

third of a point per annum. If what appears to be true of I.Q. were also true of performance on the various tasks considered in this book then the legitimacy of trying to relate the poorer performance of elderly subjects to different types of brain pathology associated with age would have to be called in question. Only one study (Arenberg, Chapter 13) attempts a cross-sequential design, and though the usual cross-sectional differences were found there were only very small longitudinal variations and only subjects over seventy showed evidence of a substantial decline in performance with age.

This seems to me to be the crucial issue. It is inconceivable (in fact clinical evidence shows it to be false) that brain pathology should have no effect on behaviour. Yet in the normal population effects on behaviour that are certainly due to age (not to the epoch during which the subject came to maturity) are not easy to demonstrate. Perhaps the difficulty lies in the fact that the tasks used in I.Q. measurement can be performed in many different ways, enabling the old to compensate for their deficiencies and thus preserve whatever level of performance their early environment had enabled them to attain. The more precisely defined experimental tasks used by most of the contributors to this volume may not be capable of being performed in different ways and thus may measure capacities whose relative decline with age cannot be compensated.

One final result worth a mention is reported by Lachman *et al.* (Chapter 15). He compared a group of volunteer subjects with a group who had specifically refused to volunteer and were induced to participate by a large cash payment (eighty dollars). On a range of tasks there was no difference whatever between the groups and no interaction with age. This result will be of great comfort to those of us who never had the opportunity to work with any but volunteer subjects!

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Nancy J. Osgood, *Senior Settlers: Social Integration in Retirement Communities*, Praeger, New York, 1982, 296 pp., \$26.95, ISBN 0 03 059792 7.

People in the retirement age category are the fastest growing segment of the United States population, and some of that population has moved to planned age-segregated communities in states such as Arizona, California, and Florida. This book is an examination of three such communities – a block of flats and a mobile home site in Florida, and a larger community of detached dwellings in Arizona. The author states that the major objective of the study was to

investigate the nature, kind, and extent of social integration and 'communityness' in these communities, especially in the context of age. (10)

The decision to study three planned retirement communities was based upon a concern for making comparisons in different locations, thus expanding both empirical and theoretical considerations beyond just one case. The community study method – interviewing, participant-observation – as well as the use of official documents was employed to collect data from each community. One

hundred and ninety-six 'fairly structured' interviews, 63 of which were with staff members and local service providers, were used to illustrate both the insiders' and outsiders' perceptions and views on the communities. In addition, six weeks were spent in each community making observations and participating, where possible, in community events. The author carried out fieldwork in two communities; the third was done by an assistant.

The three communities, while they differed in terms of social and occupational characteristics of the residents, nevertheless were found to have a number of similarities. Their small size and the physical layout, it was suggested, contributed to feelings of integration into 'one big family'. Each had developed a number of resident-controlled organisations in response to local needs and problems. There were planned community events in each that had been organised through self-government with strong leadership. And strong feelings of 'communityness' were reinforced as a result of collective responses to 'outside' threats such as inflation and high medical costs.

The author interprets these parallels in integration and 'communityness' as a function of age-segregation. She states:

Age-segregation per se is the basis of social integration; it accounts for higher levels of morale among residents of such communities. It is not size, or location, or whether or not residents are from blue-collar backgrounds or upper-middle class professions that distinguished the communities studied in terms of social integration. The only characteristic shared by the three communities was, in fact, their segregation in terms of age. (273)

This conclusion reminds me of the old story about the experimenter who was investigating the cause of intoxication. The experiment involved drinking whiskey and water one evening, bourbon and water the next evening and, on the third evening, ouzo and water. Each evening the experimenter became intoxicated. Because he became intoxicated each night and water was drunk on each of the nights, he concluded that the water must be the cause of intoxication. In some way, the conclusion of this author is similar to that of our intoxicated experimenter. What is common to all three communities is that the people who live there are of retirement age. However, throughout these case studies it was made clear that while differences in social characteristics of the residents existed between communities, each was characterised by internal similarities. In fact, these shared characteristics were used to explain why some residents felt dissatisfied. For example, non-Jews in the predominantly Jewish flats did not share in the feelings of 'communityness', nor did non-drinkers feel integrated into the Arizona community. The data presented on each community seemed to suggest that what integration existed could be explained best by common experiences and life-ways of the residents, not simply age. Age is what brought people to the retirement community; the level of 'communityness' came from shared social characteristics and experiences.

I would suggest that the difficulty with accepting the author's conclusion of a single cause of community integration can be traced to the fact that the three case studies were not community studies. Communities are not just a description of community clubs, organisations and committees. An important dimension of community, almost entirely forgotten in this book, is the interactions and interdependencies between both formal and informal organ-

isational structures. No attempt was made to do any type of structural analysis. Yet the reader is constantly reminded that 'these studies contribute greatly to our theory of community building'. Although community building is suggested as the theoretical contribution of these studies no use was made of any model or theory of community development. For example, the work of Herbert Gans on Levittowners, and the East London materials from Wilmott and Young, as well as the vast literature on planned communities is noticeably absent. It would appear that the author began with an assumption about age, not an assumption about community, and she ended with the same assumption.

In spite of these critical observations, the book does make a contribution. It adds additional descriptive information on retirement communities. Given the growing numbers of people in these age categories, one might suspect that there will be increasingly larger numbers of people living under similar arrangements in the future. There are enough data in this book to contribute to a theoretical statement about retirement communities; however, as the author demonstrates, there are not enough to construct a theory.

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Bernard Casey and Gerte Bruche, *Work or Retirement? Labour Market and Social Policy for Older Workers in France, Britain, the Netherlands, Sweden and the U.S.A.*, Gower, 1983, 191 pp., £13.50, ISBN 0 566 00618 9.

This is an extremely valuable book, providing useful summaries of a range of policies affecting older workers in five countries – France, Great Britain, the Netherlands, Sweden and the U.S.A. The authors review measures for older workers still in employment, and policies aimed at assisting those experiencing long-term joblessness (in Britain, people aged 45+ represent over half of the long-term unemployed).

The conclusions from this study, viewed through the eyes of older people themselves, are hardly reassuring. Adjusting workplaces in line with the needs of an ageing workforce is low in the priorities of most employers. Moreover, the supply of 'lighter work' has rapidly diminished in a climate of rationalisation of labour. Policies for reducing work-time have been more popular, either as a means of preparing the individual for retirement (Britain) or to reduce his or her workload in line with changing capacities (the Netherlands). Even here, however, only a minority of employers have developed such schemes.

Casey and Bruche examine various measures designed to protect the individual from dismissal. These include extensive state legislation (Sweden) or seniority rules and policies challenging age discrimination (U.S.A.). However, the authors make the important observation:

that a strategy of protection, whilst it might increase the job security of those who are 'in', might also intensify the re-entry problems of those who (e.g. as the result of a complete firm closure following a bankruptcy) are 'out' – this because the older workers' protected situation makes