The most unpopular expense listed is the cinema. Medicine shows a high ratio, and it is ranked fifth in the case of males in their 70's and females' in the 60's.

Use of pocket money differs between male and female. For males, high ranking is as follows: tobacco, barber, membership fee of social groups, and alcohol. But there are many differences in the age stratum as follows:

Table X Use of Pocket Money

According to age	Male			
	60's (53)	70's (72)	80's (25)	Total (150)
Usage of Pocket Money				
1. Clothes	7(9)	11	7(4)	25(12)
2. Underclothes	7(9)	8	6	21(15)
3. Tobacco	30(1)	41(1)	8(3)	79(1)
4. Alcohol	16(5)	18(6)	7	41(6)
5. Sweets	6	14(9)	11(2)	31(8)
6. Books	12(6)	12	2	26(11)
7. Pocket money for grandchildren	18	25	5	48
8. Present for grandchildren	11	9	2	22
9. Fee for hobbies	6	8	3	17
10. Fee for social group	9(7)	25(4)	8(3)	42(5)
11. Traveling expenses	18(4)	25(4)	6	49(4)
12. Theater	5	9	—	14
13. <i>Manzai</i> (Comic dialogue), <i>Rakugo</i> (Comic story-telling)	5	3	—	8
14. Movie	8	2	—	5
15. Temple visiting (Transportation fee, monetary offering)	7(8)	15(8)	7(4)	29(10)
16. Cosmetics	3	—	—	3
17. Medicine	8(9)	22(5)	11(2)	41(6)
18. Massage, <i>Yaito</i> (moxa-cautery)	8(8)	5	3	16
19. Postcards, stamps	8(8)	17(7)	7(4)	32(7)
20. Stationery	7(9)	8	2	17
21. Hobby materials	8(8)	12	3	23(13)
22. Pet feed expenses	4	4	2	10
23. Barber	21(3)	30(3)	12(1)	63(3)
24. Pinball	5	7	—	12
25. Footwears	5	5	4	14
26. Dining (with friends)	9(7)	12	1	22(14)
27. Offering	6	13(10)	7(4)	30(9)
28. Savings	9(7)	11	8(3)	30(9)
29. And others	2	7	5	14

According to age	Female			
	60's (69)	70's (93)	80's (33)	Total (195)
Usage of Pocket Money				
1. Clothes	23(3)	19(9)	6(6)	48(8)
2. Underclothes	20(6)	21(8)	5(7)	46(9)
3. Tobacco	3	12	3	18
4. Alcohol	3	2	1	6
5. Sweets	15(9)	27(5)	17(2)	50(5)
6. Books	8	4	1	13
7. Pocket money for grandchildren	26	44	18	88
8. Present for grandchildren	15	18	2	35
9. Fee for hobbies	15(9)	13	3	31(12)
10. Fee for social group	19(7)	21(8)	3	48(10)
11. Traveling expenses	27(2)	26(6)	4	57(6)
12. Theater	10	10	4	24
13. <i>Manzai</i> (Comic dialogue), <i>Rakugo</i> (Comic story telling)	4	7	2	13
14. Movie	—	2	—	2
15. Temple visiting (Transportation fee, monetary offering)	22(4)	47(2)	15(3)	84(3)
16. Cosmetics	9	6	3	18
17. Medicine	23(3)	30(4)	10(5)	63(4)
18. Massage, <i>Yaito</i> (moxa-cautery)	5	15	3	23
19. Postcards, stamps	12(10)	13	3	16
20. Stationery	6	6	2	14
21. Hobby materials	7	13	—	20
22. Pet feed expenses	3	5	2	10
23. Beauty saloon	15(9)	18(10)	5(7)	38(11)
24. Pinball	—	—	—	—
25. Footwears	21(5)	18(10)	4	43(10)
26. Dining (with friends)	10	12	1	23
27. Offering	23(3)	43(3)	20(1)	86(2)
28. Savings	16(8)	25(7)	11(4)	52(7)
29. And others	2	6	2	10

Order	Male		
	60's	70's	80's
(1)	Tobacco	Tobacco	Barber
(2)	Consumption for grandchildren	Consumption for grandchildren	Medicine, sweets
(3)	Barber	Barber	Tobacco, Fee for social group, Saving
(4)	Traveling expenses	Fee for traveling group (socially)	Consumption for grandchildren, Temple visiting, Postcards and stamps, Offering
(5)	Alcohol	Medicine	
(6)	Books	Alcohol	
(7)	Savings, Fee for social group, Dining with friends	Postcards and stamps	
(8)	Medicine, Massage, Postcards, Hobby materials	Temple visiting	
(9)	Clothes, Under-clothes, Temple visiting, Stationery	Sweets	
(10)	Sweets, Offering, Fee for hobbies	Offering	

If we consider financial policies for senior citizens in the light of this it is clear that reduced prices for tobacco and for barbers fees, which they visit on average once a month, are necessary. In the 60's and 70's traveling and alcohol rank high in expenditure but in the 80's sweets and medicine are especially noticable. The 80's also tend to save the money they would have spent on travelling which seems to indicate increasing insecurity as physical strength decreases.

If they begin to save money when money seems to be the only factor they can rely upon and feel that if they have money their families will look after them well.

Next, you can see the ranking of the aged females' use of pocket money as follows.

In female 60's, expense on traveling, clothes, underclothes, etc., reflects their womanliness. We can see it also in the 70's and 80's, but not so markedly as in 60's. Medicine is often a great expense for them. They are looking forward to traveling in 60's and 70's, but less so in 80's. However aged females who were born in the Meiji Era and therefore have strict thoughts for ancestor worship, and mourn late their husband, visit temples and make offerings a great deal. Aged females hampered by physical insecurity attach great importance to savings.

Order	Female		
	60's	70's	80's
(1)	Consumption for grandchildren	Consumption for grandchildren	Consumption for grandchildren, Offering
(2)	Traveling expenses	Temple visiting	Sweets
(3)	Clothes, Medicine, Offering	Offering	Temple visiting
(4)	Temple visiting	Medicine	Savings
(5)	Footwears	Sweets	Medicine
(6)	Underclothes	Traveling expenses	Clothes
(7)	Fee for social group	Savings	Underclothes, Beauty saloon
(8)	Savings	Underclothes, Fee for social group	Traveling expenses, Theater, Footwears
(9)	Fee for hobbies, Beauty saloon, Sweets	Clothes	
(10)	Postcards and stamps	Beauty saloon, Footwears	

The self-respect involved in going to beauty saloons, and maintaining feminine elegance can be the same characteristic as to men's visits to barbers. But while men go to barbers once a month, women go to beauty saloons (hair setting) once in three months: the number of visits is smaller. With the increase of age, sweets ranks high in place of men's tobacco and alcohol.

It can be said generally that senior citizens in cities have wide-diversified use of pocket money because of their wide association-area, while elderly people in agricultural areas have narrower use.

In comparing the elder's pocket money with a youth's pocket money, it is pointed out that students do side jobs to gain pocket money to entertain themselves. As a rule, the youth's pocket money is used for his own pleasure. The elderly receive pleasure in giving pocket money to their grandchildren. There is a need that the wise use of pocket money should be taught to elderly people.

Senior citizens take much pleasure in seeing grandchildren's pleased faces than in buying what they themselves want. But babies and children about six months will not show pleasure! So we can comprehend that the elders are indirectly reinforcing their psychological relationship with son, daughter-in-law, or daughter by buying something for the grandchildren.

To buy things, and to plan what he will buy, is one of a human beings' great pleasure. Also for senior citizens it is an additional pleasure as proof, that he is living and able to go shopping.

The pleasure of the elderly with little pocket money is decreased proportionately in quantity and quality.

(10) Correspondence (Table XI), (Table XII)

Concerning correspondence the writer was able to secure information from only 280 of those interviewed.

We may take it that correspondence shows social communication. The elderly seldom write to a wide circle of correspondents. We can find some who do in 60's and 70's, both males and females, but correspondents of females in the 80's are mainly their children and relatives.

Table XI The Realities of Correspondence

(Note): "Others" includes daughters' husbands.

Sex		Male				Female			
According to age		60's (41)	70's (54)	80's (23)	Total (118)	60's (53)	70's (87)	80's (31)	Total (162)
Do you receive letters or postcards?	Often	54%	30%	26%	37%	25%	32%	23%	28%
	Sometimes	34%	42%	61%	44%	43%	49%	39%	45%
	Rarely	12%	28%	13%	19%	32%	19%	38%	27%

Sex		Male				Female			
According to age		60's (41)	70's (54)	80's (23)	Total (118)	60's (53)	70's (78)	80's (31)	Total (162)
From whom?	From sons and dau- ghters	22	13	11	46	15	23	9	47
	Grandchil- dren	2	1	2	5	4	2	4	10
	Relatives	10	11	3	24	14	13	10	37
	Son's wife	—	2	—	2	2	4	—	6
	Friends	12	7	3	22	7	15	—	22
	Others	7	8	3	18	5	11	1	17

As male 60's have retired recently from active service, they have much correspondence with their friends, but those in 80's have less because of their friends' death. There are only few cases reported where the son's wife corresponds with her father-in-law.

We consider next, whether the elderly write letters or not. They report that they are unwilling to write because they have failing eye-sight and hands trembling with age. Many answer that they write back long after they receive letters, or many "do not write."

Table XII Correspondents of the Elderly

(Note): "To others" includes letters for T.V. quiz, etc.

Sex		Male				Female			
According to age		60's (41)	70's (54)	80's (23)	Total (118)	60's (53)	70's (78)	80's (31)	Total (162)
Do you write letters?	Write often	15	11	3	29	13	16	4	33
	Write some- times	16	17	7	40	13	20	4	37
	Do not write	10	24	12	46	27	34	23	84

Sex		Male				Female			
According to age		60's (41)	70's (54)	80's (23)	Total (118)	60's (53)	70's (78)	80's (31)	Total (162)
To whom?	To sons and daughters	12	13	2	27	6	13	5	24
	To grand children	—	2	1	3	1	3	1	5
	To relatives	14	5	1	20	10	6	2	18
	To son's wife	—	1	—	1	2	2	—	4
	To friends	4	9	1	14	6	8	—	14
	To others	4	8	2	14	9	5	—	14

In the comparison of the Table "From whom do you receive letters?" with "To whom do you write letters?" which you can see above, the intentions to write to elders (the 80's) are few, because they do not write back: we may say that they became lazy writers.

(11) Travels (Table XIII)

The majority of senior citizens get monthly pocket money, and the largest opportunity for getting more is "When he (an elderly person) goes on a trip."

A certain elderly man said that he thinks himself happy to have such a good son when he receives pocket money from him to go on a journey, even though the amount of it is only five thousand yen: the old parent enjoys the warmth that the usual constraints with the child dissolves on such

occasions. And among three-generation families in which young wives and their parents-in-law live together, there are some families where sons advise their old parents to go on a journey for a while to bring psychological relief.

Not all the senior citizens are leading happy lives as regards economy, physical strength, and family relations. In our survey there were 32 per cent of both males and females who did not make overnight trips through the year. Some of these elderly people do not like to go on a trip, some hesitate to go in recent years because they get sick from the smell of bus carbon monoxide.

As you can see in the next table, 68 per cent of males and females made overnight trips more than once through the year. Their destinations were mostly to spas, secondly to temples, and rarely to mountains and seashores.

Table XIII Overnight Trips

Sex		Male				Female			
According to age		60's (53)	70's (72)	80's (25)	Total (150)	60's (69)	70's (93)	80's (33)	Total (195)
Those who made overnight trips last year		40	51	11	102	48	65	20	133
		75%	70%	44%	68%	69%	70%	61%	68%
Destination	Spas	28	37	8	73	44	41	10	95
	Temples	9	16	10	35	15	33	9	57
	Relatives' and others	8	9	3	20	19	14	7	40
	Mountains	3	—	1	4	3	4	—	7
	Seashores	4	1	—	5	2	—	1	3
Those who did not make overnight trips		13	21	14	48	21	28	13	62
		25%	30%	56%	32%	29%	30%	39%	32%

On the whole, widows go on long journeys.

In these days when the standard of living developed so much, senior citizens, too, try to increase the comfort and quality of living through spending

money. But with the devaluation of money because of inflation, there is a growing concern in how best to use money for enjoyment. This explains why there is an increase in those who make overnight trips to spas. For example, food markets hand credit tickets when we buy something, and when several thousand are collected they take the holder on an overnight trip. Elderly people look forward to this, so there are many senior citizens among holiday-makers on food market trips.

For those who are over fifty on retirement after working most of their lives with sweat and labour, the best way to enjoy the rest of their lives is to start by going on a journey, to be free from family responsibilities to see the sights of unknown places, to make friends with those of the same age, and to talk about old days and laugh with them without restraint while traveling. Elderly people go on a trip in a party or group, while youths prefer to go with a friend or two.

When the writer organized a traveling group of senior citizens to Europe during the last two weeks in March, 1973, the make-up of the party was as follows;

Age	Male	Female	Total
50—54	2	8	10
55—59	2	6	8
60—64	6	12	18
65—69	17	18	35
70—74	18	4	22
Over 75	12	5	17
Total	57	53	110

When the writer asked, white and blue collared workers before their retirement how they would use their annuities, those who did not have their own homes answered that their primary wish was to have a house where they could settle down, and next, to go abroad with their wives on their

retirement annuity after their long working lives. But only 20 per cent of them did as they wished. The other 80 per cent could not realize their desired plans. One of the reasons why they gave up the plans was that they could not find reasonable tours for traveling abroad by middle-aged couples.

(12) Seniors' Wishes

Seniors who expressed some kinds of wishes were as follows;

Age	Male				Female			
	60's	70's	80's	Total	60's	70's	80's	Total
(1)	71%	78%	76%	75%	73%	74%	82%	75%
(2)	24%	18%	14%	20%	25%	21%	18%	22%
No answers	5%	4%	10%	5%	2%	5%	—	3%

(1): Those who expressed wishes

(2): Those satisfied with the present conditions.

Few are content with the present conditions: over 70 per cent of each age both male and female express their views, that, is, some wishes, and hopes for improvements.

These expressions of their desires constitute a frank criticism of our society, public office (administration), medical treatment, children, and management of seniors' clubs.

A. Social Wishes

Classification of wishes	Primary age
Want senior citizen's welfare pension for all the elders	Many among 60's and 70's
Want the increase of pension	Many among 60's and 70's
Want construction of seniors' citizen nursing home and apartments	Many among senior citizens who live with children
Want stabilization of prices	Many among aged females
Want to talk with youths	Many among 70's who live alone with their life partners

Classification of wishes	Primary age
Want to get jobs	Many among aged male from 60 to 70
Want to have occupation consulting office	Aged males in 60's
Want delay of retirement age	Aged males in 70's
Want to have seniors' citizen college in agricultural area	Females in 60's
Want to have more seniors' citizen colleges	Many among males and females from 60 to 70
Want to have more seniors' colleges though they be charged	Males in 70's
Want cheap nursing homes whose boarding fee is about 10 thousand yen	Females in 60's
Want to have free telephone service for all the seniors' houses	Males and females in 60's, females in 70's
Want to remove traffic pollution	Many through all ages

B. Wishes to Public Office (Administration)

Classification of wishes	Primary age
Want equality grant for seniors' welfare pension	Males in 70's
Want to have a slide form of pension to correspond with prices	Females in 70's
Want changes in the forms of public office's documents, letters, and the explanation method, so as elderly can be able to understand	Many among males in 60's
Want civic servants to wrestle with public duties positively	Males in 70's
Want overbearing civic servants to be more kind to senior citizens	Males and females in 70's

Classification of wishes	Primary age
Want municipal means of transportation to be free of charge	Outside Osaka City
Want transportation fee of elderly over 70 to be cut by half	Above 65 desires for adoption (Females)
Want light seniors' exercises to be made	Males in 60's
Want open ground with sun and lawn	Males and females in 60's
Want to have more places for seniors' citizen relaxation	Males in 60's and 70's
Want elderlies' taxes to be rebated	Males in 60's
Want seniors' education to be held once a month	Males in 60's
Want free bus fee for elderly to go to seniors' club and college	Females in 70's
Want increase of official subsidy for seniors' club	Males in 60's

C. Wishes regarding Children

Classification of wishes	Primary age
Want them to have more attentive thoughts toward elderly	Males and females in 60's and 70's, females in 80's
Want to have dwellings (self contained flats) so he (she) can live apart from the children	Males in 60's, females in 80's
Want them not importune (beg) him for pocket money	Males in 60's
Want them not to desert parents	Females in 60's
Want them to make the habit to offer their seats to elderly in vehicles	Males and females in 70's
Want to live without restraint to the children	Many among females in 60's and 70's

Classification of wishes	Primary age
Want kind words from children	Many among females in 60's and 70's
Want children and grandchildren to come and talk with elderly	All the elderly inclusive 60's, 70's, 80's
Want to take more care of grandchildren	Females
Hate to take care of grandchildren any more	Females in 80's
Want grandchildren to be quiet: they are too noisy	Males in 70's and 80's
Want to have some role at home	Males and females in 70's and 80's
Want to have more letters from children	Males living alone with their life partners
Want increase of pocket money, in slide with prices	Couples in 60's without job
Want to live near children and grandchildren	Couples living alone in 60's
Want to live with children and grandchildren	Males and females through all ages
Want grandchildren to marry sooner	Females in 60's, males in 80's

D. Wishes regarding Daily Living Matters

Classification of wishes	Primary age
Want private room	Many among single males in the 80's and couples who are living with their sons and daughter-in-law
Want to live with the elderlie's own daughter and her husband	Single females in 80's who are living with their sons and daughters-in-law, males and females in 60's who are living now with unmarried daughters

Classification of wishes	Primary age
Want someone of the same age to talk with (a companion of old age)	Single males and females in 60's single females in 70's who are living with their unmarried daughters
Want some role	Single males and females in 80's, single females in 60's and 70s
Want to use time freely	Many among males and females who are living with their sons and daughters-in-law
Want to have more visitors	Males and females in 80's, couples living alone
Want to visit more temples	Many among females
Want to travel, and to go to spas	Many among males and females in 70's
Want to go to their own native places	Many among males in 60's
Want to go fishing	Males in 60's
Want some volunteer to drive a car	Males and females in 70's
Want to move to larger house	Males and females in 60's

E. Wishes regarding Medical Treatment

Classification of wishes	Primary age
Want to have medical system special for elderly so that they need not wait for examination	Males and females in 70's
Want free medical expense for elderly over 60	Elderly in 60's
Want die peacefully and easily	Male, solitary elderly in the 80's
Want a home where she can be nursed as soon as she gets ill	Females in 80's
Want to have formal funeral when she dies	Female, solitary elderly in 80's

F. Wishes about Management of the Senior's Club

Classification of wishes	Primary age
Want main office of Federation of Senior's Club to lead unit-clubs' chairmen and staffs so as to act positively: activities of unit-clubs are not active	Males and females in 60's and 70's
Want a regular meeting once a month without fail	Males and females in 60's
Want clubs to become informal: there remains exclusiveness in clubs	Males in 60's
Want presentation meeting of elderlie's experiences of their struggles with sickness to be held	Males in 60's
Want richness in contents rather than the increase of the numbers of members of unit-clubs	Both males and females in 60's and 70's
Want traveling of about one overnight trip to be planned annually	Males and females in 60's
Want activities not to be shallow but more substantial	Males in 70's
Want the relations between staffs and ordinary members to be intimate	Males and females in 60's
Want senior's clubs divided by sexes	Females in 70's
Want frequent calls on meeting to be avoided: the number of times is too many	Males and females in 70's
Want transportation fee to be paid when staffs attend club staff meeting	Elderly in 70's
Want the construction of senior's club hall	Males in 80's

A. As for social wishes, almost nothing was left unsaid, and include, (1) senior's welfare pension to every elderly person, (2) nursing home and senior's apartment house, (3) stability of prices, (4) association with youth, (5) jobs, (6) seniors' college, (7) seniors' telephone, the realization of these to be hastened.

B. Wishes concerning the administration are of many kinds. Among them, the problem of the printing letters of civic office's correspondence is about the right to live as a senior citizen. Formerly, the Asahi newspaper enlarged the printing of pages which treat seniors' problems. The civic office should follow this example.

Following this example that Osaka municipal bus and subway became free to all those over 70 years old, elderly people in their places wish transportation fares to be rebated or free.

A free-transport system by which elderly people can go to meetings and college, has come to be considered just as important as special discount fare for students. From now on, and for some time to come, the problem of transport fares for the elderly will be the main one in the present senior citizens' campaign.

Free medical treatment for the elderly and hospitals specially for senior citizens is another important topic. And at the same time, there were wishes that the age-limit for free treatment should be lowered from 70 to 65. And it is realised from 1974.

C. The number who expressed wishes about their children was the largest: this indicates the feelings of the senior citizens who wish to keep warm relationship between parents and children.

F. There are clubs called "bedridden seniors' clubs," and while some clubs are active, we can accept that senior citizens desire club activities to be more meaningful and the center from which senior's welfare is organized.

But there seem to be clubs whose work rests entirely on the staffs, and some staffs are experiencing the strain of the pressure of business and from the cost of transport.

(13) Problem on Management of Seniors' Club

Senior citizens themselves admit that the provision of interesting activities for every club member is difficult because their ages, experiences, and hobbies differ. So more efforts to improve the contents of clubs are needed all the time.

In some clubs it is difficult to find suitable men chairmen. Chairmen are too busy to seek out and train people as their successors. There is a need for guidance regarding roles of chairman, and chairman of committee in club management.

Many elders expressed the wish that the writer should help them find a proper lecturer for the education of senior citizens and can be understood by them. This is a difficulty with which clubs often have to struggle.

Not all the senior citizens who gather at the clubs are of the same qualities as those who attend the education classes. Although there are many over 80's in the clubs, none of them attend classes.

4. CONCLUSION

The following points were clarified by this résumé of the investigation.

- (1) That the device of approaching elderly people through students already known to them enabled details about pocket money to be secured. This is normally the most difficult part of any investigation.
- (2) That the students themselves selected the "average" type of elderly person it would have been difficult for them to find those who are cut off from society. It would be particularly difficult for them to find solitary old men.
- (3) That the need for special sales at reduced prices of tobacco for elderly

males are made clear through the survey of pocket money of males and females. And that a rebate system of barbers charges should be accomplished sooner than bathing rebate ticket, is evident.

When the elders were asked for opinions, males answered "I can use money which I earned by myself most lightheartedly," and some female answered "I will not be glad however much I may get as expenses for living. I am really happy to get even a little as pocket money." We should enable senior citizens to help us, and let them be conscious that they are of some service to the family to have an incentive for living.

Even though senior citizens want pocket money, it is difficult for them to ask for it. Almost all the senior citizens receive it with restraint. They feel they can buy only the minimum necessities and do not fulfill their desire for purchases; they lose all their dreams and hopes more and more. One feels living is worthwhile when one's desire is fulfilled. Senior citizens, too, want to enjoy the pleasure of buying as one of their various desires. To realize this wish, there is a need to promote a drive to give pocket money (tentatively "devoted pocket money" for old parents) to senior citizens of society in general.

(4) A rebate system for senior citizens' traveling is a subject which the government should seriously consider.

(5) It would be wise to create a drive to promote correspondence with senior citizens and if necessary to present them with envelopes, stamps and postcards.

(6) In the case of a married couple, both of whom are well, the husband is concerned about his wife's pocket money.

And in widows' cases, the disparities in ages with her family are as follows;

Female elderly

The age of her first
children (average)

60-64
65-69 years old

39.7
42.5 years old

Those sons and daughters about 40 years old are in a settled age economically, but at the same time they have a lot of expenses because they have children in school and daughters preparing for marriage: families supporting senior citizens should be provided with a greater privilege on tax payments.

(7) There are many problems in the relationships between old parents and young wives. But, unless an effort to make a smooth contact of the two is achieved, they are cut off from each other even in correspondence, and also the relationship between senior citizens and their grandchildren cannot be said to be warm at all.