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WASHINGTON, MARTHA ANNE

CONSIDERATION OF SELECTED SOCIAL THEORIES OF AGING AS
EVIDENCED BY PATTERNS OF ADJUSTMENT TO RETIREMENT AMONG
PROFESSIONAL FOOTBALL PLAYERS

The University of North Carolina at Greensboro

Ed.D. 1981

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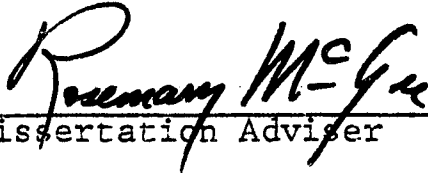
by

Martha Anne Washington

A Dissertation Submitted to
the Faculty of the Graduate School at
The University of North Carolina at Greensboro
in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Education

Greensboro
1981

Approved by


Dissertation Adviser

WASHINGTON, MARTHA ANNE. Consideration of Selected Social Theories of Aging as Evidenced by Patterns of Adjustment to Retirement Among Professional Football Players. (1981) Directed by: Dr. Rosemary McGee. pp. 229

The purpose of this study was to determine whether or not the characteristic patterns of adjustment to retirement among professional football players supported one or more of three current social theories of aging. Data for the study were derived primarily from a structured interview which incorporated questions representative of disengagement theory, identity crisis theory, and activity theory, and questions regarding the individual's professional career in general. Additional data were obtained from three standardized scales given as pencil-paper tests which assessed life satisfaction, morale, and self-esteem. In order to provide an overview of the sample, a written questionnaire was designed to elicit biographical information on each subject.

During May and June of 1980, interviews were conducted with five retired professional football players. Rosenberg's Self-esteem Scale (1965), the Life Satisfaction Index B (Neugarten, Havighurst, and Tobin, 1961) and The Revised Philadelphia Geriatric Center Morale Scale (Lawton, 1975) were administered to each subject following the interview session. The biographical questionnaire was given prior to each interview.

The recorded interviews were transcribed and reviewed for evidence which would support or refute one or more of the three social theories of aging. In addition, subject's scores on the self-esteem scale, life satisfaction index, and morale scale were analyzed for further evidence regarding the support or nonsupport of the aging theories.

In general, results from this investigation varied in their support for the three social theories addressed. In some cases, the characteristic patterns of adjustment tended to indicate support for more than one theory; four out of the five retirees interviewed evidenced patterns of adjustment which showed some support for activity theory, while two retired players appeared to experience an identity crisis following their retirement from professional football. Only one former player exhibited an adjustment pattern providing support for disengagement theory.

The results of this study disclosed negligible support for disengagement theory. Only one of the five subjects interviewed showed partial withdrawal from society. This was evidenced by a decreased interest in people in general and decreased interest and involvement in physical and social activity as well as a score falling within the mid-range on the life satisfaction index.

Partial support was found for identity crisis theory as evidenced by the responses of two of the five subjects to the interview questions coupled with low self-esteem

scores. The results from this study seemed to suggest that variables other than involuntary retirement might be considered as causal factors in creating an identity crisis. Such factors include complete identification with the role of athlete prior to retirement, insufficient preparation for the nonsport job market, degree of commitment to professional football, and unfulfilling second careers.

Convincing support was found for activity theory as reflected through the responses of four of the five subjects. The four subjects showed a maintenance of, or an increase in various forms of activity as well as scores ranging from the mid-range to high on both the morale scale and the life satisfaction index.

It was concluded from this investigation that in terms of social theories of aging, activity theory appeared to be more applicable to this select group of retired professional football players as opposed to disengagement theory and identity crisis theory.

APPROVAL PAGE

This dissertation has been approved by the following committee of the Faculty of the Graduate School at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro.

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March 6, 1981
Date of Acceptance by Committee

March 6, 1981
Date of Final Oral Examination

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My sincere appreciation is extended to Dr. Rosemary McGee who directed this study not only with competence and efficiency, but also with a genuine interest and enthusiasm. Her dedication as an educator, her warmth and humor as an individual, and her concern as an advisor made the writing of this manuscript a richer experience.

Gratitude is expressed to Dr. Gail Hennis for her many contributions especially during the developmental stages of this study and for her continued interest and support.

I am deeply indebted to Dr. Vira Kivett whose expertise in the area of social gerontology enhanced the quality of this study. Her guidance and assistance were invaluable throughout the writing of this manuscript.

Special thanks are extended to Dr. Elisha Rallings. His scholarly perceptions as a sociologist greatly strengthened this study.

Without the cooperation of the retired professional football players, this study would not have been possible. My sincere thanks to the former players who participated in the study.

I am grateful to the three individuals who served as judges for the original draft of the interview schedule. Their evaluations and suggestions were invaluable.

My sincere thanks are extended to Mrs. Donna Sanders who typed this manuscript. Her efficiency was unequalled and greatly appreciated.

For their unique contributions during the course of this study, special thanks are extended to Dr. Alice Cunningham and Dr. Mary Alice Clower. They not only provided editorial assistance but also provided continued interest, concern, and support.

An acknowledgement of this work would be incomplete without expressing special appreciation to my family. Their support, encouragement, and sensitivity made this endeavor all the more worthwhile.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Interest in the process of social adjustment to retirement dates from the rudimentary beginnings of modern gerontology and continues to be a focal point of concern (Cavan, Burgess, Havighurst, and Goldhammer, 1949; Rosow, 1963). With the advances in medical technology, increased life expectancy is making it possible for more people to enter into the postwork phase of life. Retirement in the United States is no longer considered a novelty, but rather a social institution (Atchley, 1976). Both the number of people in retirement and the duration of this phase of the life cycle are increasing. Transitional periods in the life cycle tend to generate research more readily than do periods of stability (Carp, 1968). The social phenomenon of retirement has initiated a great deal of theorizing as well as empirical research in an effort to determine correlates and causes of satisfactory adjustment.

Retirement is usually considered a milestone in adult development symbolizing the transition from middle years to old age (Kimmel, 1974). Although retirement is associated with aging, professional athletes are considered "old" at an earlier age than persons in other professions. While

the retiree is assumed to be sixty years of age or older, the retired athlete may range in age from mid- or late-twenties to mid or late forties, depending on the sport. Consequently, when professional athletes are terminating their sports careers, persons of comparable age are either just becoming established or experiencing upward mobility in their chosen professions. Despite the insecurities associated with sport, such as brevity of active involvement and intense competition for player positions and prizes, aspiring young sportsmen disregard the negative aspects of a sports career (Hill and Lowe, 1974). The number of professional athletes has increased dramatically during the last decade due to the growth and expansion of professional sport franchises. This increase, as well as the institutionalization of sport in our society, has stimulated research on issues dealing with various aspects of the professional athlete's role. Much of the completed research, however, has focused on the athlete during the years of active involvement. Few investigators have addressed the athlete once the transition from player to former player is made. Since retired athletes tend to be younger than most early retirees, they generally must continue working because of financial obligations; therefore, they are unable to retire in the conventional sense. Although the majority of athletes seek alternate or second careers following retirement from professional sport, they,

like their nonathlete counterparts, must also adjust to a postcareer lifestyle. The necessity of pursuing a second career, coupled with inadequate preparation for the non-sport job market, frequently causes difficulty in successful adjustment. Retirement necessitates an abrupt change in roles. Whether this change is voluntary or mandatory could have varying effects on an individual's ability to adjust. It is apparent that regardless of age, or the reason for withdrawal from professional sport, the retiring athlete is faced with problems of resocialization. For some, the transition from athlete to former athlete is relatively smooth. For others, resocialization into roles within the larger society is clouded with trauma (Mihovilovic, 1968; Loy, McPherson, and Kenyon, 1978).

Studies in the area of social gerontology have utilized theories of aging to gain deeper insight into the adjustment of persons to retirement. As McPherson (1978) pointed out, few theoretical or empirical efforts have been directed toward understanding the adjustment problems encountered by former sportsmen. Perhaps one, or more, of the theories developed by social gerontologists partially explains why some former athletes adjust readily to retirement while others experience difficulty. In order to explore their possible relevance to sport, disengagement theory, activity theory, and identity crisis theory will be examined in relation to retired professional football players.

Statement of the Problem

The purpose of this study was to determine if the characteristic patterns of adjustment to retirement among selected professional football players supported one or more of three current social theories of aging. More specifically, the following questions were addressed:

1. Is there supporting evidence that the adjustment to retirement by professional football players is facilitated by "mutual withdrawal" from society?
2. Is there supporting evidence that involuntary changes in a professional athlete's career create an identity crisis?
3. Is there supporting evidence that the maintenance of preretirement activity levels contributes to the retirement adjustment of professional football players?

Definition of Terms

The following terms are defined as they are used in this study:

Activity Theory - An aging theory which contends that, to age successfully, the individual must maintain into old age the activity patterns and values characteristic of middle age (Atchley, 1977).

Adjustment - An enduring state in which the individual experiences a high degree of morale and a satisfaction with his/her present life.

Disengagement, individual - The process whereby the individual withdraws commitments to various social roles. It may be manifested either by discarding various roles or by simply "going through the motions" (Atchley, 1977).

Disengagement, societal - The process whereby society withdraws support from the individual and ceases to seek a commitment from him/her. It may be active such as in mandatory retirement, or passive, as in no encouragement for the individual to remain (Atchley, 1977).

Disengagement Theory - An aging theory in which retirement is viewed as a necessary manifestation of the mutual withdrawal of society and the individual as a consequence of the increased prospect of biological failure in the individual organism (Atchley, 1972).

Identity Crisis Theory - An aging theory which proposes that involuntary changes in social position occurring in later life create a crisis in the individual's ability to achieve a satisfactory identity in his/her new position (Atchley, 1972).

Mutual withdrawal - A simultaneous process whereby society withdraws support from the individual and releases him/her of commitments as the individual withdraws commitments to various social roles.

Job deprivation - Job deprivation refers to the extent to which an individual misses his/her job (Atchley, 1977).

Life satisfaction - Life satisfaction refers to the extent to which an individual shows enthusiasm for living, takes pleasure from the round of activities that constitutes his/her everyday living, regards his/her life as meaningful, holds a positive image of self, and maintains happy and optimistic attitudes (Neugarten, Havighurst and Tobin, 1961).

Morale - Morale refers to a state or condition as affected by or dependent upon such morale or mental factors as zeal, enthusiasm, hope, and confidence.

Professional athlete - One who has chosen athletics as a profession and receives direct compensation for participation in sport.

Professional football player - One who participates in professional football as a career and receives direct compensation for this participation.

Retirement - The institutionalized separation of an individual from his occupational position (Atchley, 1972).

Self-esteem - Self-esteem refers to the emotional elements of the self -- how the individual feels about himself. Self-esteem is the product of a comparison by the individual of what he is (self-concept) with what he feels he should be (self-ideal) (Atchley, 1976).

Social Gerontology - Social gerontology is a subfield of gerontology which deals with the developmental and group behavior of adults and with causes and consequences of having older persons in society (Atchley, 1972).

Assumptions Underlying The Study

This study was based on the following assumptions:

1. The interview technique is a valid means of measuring specific constructs.
2. Descriptive information, such as that elicited through the interview technique, can be interpreted as either supportive or nonsupportive of selected theoretical concepts.
3. Specific information, such as that elicited through the Life Satisfaction Index B by Neugarten, Havighurst, and Tobin (1961), The Revised Philadelphia Geriatric Center Morale Scale (Lawton, 1975), and Rosenberg's Self-esteem Scale (1964) can be interpreted as either supportive or nonsupportive of selected theoretical concepts.
4. Retired professional football players used as subjects will respond candidly to questions contained in the interview schedule, as well as to statements and questions which are comprised in the Life Satisfaction Index B, the morale scale, and the self-esteem scale.

Scope of the Study

The recent literature concerning athletes in professional sport gives greater attention to the retirement phenomenon than has been true in the past. Various aspects of postretirement experiences of professional athletes are providing salient topics for research. However the extent to which former athletes adjust, or fail to adjust, to a lifestyle outside of sport is becoming a focal point of concern. This study, therefore, was limited in scope to only one aspect of the retirement phenomenon; one's adjustment to retirement from professional football.

The selection of subjects was limited to former professional football players who participated in intercollegiate football at the University of Georgia. Subjects utilized in the study represented various teams within the National Football League and had been retired from one to five years.

The study was also limited to the oral responses of former players to specific interview questions and to the brief written responses to a biographical questionnaire and to scales measuring three selected components of adjustment. The interview schedule was constructed to elicit information on three of the current social theories of aging: disengagement theory, activity theory, and identity crisis theory; and information regarding the athletes' careers in general. Scales measuring selected components

of adjustment included in the study were limited to a life satisfaction index, a morale scale, and a self-esteem scale.

Only one interview session, ranging in length from one to two hours, was held with each subject. The biographical questionnaire was given prior to each interview session and required approximately five minutes for administration. Pencil-paper tests used to measure the components of adjustment were administered following each interview session. Subjects were given no time restriction in which to respond; however, the administration time varied from twenty to thirty minutes.

Data were collected during the months of May and June, 1980. Data collection occurred at a time and site selected by each subject.

Significance of the Study

There is a paucity of literature concerning the effects of retirement on special occupational types, particularly retired professional athletes. Much of the information in this area is anecdotal, based on journalistic reports of former sportsmen who failed to make a successful adjustment to a lifestyle outside of sport. Numerous literary works depict the former athlete spending the years following retirement reliving the past, unable to adjust to the present, and unprepared for the future (Updike, 1960; Michener, 1976). The limited empirical research which has been completed

dealing with retired athletes has focused primarily on former participants in sports such as boxing, baseball, hockey, and soccer. The retired professional football player has received only scant attention.

Until recently, the retired professional athlete was considered peripheral to the field of inquiry in the sociological study of sport (Hill and Lowe, 1974). This is not uncommon in a youth-oriented society where there is a tendency to disregard as unimportant those who are no longer instrumental members. Gerontologists have virtually ignored this highly specialized group who have terminated sports careers. This is ironical in a situation where the process of aging itself most often dictates the separation from sport.

Both Kenyon (1973) and McPherson (1978) suggest gaining theoretical assistance from the field of social gerontology to study retirement from sport. This investigation will be among the first to utilize theories of aging in an effort to explain the adjustment of former professional athletes to retirement. Atchley maintains that "theory gives integrity to any body of knowledge" (1972, p. 34). If using a theoretical base affords greater understanding of this phenomenon, then the small body of knowledge regarding the postcareer of the professional athlete will be expanded. This study, utilizing a unique segment of the retired population, will also serve to add another

dimension to the existing information in the gerontological literature. Its conclusions will perhaps provide a point of departure for further inquiry into this neglected area of professional sport.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

When considering social theories of aging, as they pertain to retired professional football players, one must refer to literature in several distinct areas of research. A complete review of the literature would include the myriad contributions by social gerontologists, psychologists, sociologists, physical educators, and sport sociologists. Particular areas of interest would consist of social theories of aging, retirement, retirement from professional sport, and retirement from football. For purposes of relating these areas to this study, three social theories of aging, perceived by the writer to be most relevant to retirement from professional football, will be reviewed extensively. The most pertinent references on retirement in general will be presented, with a more extensive review of the literature on retirement from professional sport and retirement from football.

Social Theories of Aging

According to Hendricks and Hendricks (1977), the theoretical aspect of social gerontology remains an underdeveloped area within the field, although the last decade

has been characterized by rapid growth and sophistication in delineating social variables involved in human aging. Attempting to explain aging, social gerontologists have developed numerous theories of how people respond to the aging process. Little effort has been made to determine if such theories are applicable to retired professional athletes. The three theories that seem most pertinent to this study are 1) disengagement theory, 2) activity theory, and 3) identity crisis theory. Disengagement theory is being considered because of the apparent likelihood that athletes, as well as the social institution of sport, may choose to disengage as a result of the aging process and its effect on physical performance. Activity theory seems appropriately relevant because of the high activity level of involvement between the athlete and sport, the athlete and the fans, and the athlete and the public in general. As a result of retirement at an earlier age than most individuals, the athlete is a good subject for study of the maintenance of activity patterns and values previously established. Identity crisis theory is being investigated because of the apparent tendency among many athletes to identify completely with the role of athlete.

Disengagement Theory

Perhaps the most controversial theory in social gerontology has been the theory of disengagement (Maddox, 1964; Youmans, 1969; Atchley, 1972; Hendricks and Hendricks,

1977; Barrow and Smith, 1979). The theory of disengagement was proposed by Cumming and Henry (1961). They summarized the theory as follows:

In our theory, aging is an inevitable mutual withdrawal or disengagement, resulting in decreased interaction between the aging person and others in the social systems he belongs to. The process may be initiated by the individual or by others in the situation. The aging person may withdraw more markedly from some classes of people while remaining relatively close to others. His withdrawal may be accompanied from the outset by an increased preoccupation with himself; certain institutions in society may make this withdrawal easy for him. When the aging process is complete, the equilibrium which existed in middle life between the individual and his society has given way to a new equilibrium characterized by a greater distance and an altered type of relationship (pp. 14-15).

The initial cross-sectional data from their Kansas City Studies on Aging indicated a marked decline in an individual's interpersonal relationships and role activity as a result of the aging process. Proponents of the theory hypothesized that as individuals age they simultaneously are released from social roles and withdraw psychological energy from social ties. For example, widowhood and retirement were viewed by society as events which grant the individual the right and privilege to disengage, thus permitting more freedom from social norms. According to Cumming and Henry, this "mutual disengagement" of the individual and society is inevitable and is the sole criterion of aging. The implication is that this is the most beneficial result for both society and the individual.

Since it appeared in 1961, disengagement theory has received a wide range of criticism and fostered a great deal of research. It has been questioned by some as to whether or not it is, indeed, a legitimate theory. Streib and Schneider (1971) asserted that disengagement theory was not a genuine theory and could be more accurately described as a frame of reference or a theoretical orientation. They contended that it was not a "tightly reasoned, rigorous proposition."

Kutner (1962), Maddox (1964), and Brehm (1968) questioned the alleged inevitability and universality of mutual disengagement particularly the fact that presumptive mutuality excludes a large portion of older people. Havighurst (1961) and Blau (1973) maintained that disengagement was not necessarily beneficial to older people, contending that persons who are active or engaged are usually happier. In an investigation in which she rated 295 older persons on an index of disengagement, Carp (1968) concluded that the component parts of disengagement needed to be more clearly identified. She suggested expanding the concept of disengagement to include withdrawal of investment from possessions, ideas, and activities.

Tallmer and Kutner (1969) alleged that disengagement theory ignored the definitive effects of such factors as physical and social stresses. They concluded from their study, which was designed to evaluate a portion of disengagement theory, that physical and social stresses such

as ill health, widowhood, and retirement produced disengagement rather than age per se.

Atchley (1972) criticized the assumptions of the theory regarding individual disengagement. He alleged that the reduced frequency of interaction would not weaken the hold of norms over the individual, suggesting that once a norm has been established, something more than an absence of interaction would be required to eliminate that norm. He further criticized individual disengagement for its simplicity, maintaining that the complementary aspects of biology, sociology, and psychology, which merge to produce individual disengagement, will in the future require a more sophisticated theory.

Many critics of disengagement theory have pointed to the political arena as a prime example of the fallacy of the theory. In a study of political behavior among the elderly, Kapnick, Goodman, and Cornwell (1968) found that older people have a disproportionately significant influence in the nominating conventions, consequently over the selection of candidates. Glenn and Grimes (1968), from a national survey of political behavior, determined that political interest and participation increased with advances in age. Atchley (1972) contended that if societal disengagement were a functional necessity, as disengagement theory purported it to be, it should apply to the political institution more than any other. He pointed out, however,

that persons occupying key positions in American politics ranged in age from fifty-eight to over seventy.

Even the co-authors of disengagement theory, Cumming and Henry, have made separate revisions of their original postulates. Cumming (1963) de-emphasized societal equilibrium and prescribed behavior and turned her attention to the innate biological and personality differences, as well as differential disengagement. Henry (1965) altered his original view of the disengagement model to place greater emphasis on psychological dynamics. In 1975, Cumming attempted to clarify some of the existing controversy generated by the theory, or the context in which it was set forth, by examining the central propositions of the theory and the misunderstandings and misapplications of the theory.

Most of the research stimulated by the controversy does not support disengagement theory. A study of retired industrial workers by Prasad (1964) showed no support for the proposition that aged men were ready to disengage. Palmore (1968) conducted a longitudinal survey which involved 127 persons whose average age was 78. He found little evidence to support the contention that activity decreases with age.

While most of the research regarding disengagement theory has been negative, some investigators have given partial support and suggested modifications. Williams

and Wirths (1965) suggested that some older persons experience disengagement at different rates and in different aspects of behavior. Brown (1974) investigated the association between disengagement and interaction. His study indicated that persons over 55 years of age tended to disengage from contacts that were not totally satisfying and to maintain those that were. He concluded that while the elderly may choose to disengage from specific non-satisfying relationships, they do not prefer it as a total lifestyle. Martin (1973) conducted an investigation of in-movers in to a retirement community and found support for the disengagement theory. His sample, which included 411 persons with a median age of 67, was structurally disengaged (retired, low in family interaction, separated from age-integrated opportunities) yet showed a high degree of satisfaction.

Despite its failings, disengagement is one of the most important theories in social gerontology. It remains an important milestone in the theoretical literature because of the attention it generated and its role in initiating competing perspectives (Hochschild, 1975).

Activity Theory

According to Barrow and Smith (1979), activity theory was the first social theory of aging. However, the first explicit statement of activity theory did not appear until approximately ten years after the theory of disengagement

became such a controversial issue in gerontological circles. Even then its validation was, to some extent, problematic (Hendricks and Hendricks, 1977).

The activity theory was first proposed by Havighurst and Albrecht (1953) and later underwent numerous revisions culminating in the axiomatic formulations of Lemon, Bengston, and Peterson (1972). Knapp (1977) summarized the theory as follows:

Activity provides various role supports necessary for reaffirming one's self-concept. The more intimate and the more frequent the activity, the more reinforcing and the more specific will be the role supports. Role supports are necessary for the maintenance of a positive self-concept which in turn is associated with high life satisfaction (p. 554).

Essentially the theory holds that there is a positive relationship between the older person's participation in social activity and his life satisfaction. Proponents of this theory assert that normal aging involves maintaining the attitudes and activities of middle age as long as possible (Havighurst, 1961). Havighurst (1968) proposed that "except for the inevitable changes in biology and in health, older people are the same as middle-aged with essentially the same psychological and social needs." According to the proponents of activity theory, any activities and roles which the individual is forced to give up should be replaced with new ones.

While activity theory is perhaps the most predominant theory in successful aging, it has not fostered much research (Atchley, 1972). The principles of activity theory, however, have been evident in the work of gerontologists beginning with Burgess in the 1940's. He thought that the old were being excluded from meaningful social activity and described them as having a "roleless role" in society (Burgess, 1960). He advocated replacing lost roles with new ones in order to restore meaningful activity and insure a productive existence.

Unlike the theory of disengagement, activity theory has not been such a controversial issue. However, it has evoked criticism from a number of gerontologists. Cumming and Henry (1961) were critical of several of the basic underlying assumptions of the activity orientation. They alleged that proponents of the theory advocated a steady expansion of the life span, thus excluding the inevitable possibility of death. Cumming and Henry argued that the middle-aged state is not necessarily preferable to the aged state, as activity theorists inferred. They suggested that the aged state may be more desirable for those older persons who no longer wish to continue in instrumental activity in society. A final criticism of Cumming and Henry was that activity orientation "implies that aging results in a 'moving away' from something such as the 'prime of life' or 'usefulness' rather than moving toward

something which may be qualitatively different but equally attractive" (p. 22).

Streib and Schneider (1971) pointed out that the activity approach to aging tends to have a middle-class, middle-age bias in which the inference is made that work or work substitutes are necessary for successful adjustment of the elderly. They contended that the older person should develop new roles of "activity within disengagement" such as leisure roles or citizenship service roles, rather than seeking the same satisfactions and rewards of the middle years.

Atchley (1972) maintained that activity theory is idealistic in that its expectations for older persons are the same as for their middle-aged counterparts. He alleged that it is limited to a small minority of persons who are chronologically old, but symptomatically middle-aged. Gubrium (1972) identified four problems of the activity theory. He asserted that one of the fundamental problems of the activity approach to aging rested on the assumption made by activity theorists that persons control the types of roles available to them as well as the performance of these roles. He asserted that for many older persons this choice and performance of roles is limited by physiological factors as well as poverty and diminishing significant social contacts through death. According to Gubrium, another problem of the activity theory is its emphasis

on developmentalism. He maintained that developmental propositions cannot always assume consistency as proponents of the activity approach to aging have claimed. A third problem pointed out by Gubrium in the activity approach to social behavior among the aged is in its use of the concept "personal adjustment." He argued that the theory is not based on a strong premise. He identified the problem as being an ill-defined concept of an "adjusted person." A fourth problem of the activity theory identified by Gubrium is the empirical evidence which contradicts the major propositions. Studies by Townsend (1968) and Gubrium (1970) found relatively high morale to be associated with low activity which was contradictory to the basic assumption of activity theorists that high morale is concomitant with a relatively high activity level. Another contradiction stems from the implication that activity of any kind may be substituted in later years for the behavior of middle age. In his study of Parents Without Partners, Weiss (1969) found that the loneliness which results from an ended marriage relationship is not compensated with friendships developed from membership in an organization. Weiss's results suggested that all social relationships are not equal in regard to quality; consequently, they are not interchangeable.

While some research has refuted activity theory, it is not without support. In a longitudinal investigation

by Maddox and Eisdorfer (1962) it was found that the commonly hypothesized positive relationship between morale and activity was supported. The investigators maintained, however, that other variables should be considered such as types of activity and structural contexts, rather than assuming that interpersonal activity always results in high morale.

Rosow (1967) conducted a study to determine the effect of density on the relationship between neighboring and morale. He found that as density increased, the morale of the isolates declined. The morale of the sociables remained the same because they retained a relatively constant level of interaction. The morale of the insatiabables was increased due to the increased opportunities for new contacts.

In a large sample of retired women, it was found that very few described themselves as being old. The majority viewed themselves as middle-aged or just past middle age, even those who were over seventy years old. This study supported the contention of activity theorists that many people regard middle-aged characteristics as being highly desirable (Cottrell and Atchley, 1969).

Martin's (1973) study of in-movers into a retirement community evidenced some support for activity theory. His sample included 411 persons whose median age was 67 and who were economically stable. The sample was structurally disengaged (retired, low in family interaction, and separated from age-integrated opportunities) yet quite active (high

in nonfamily interaction, anticipating increased interpersonal and recreation activities) and relatively high in life satisfaction. Martin pointed out that economic stability could have contributed to over-all satisfaction. Knapp (1977) examined activity theory with a sample of elderly persons living in the south of England and found that the felt level of life satisfaction was positively related to level of activity.

Although activity theory has not received much formal consideration, it is most common in serving as a guide for action among the elderly. Activity theory has generally been favored by most gerontologists (Havighurst, 1963).

Identity Crisis Theory

The identity crisis theory centers around the older person's view of himself. This theory states that involuntary changes in social position occurring in later life produce a crisis in the individual's ability to achieve a satisfactory identity in his/her new position (Atchley, 1972).

Miller (1965), who proposed the identity crisis theory, has based it on the following tenets:

1. Retirement is basically degrading despite the fact that it is a right which has been earned, because it is believed that the reward is given to facilitate the individual's removal from a role which he is no longer capable of fulfilling.

2. Occupational identity establishes the individual's position in the social system at large, allowing others to evaluate his status and role, thereby providing a context within which his social activity can be interpreted.
3. Among the various roles which could provide a source of identity, the occupational role is the one people are taught to value and prefer.
4. The role of the leisure participant cannot replace the occupational role as a source of identity and self-respect because it is not supported by norms that would make this legitimate.
5. The individual must engage in some meaningful or utilitarian activity, appropriate in terms of cultural values which will afford him/her a rationale for a social identity and self-concept.
6. A stigma of "implied inability to perform" is associated with occupational retirement and has a decided influence on the individual's remaining roles, resulting in an identity breakdown.
7. Identity breakdown is a social occurrence which misrepresents what the person has announced he/she is and what he/she is capable of; consequently, embarrassment makes continued role performance difficult and undermines the foundation of the new identity.
8. Embarrassment results in the individual's withdrawal from social interaction or prevents him/her from participation.
9. Replacing the activity from which the individual has withdrawn reduces the portent of embarrassment and minimizes his social loss, thereby providing a base for a new identity.
10. The dilemma of the retired individual could be resolved by engaging in activities which simulate a complete social system, with its norms, roles, statutes, prestige and esteem, and authority and leadership.

The identity crisis theory provides many insights, yet evokes criticisms. Perhaps the chief critic of the theory has been Atchley (1972). He alleged that the theory rests

on the assumption that prior to retirement the individual derives his/her identity primarily from the occupational role and that most retirement is involuntary. Contradictory to these assumptions, Atchley (1972) stated that very few persons rest their entire identity on a single role, rather, that each person usually identifies with several roles. Glasser (1972) supports this contention. He maintained that prior to the 1950's the only identity possible for most persons was an identity closely related to the work role. He pointed out, however, that since that time more persons are seeking an identity independent of occupation. Atchley (1972) further contended that Miller's assumption that most people wanted to stay on the job was inaccurate. He suggested that by omitting those who retired voluntarily and those in poor health, Miller limited the group to less than one-third of the retired men and a smaller percentage of retired women. Shultz (1976) asserted that most gerontologists' studies indicated that the majority of workers are not affected by mandatory retirement, which lends support to Atchley's (1972) criticism.

While many social gerontologists have ignored the identity crisis theory completely, a few have either lent support or opposition. Goodstein (1962) made the following statement:

Man's occupational role provides a convenient source of identification and enables the individual to place himself in a meaningful relationship with the world of work...work also provides an important outlet for social interactions and

associations for meeting man's social needs... work not only provides the workers with a purpose in life, but with a concrete plan for day-to-day living (p. 43).

Although Thompson (1972, 1973) found evidence contrary to Miller, she expressed the following viewpoint:

The major source of man's identity in America is not as a consumer, although his consumer role is quite important in this society... rather, he is identified mainly as a producer of goods and services and within that broad role as a carpenter, teacher, lawyer, and so on. Upon retirement, the validity of this occupational identity is undermined and demoralization may ensue (p.43).

Kimmel (1974) made the following observation regarding a person's identity:

Success and satisfaction in the occupation and family reaffirm the individual's sense of identity and also provide social recognition for that identity. Clearly the job is a salient aspect of a person's identity, ranking in importance along with his name, sex, citizenship. Although this close tie between the identity and the occupation may be more true for those in the professions...we know that certain occupation characteristics... are reflected in attitudes, values, and politics; in addition, the occupation reflects such factors as social class and amount of education (pp. 243-244).

Carlson (1977) suggested that entrance into old age, like entrance into adulthood, also creates an identity crisis in which the individual becomes uncertain in his image of himself and the role and roles he is expected to fill. He further alluded to the fact that this identity crisis is equally full of uncertainty and emotional trauma as the one experienced during the adolescence.

In their study of retirees, Peretti and Wilson (1975) found support for the identity crisis theory. Findings from their investigation indicated that persons whose retirement was involuntary experienced an identity crisis. Following their retirement, these retirees found difficulty in reconstructing their roles in terms of their present status. They reported that as a result of the mandatory retirement their identity, self-esteem, and self-images had been threatened. However, the investigators reported that an identity crisis was not experienced by persons who retired voluntarily.

According to Atchley (1976), much of the research done in the early fifties supported the assumptions which Miller (1965) proposed in his identity crisis theory. However, many of the investigations since that time have refuted the theory.

Back and Guptill (1966) failed to find support for identity crisis theory. They found that retirement resulted in a loss of a sense of involvement, but discovered that it was unrelated to other self-concept variables of optimism and autonomy.

Cottrell and Atchley's (1969) findings indicated that a strong positive orientation toward work existed apart from the job itself. In terms of adjustment, however, there were apparently no negative results from maintaining the positive orientation toward work into retirement.

Cottrell's (1970) study, which involved retired railroad workers, refuted identity crisis theory. His data suggested that the import of embarrassment and loss of identity was minimized by the tendency to select friends on the job within one's own age range, thereby, creating retirement cohorts.

Both Atchley (1971a) and Thompson (1973) failed to find support for the identity crisis theory in their respective studies. They found instead, that the leisure of retirement was viewed by retirees as an earned privilege.

Bell (1975) examined five specific assumptions of identity crisis theory as this orientation related to the prediction of life satisfaction following retirement. He failed to find support for four of the five assumptions. The results of his investigation showed a significant decline in life satisfaction. However, no significant changes in role behavior in the areas of family, voluntary associations, and community were found; role changes occupying retirement were not significantly associated with negative changes in satisfaction; increases in role performance were not significantly related to positive changes in satisfaction; and the correlation between commitment and change in satisfaction proved negative and nonsignificant.

Although identity crisis theory has failed to generate much research, it provides a utilitarian perspective.

It seems to be applicable to at least a segment of the older population.

Summary

Numerous theories have been developed by social gerontologists in an effort to determine how persons respond to the aging process. The three social theories of aging reviewed for this study were disengagement theory, activity theory, and identity crisis theory.

Disengagement theory, first proposed by Cumming and Henry (1961), holds that with the aging process there is an inevitable mutual withdrawal or disengagement, resulting in decreased interaction between the individual and others in society. The individual is said to disengage out of the desire to withdraw psychological energy from social ties and norms and turn his/her attention inward. Society is said to withdraw from the elderly in order to avoid disruption by the likelihood of death through the replacement of its inefficient members with younger, more functional ones (Atchley, 1972). According to Cumming and Henry (1961) this "mutual disengagement" is beneficial to both society and the individual. Disengagement theory has been the most controversial of the theories of aging. Its authenticity as a theory has been questioned by Streib and Schneider (1971), who suggested it could be more accurately described as a frame of reference. While the theory has received extensive criticisms (Kutner, 1962; Maddox, 1964; Brehm,

1968; Carp, 1968; Tallmer and Kutner, 1969; Atchley, 1972; Blau, 1973) some researchers have given partial support (Williams and Wirths, 1965; Martin, 1973; Brown, 1974). Despite its shortcomings, disengagement theory is considered important from the standpoint of generating more research than any other in social gerontology (Atchley, 1972).

Activity theory proposes that there is a positive relationship between the older person's participation in social activity and his life satisfaction. Proponents of this theory maintain that normal aging involves retaining the attitudes and activities of middle age as long as possible (Havighurst, 1961). Activity theory had its beginning as a sociological approach to aging in the 1949 publication, Personal Adjustment in Old Age by Cavan, Burgess, Havighurst, and Goldhammer. However, the first explicit statement of the theory emerged approximately ten years after the theory of disengagement generated widespread attention. Since that time activity theory has undergone numerous revisions, the most recent being that of Lemon, Bengston, and Peterson (1972). Critics of the theory have alleged that it excluded the inevitable possibility of death and that the middle-aged state is not necessarily preferable to later adulthood (Cumming and Henry, 1961); that it has a middle-aged bias (Streib and Schneider, 1971); that it is idealistic in its expectations

of older persons (Atchley, 1972); that it is assumptive in its inference that older people have control over the type roles available to them; and that it is contradicted by empirical evidence (Gubrium, 1972). In spite of the criticisms, activity theory has not gone without support (Maddox and Eisdorfer, 1962; Roscow, 1967; Cottrell and Atchley, 1969; Martin, 1973; Knapp, 1977). Basically these studies indicated a positive relationship between activity and morale or life satisfaction. The research fostered by this theory has been limited; however, it is frequently the basis on which programs for the elderly are established.

The identity crisis theory, proposed by Miller (1965), is based on the premise that involuntary changes in social position which occur in later life create a crisis in the individual's ability to satisfactorily identify with his/her new position. This theory, which has failed to receive consideration as a major theory in social gerontology, has been ignored by many researchers. It has been criticized by others (Atchley, 1972; Glasser, 1972; Shultz, 1976), who alleged that the theory is based on the assumption that prior to retirement persons derive their identities from their occupational role and that most retirement is involuntary. A few have lent support (Goodstein, 1962; Thompson, 1973; Kimmel, 1974; Carlson, 1977; Perretti and Wilson, 1975). While this theory has not generated much research, it seems to be applicable to at least a segment of the population.

Retirement

Evolution of the Concept of Retirement

Retirement has been described as a phenomenon of modern industrial society (Donahue, Orbach, and Pollack, 1960; Streib and Schneider, 1971; Atchley, 1976; Barrow and Smith, 1979). Before 1900 few people lived beyond the age of 65. Property owners, because of their favored position, could gradually decrease their workload as their physical skills declined; consequently, they tended to live longer than persons without property rights. Older persons without economic resources were engaged in heavy labor, in order to support themselves, until illness or death forced them out (Atchley, 1976).

The industrial revolution brought about many changes. Increased production created an excess of food and other goods, which precipitated the cessation of widespread self-employment. Large numbers of persons sought work in large factories and businesses (Atchley, 1977). As a result of medical, technological, and economic advances, a decline in mortality occurred, thereby giving greater visibility to persons sixty years of age and older (Hendricks and Hendricks, 1977). Urbanization and increased physical mobility, brought about by the rise of industrialism, combined to weaken the traditional ties to family and community. These trends resulted in a new relationship between the individual and the government which set the stage for

establishing an institutionalized right to support in one's old age (Atchley, 1972).

According to Spengler (1969) and Hendricks and Hendricks (1977), the depression of the 1930's spurred the Federal government into action on behalf of the elderly. However, Atchley (1977) attributed the beginning of the retirement system to the introduction in 1921 of civil service pensions for government workers.

Streib and Schneider (1971) described the following conditions as essential for the emergence of retirement as a social institution: (1) a number of people must live long enough to retire in later life; (2) the economy must provide enough surplus to support these persons; and (3) some forms of social insurance, pension plans, and health insurance schemes must offer support for those who retire. According to Barrow and Smith (1979), with the passage of the social security law in 1935, all of the above conditions were met. The law specified that persons over 65 who had worked for a certain number of years were entitled to benefits and age 65 became institutionalized as the standard age for retirement.

Carp (1966) identified three distinct aspects of the phenomenon of retirement: (1) retirement as an event; (2) retirement as a process; and (3) retirement as a social status. Others have recognized the multidimensionality of retirement (Sussman, 1972; Taylor, 1972; Kimmel, 1974; Atchley, 1976).

Viewed as an event, "retirement is what occurs at the precise point the individual leaves his job and is defined by himself, his employer, and others as having retired" (Atchley, 1976, p.53). Retirement as an event is usually placed at age 65; however, in some occupations retirement may occur after 30 years of continuous service (Carp, 1966).

According to Carp (1966), retirement is frequently seen as a special kind of an event which ushers in a critical period of the life span; therefore, it becomes a process. Retirement as a process implies change over a period of time. Sussman (1972) contended that a person begins, sustains, and finishes activity in a career; the individual is constantly moving toward the final act which terminates his service in the profession. Kimmel (1974) suggested that retirement as a process is one of anticipating the new status as one nears the termination of a career and the conscious or unconscious resolution of the conflicts and resocializations involved in the change of status.

Sussman (1972), considering retirement as a status, described it in the following manner:

Retirement is a status which carries the connotation that the individual is still active in some life sectors, less so, or not at all in others (p. 29).

Kimmel (1974) also considered retirement as a status. He viewed it as a new social position with its own unique roles, expectations, and responsibilities. Sussman (1972) contended that any change in status requires socialization

into new roles and necessitates the development of identification with the roles associated with this status. According to many gerontologists this has been difficult due to the fact that the role of retiree has not been defined clearly. Retirement has been described as a "roleless role" (Burgess, 1960; Donahue, Orbach, and Pollack, 1960). Atchley (1976) has taken an opposite view:

Retirement is not a void. It represents a valid social role which consists not only of rights and duties attached to a social position but also of specific relationships between retired people and other role players (p. 72).

The Retirement Decision: Voluntary Versus Mandatory Retirement

According to Palmore (1972), one of the most controversial issues in gerontology is that of mandatory retirement at a fixed age versus flexible retirement based on ability. There are numerous arguments for and against mandatory retirement. Some of these have been summarized by Donahue, Orbach, and Pollack (1960). They presented the following arguments for mandatory retirement:

1. It permits an orderly separation and transition from employment to retirement when declining health and productibility make it timely and appropriate (if they ever do).
2. It provides a practical administrative procedure that is objective, impersonal, and impartial and which avoids charges of discrimination, favoritism, and bias.
3. It maintains open channels of promotion, insures more upward mobility, and strengthens incentive of younger persons as well as helps

make a more efficient, effective, and adaptive organization.

4. It encourages the individual to plan and prepare for...retirement, and it makes it necessary for the organization to make plans for adequate reserves and replacements for those who have retired.

Their arguments against compulsory retirement were summarized as follows:

1. The sharp reduction in income and the downward adjustment in living standards occasioned by retirement creates undue hardship and resentment.
2. Compulsory retirement tends to disregard important individual differences in capacity as well as differences in job requirements. It ignores the productive potential of people and deprives them of the social and occupation significance which accrues from work.
3. The argument that compulsory retirement is a convenient and practical administrative procedure for separating older employees and for maintaining channels and opportunities for promotion of younger employees overlooks the effective alternatives of flexible retirement and the advantages of selective employment and utilization of older persons.
4. Compulsory retirement is costly and wasteful for the company, the individual, and the economy.

Evidence regarding the percentage of workers affected by mandatory retirement is conflicting. Streib and Schneider (1971) found from their study that 46 percent of the men retired voluntarily and the remainder retired because of administrative decisions. They indicated that the percentage of voluntary retirees was slightly higher for women. Atchley (1976) alleged that an overwhelming

majority of persons retire voluntarily. According to Shultz (1976), most gerontologists' studies indicated that the majority of workers were not directly affected by mandatory retirement. However, Barrow and Smith (1979) contended that as recently as 1977, 54 percent of the workers were subject to mandatory retirement. A series of national surveys conducted by the Social Security Administration showed that compulsory retirement policies affected a large and growing proportion of elderly workers (Palmore, 1972).

The trend over the past two decades has been toward earlier retirement (Pollman, 1971; Barrow and Smith, 1979). It has become widely accepted for persons to retire at age sixty-two. Many sociologists have predicted that by the year 2000, fifty-five will be an acceptable retirement age (Neugarten, 1974). Atchley (1976) maintained that early retirement has received support from persons in industry who were dissatisfied and wanted to retire when it became economically feasible, as well as by employers who wished to control the characteristics of their work force. While one would expect early retirement to be on a voluntary basis, Fields (1970) indicated that approximately 10 percent of early retirements could be classified as involuntary.

After a number of years of gradually reducing the mandatory retirement age, a movement is now underway to abolish it altogether. Legislation was brought before the Congress in 1977 that would eliminate mandatory retirement in Federal

employment and would raise the retirement age in the private sector to 70. Mandatory retirement in Federal employment was abolished, effective January 1, 1978. Public opinion regarding age-related employment is gradually changing. The following reasons have precipitated this occurrence: (1) the increasing number of older people is putting a strain on the Social Security System; (2) accelerated inflation indicates that pensions cannot rise at the same rate as prices; (3) older people are now healthier and more capable of working (Barrow and Smith, 1979). According to Campbell (1979), the most important result of raising the mandatory retirement age would be that a high percentage of those most likely to survive past age 60, and most likely to produce a strain on public funds if unemployed would, on the contrary, be in the labor force.

Preretirement Preparation

In general, there are no rules for older people to follow when changing from an occupational to a retired way of life. How people react to retirement frequently depends upon how well they understand what the situation will be and how well prepared they are to deal with it (Hunter, 1968).

Kimmel (1974) suggested that one of the most important implications of studies on retirement was the importance of preretirement planning or anticipatory socialization for the new set of roles that one occupies when the work rules

no longer apply. Preretirement preparation involves many aspects. Hunter (1968) indicated that planning for retirement should include information on income, health, pursuit of activities, changes in family life, formation of new friendships, and decisions regarding place of residence. Kimmel (1974) and Barrow and Smith (1979) also viewed income and health as important aspects to be included in preretirement preparation. They further stressed the importance of the development and expansion of interests apart from the job as well as the formation of new relationships to possibly replace those that are lost following the exit from the occupational role.

There is concensus among most gerontologists of the need for preretirement preparation. In his study of preretirement anticipation and adjustment in retirement, Thompson (1958) found that the two most important factors were an accurate preconception of retirement and a favorable preretirement attitude. Simpson, Back, and McKinney (1966) stated that retirement lacked institutionalized roles and was characterized by uncertainty. They suggested that the individual might reduce the role uncertainty by obtaining information on retirement in order to learn what to expect. Sussman (1972) attributed selection of options and rate of movement from pre- to postretirement roles to the degree of preretirement preparation. Barfield and Morgan (1969) contended that negative attitudes toward

retirement stemming from the lack of knowledge about potential financial, health, and psychological problems could be alleviated through preretirement counseling programs. They claimed that even minimal exposure has proven to reduce levels of dissatisfaction among participants. Barrow and Smith (1979) maintained that retirement preparation programs enhanced successful adjustment to retirement.

Adjustment to Retirement

Adjustment to retirement must be made by society as well as by the individual. It therefore seems appropriate to discuss both societal and individual aspects of this phenomenon.

Societal. Social, economic, technological, cultural, and scientific developments often create new problems. Many groups have emerged in today's society who are considered atypical. One such group is older adults. Since a changing society is partly responsible for creating these retirement problems, a democratic society must assume the responsibility for offering compensatory opportunities for the retired (Carlson, Deppe, and MacLean, 1972).

In the United States today, there are more than twenty million people over the age of sixty-five. In the next two decades this number is expected to increase by ten million (Woodruff and Birren, 1975). Our society, often described as one which emphasizes individualism, independence, and

self-reliance, has tended to devalue those persons who cannot attain these goals, including the elderly. Consequently, the United States has been slow to provide social service programs for this segment of the population. However, as the number of elderly persons increases, and their needs become more visible, more services are being made available (Barrow and Smith, 1979).

The first attempt on the part of society to recognize and assume the responsibility for an aging population was the passage of the Social Security Act in 1935. On an annual basis, social security payments amounting to over \$60 billion are distributed to more than 20 million retired workers (Haber, 1976). Since that time the Federal government has sponsored two other major programs which benefit the elderly. One of these programs, Supplemental Security Income (SSI), was designed to aid those not covered adequately by Social Security, formerly known as Old Age Assistance. The second additional federally directed source of aid is the Older Americans Act which finances a variety of programs and activities for the elderly.

The Older Americans Act includes several major sections or "titles" which specifically deal with establishing the Administration on Aging, the administrative structure for the programs and services the Act dictates; providing for distribution of money to states and communities to establish state and area agencies on aging; providing for the training of persons to work in the field of aging and

for research and education on aging; establishing multi-purpose senior centers to deliver social services; to provide strategically located nutrition centers; and to provide a community service employment agency for older persons (Barrow and Smith, 1979).

With the enactment of Medicare in 1965, society assumed some of the medical costs for the elderly. Medicare, Title XVIII, Part A of the Social Security Act, provides hospital insurance for persons 65 years and older who are entitled to Social Security or railroad retirement benefits. Part B of Medicare consists of optional major medical insurance for which the individual pays a monthly fee. Medicaid, funded jointly by the federal and state government, is also available to needy, low income elderly persons (Kimmel, 1974).

Although society's concern for persons 65 years and over has been evidenced through the various programs offered at the national, state, and local levels, the needs of many older Americans are not being met. Inadequacies in medical services (Hess, 1976; Cruikshank, 1976), housing, transportation, education, and legal aid are ubiquitous (Atchley, 1972; Kimmel, 1974; Atchley, 1977; Barrow and Smith, 1979). Satchell (1980) described the plight of the elderly as being critical. He concluded that Social Security benefits needed to be upgraded; efficient delivery of vital help was being hampered by a complex and fragmented

bureaucracy; that Congress was using a penny-pinching, scattershot approach in its funding for the elderly; and that inflation was causing a broad range of problems for the older generation. Society has been slow in adjusting to the vast number of retirees through its provision of opportunities and services. It has been, perhaps even more remiss in adjusting to the impact retirement has on communities.

According to Atchley (1976) older persons are just beginning to be relied on as resources in the community rather than liabilities. He maintained that the phenomenon of retirement has some important consequences for the community. He suggested that retirement has increased the utilization of present housing in central cities and other places which would otherwise be unoccupied. He further stated that retirement pensions enhance the economy of the communities. Retired persons have been found to be valuable resources to society through programs such as Foster Grandparents, Project Green Thumb, and the Retired Service Volunteer Program (Atchley, 1976; Barrow and Smith, 1979). Many communities are drawing on the rich cultural backgrounds of aging immigrants or first generation Americans to provide the vital link that transmits culture, values, and heritage (Kaplan, 1979).

The elderly represent a highly resourceful and capable group. However, society's prejudice has retarded its adjustment.

Individual Adjustment to Retirement

Research has shown that adjustment to retirement can be difficult and present problems for some individuals. However, a general finding is that only a minority have serious problems with retirement, while the majority adjust reasonably well (Barrow and Smith, 1979).

A large percentage of the literature on the personal consequences of retirement has been concerned with the impact of retirement on social adjustment. The broad category of social adjustment includes such factors as acceptance of retirement, life satisfaction, morale, self-esteem, age identification, and job deprivation (Atchley, 1976).

In a study by Cottrell and Atchley (1969), 83 percent of over 3500 retired teachers and telephone company employees involved in the investigation showed a high degree of acceptance of retirement. In a cross-national investigation, Shanas and her associates (1968) found that Americans accepted retirement more readily than did Britons or Danes. Thirty-five percent of the Americans in the investigation had negative attitudes toward retirement, as compared to 42 percent of the British and fifty percent of the Danes. Of the Americans involved in the study, white-collar workers showed the highest degree of acceptance of retirement, followed by blue-collar and service workers. American farmers were found to have negative views toward retirement.

Spreitzer and Snyder (1974) conducted a study to replicate and extend earlier studies of the correlates of life satisfaction among older persons. Their findings concurred with previous research in showing the importance of perceived health condition and financial adequacy as predictors of life satisfaction. Results of their study revealed that up to age 65 women tended to report higher rates of life satisfaction than men; after age 65, men were more likely than women to report a high degree of life satisfaction. Perceived financial adequacy was a substantially stronger predictor of life satisfaction than objective indicators of socioeconomic position. Since the data set used in this secondary analysis did not include measures of social participation, no clear inferences were made concerning support for either the disengagement or activity theoretical frameworks.

Chatfield (1977) examined the relative importance of income, health status, and such sociological factors as worker roles and family setting in an attempt to explain the life satisfaction of the aged. Results of the survey showed that the lower life satisfaction of those recently retired was due primarily to loss of income rather than to sociological factors.

Another study which supported the relationship of income to life satisfaction was that of Edwards and Klemmack (1973). They found socioeconomic status and

family income to be the primary determinant in variance of life satisfaction. Additional variance was explained by perceived health status and participation in nonfamilial activities. Participation in voluntary associations did not independently contribute to perceived satisfaction.

Pollman (1971) investigated the relationship of life satisfaction to early retirement. He found that early retirees, as compared to those who decided to keep working, had a significantly higher degree of life satisfaction. The early retiree tended to be a highly skilled and satisfied individual who may be quite able to prolong a high state of morale during his retirement years.

Using a sample of retired men in Wisconsin, Bultena (1968) examined the relationship of life-continuity - discontinuity patterns to morale. Results from this investigation indicated that morale was positively related to socioeconomic status and that decremental life changes were associated with a low level of morale. The study further showed that the impact of life changes on morale was mediated by the social structure, with the aged in the lower socioeconomic levels experiencing greater psychological costs due to decremental changes. Pierce and Clark (1973) attempted to measure morale among 435 elderly subjects using three dimensions of morale: depression/satisfaction, equanimity, and will to live. The subjects consisted of mental hospital inpatients, ex-patients, and

community residents. The investigation showed that the three groups differed significantly, with community residents showing more satisfaction with their lives, more equanimity in their day to day transactions, and greater will to live.

Several aspects of the effect of retirement on the self have been investigated. In Cottrell and Atchley's (1969) study of retired teachers and telephone company employees, the impact of retirement on self-esteem was examined using Rosenberg's (1965) scale of self-esteem. It was found that self-esteem among retirees was quite high. It was further revealed that retirement produced no differences in self-esteem scores.

Back and Guptill (1966) investigated self-concept among preretirees and retirees. Using a semantic differential, they identified three dimensions: involvement, optimism, and autonomy. They found that scores on involvement were considerably lower for retirees than for preretirees, which they attributed almost entirely to loss of work. However, their results showed that retirement had little effect on autonomy or optimism.

In studying age identification, the individual's self-rating concerning his own phase of life cycle, Atchley and George (1973) found that the prime correlates of age identification as old or very old were retirement for men, and chronological age for women. They concluded that men tended to judge themselves in functional terms while women

judged themselves in more physical terms. These findings differed from those of Streib and Schneider (1971) who reported that retirement had produced no differences in age identification. They concluded that chronological age rather than retirement was the primary factor in age identification.

Some persons avoid the problems of adjusting to retirement by returning to a paying job. Streib and Schneider (1971) reported that from their longitudinal study of retirement, approximately 10 percent returned to jobs after having retired. They identified several factors which prompted people to return to a job. Those who are disposed to return to work are characterized as having a negative attitude toward retirement, a positive value of the satisfactions of work, having been involuntarily retired, and having a high degree of felt economic deprivation. Persons returning to work tended to identify with the middle class and to have higher levels of education as compared to those who remained retired. Atchley (1976) found that those persons who hold jobs following retirement tended to score very high on the job deprivation scale, which tends to support Streib and Schneider's (1971) findings.

According to Graney and Graney (1973), scaling adjustment among the elderly has been researched frequently in social gerontology. However, they pointed out that the

variations in conceptualizing and collecting data on adjustment have detracted from the usefulness of the concept. They suggested that social gerontologists need to clarify their concepts for future research, rather than interchangeably using terms such as psychological well-being, social adjustment, personal adjustment, self-esteem, happiness, morale, successful aging, and life satisfaction. Graney and Graney's study explicated adjustment in terms of three referents: life satisfaction, personal adjustment, and social adjustment. They found happiness and personal adjustment to be unrelated.

Rosow's assessment of the research on adjustment which he published in the early 1960's seems to remain relevant. He summarized it as follows:

The effort to untangle the web of correlates and causes of "good adjustment" in old age reflects not only scientific interests, but the pressures of a compelling social problem. Accordingly, our ideological values and commitment have lent a sense of urgency to research. But this has also obscured some vital issues in the concept of adjustment and confused thinking in the area (1963, p. 195).

Summary

Having reviewed the literature it is clearly evident that retirement is a phenomenon of modern industrial society (Donahue, Orbach and Pollack, 1960; Streib and Schneider, 1971; Atchley, 1976; Barrow and Smith, 1979). Its multidimensionality has been recognized by many who have viewed

it as an event, a process, and a social status (Carp, 1966; Sussman, 1972; Taylor, 1972; Kimmel, 1974; Atchley, 1976).

Since the ratification of the Social Security law in 1935, which specified 65 as the standard age for retirement, numerous arguments for and against mandatory retirement have ensued (Donahue, Orbach and Pollack, 1960; Palmore, 1972; Barrow and Smith, 1979). Although the trend over the past two decades has been toward earlier retirement, the present trend is toward raising the mandatory retirement age. Although legislation has not been extended to the private sector, mandatory retirement in Federal employment was abolished altogether in January, 1978 (Barrow and Smith, 1979).

There appears to be a concensus among most social gerontologists that preretirement preparation enhances successful adjustment to retirement (Simpson, Back and McKinney, 1966; Hunter, 1968; Barfield and Morgan, 1969; Sussman, 1972; Atchley, 1976; Kimmel, 1974, Barrow and Smith, 1979). At the present, only 10 percent of the labor force has access to preretirement programs. Little research has been done on the effectiveness of such programs.

Research has shown that adjustment to retirement can be extremely difficult for some older individuals. However, research tends to indicate that only a minority have serious problems with retirement (Barrow and Smith, 1979). Adjustment to retirement must be made by society as well as the individual. Only recently has society's concern for the elderly been evidenced through various programs offered at

the national, state, and local levels. Older persons are just beginning to be considered resources in the communities, rather than liabilities (Atchley, 1976).

Retirement From Sport

Evolution of the Concept of Retirement

Retirement from sport, like retirement in general, has resulted from the transformation of society from that of rural-agrarian to urban industrial. According to Betts (1974), this transformation had a profound effect on the development of sport. Urbanization created a need for spectator sports, which served as a release from the confinements of city life. Industrialization gradually raised the standard of living and provided leisure time so essential to organized sports (Betts, 1980). Furst (1980) contended that without increased leisure, the development of sports would have been severely deterred.

Baseball was the first of the popular spectator sports to acquire professional status, with the first professional game being played in 1869. Between 1894 and 1903, six sports had reorganized on a professional basis (Furst, 1980). Golf, which was imported from Scotland and first played in the United States in Yonkers, New York, became professionalized with the founding of the United States Golf Association in 1894. Professional bowling evolved one year later. Basketball, which was originated in the United States,

acquired professional status in 1898, only seven years after its development. Hockey first made its appearance in the United States in 1893 and the first professional team was organized in Houghton, Michigan in 1903. The professionalization of tennis occurred in 1926 (Menke, 1976). The first professional football game was played in Latrobe, Pennsylvania in 1895.

Most of the major American professional sports originated as play. The play element in sport was then superseded by a sophistication of techniques and a codification of the rules and was transposed into a game. With professionalization, participants engaged in the sport for remuneration; consequently, it became work (Furst, 1980). Although the term "retired athlete" is applicable to all former professional athletes, pension plans were nonexistent for almost a century. Pension plans evolved from the formation of players' associations in the 1960's. (Coakley, 1978).

Hill and Lowe (1974) maintained that many similarities exist between retirement in general and the termination of a career in sport. Retirement from sport, as in other occupations, has a negative connotation. It is frequently associated with a reduction in status, in income, and requires the development of new skills and socialization into new roles. In referring to retirement in general, Sussman (1972) stated that reaching retirement age produced trauma, crisis and stress for a large number of individuals.

Retirement from sport has been found to have similar effects on former sportsmen (Mihovilovic, 1968; Beisser, 1967; Hill and Lowe, 1974; Higgins, 1976; McPherson, 1978).

Although many parallels exist between retirement from the work sector and retirement from sport, retirement from sport is unique. One distinct feature which sets it apart from other occupations is the fact that employees of sport are continually evaluated by the public and the media. Statistical records are kept and published regularly (Haerle, 1975). As a result, retirement could be imposed on them at any time. In most occupations, sixty-five has been set as the standard retirement age. In sport, where retirement frequently occurs at age 25 to 35, the event is not as socially sanctioned as for the older worker (McPherson, 1978). Another unique feature concerning retirement from sport is that the retiree must frequently retire before becoming eligible for a pension (Coakley, 1978). However, one of the most unique characteristics is that, for athletes, retirement from sport is a first retirement. Since for most athletes, sport is the first of more than one career, they will eventually retire again (McPherson, 1978).

The Retirement Decision

In sport, as in other occupations, the decision to retire may be made by the individual or imposed by management. Regardless of the circumstances surrounding retirement from

sport, the professional athlete must change careers at a time in life when persons of comparable ages are "attaining stability, recognition, and perhaps mobility in their chosen occupations" (Loy, McPherson, and Kenyon, 1978, pp. 246-247).

Voluntary retirement. The circumstances which presage voluntary retirement are manifold. McPherson (1978) maintained that voluntary retirement from sport was influenced by the educational level of the athlete, the present and future financial situation, the perceived opportunities for a second career, and the awareness of declining physical skills. These factors tended to overlap somewhat with those described by Hill and Lowe (1974). They examined career expectancy and remuneration potential; skills and employment potential; occupational casualty and occupational stress; and occupational health and lifestyle. For purposes of this paper the following areas will be discussed as they relate to voluntary retirement: (1) educational level of the athlete; (2) career expectancy and present financial situation; (3) awareness of declining physical skills; and (4) perceived opportunities for an alternate career.

The educational attainment of the professional athlete frequently determines the timing of his decision to retire voluntarily from sport. The college-educated player begins his career later than does the noncollege player and usually ends it earlier (McPherson, 1978). According to Blitz (1973), nearly all professional football players have attended college,

and a majority of them have received degrees. Beckley (1975) reported that from his sample of 501 professional football players, 73 percent had attained college degrees, while eighty-four percent of another fifty-one players interviewed indicated that they held degrees. Only 12 percent of the baseball players in the major league graduated from college, 46 percent had some college experience, and 13 percent had attended junior college. In professional basketball, the majority of players have attended college but many fail to receive degrees. Among professional hockey players, 40 percent attended college while 15 percent earned degrees. College-educated players tend to retire early voluntarily because they are, in most instances, less committed to professional sport than are their noncollege counterparts and are in a position to accept a career-oriented job offer (McPherson, 1978).

Inherent in the decision-making process is the career expectancy and present financial status of the athlete. According to Andreano (1973) and Blitz (1973), the average length of a professional career in baseball is seven years. In 1977 the estimated average salary was \$48,000 and the minimum was \$21,000 (Jackson and Lowe, n.d.; Coakley, 1978). For basketball, the average playing career is five years (Blitz; 1973; Jackson and Lowe, n.d.). The average salary is estimated at \$120,000 with a maximum salary estimated at \$600,000 (Loy, McPherson, and Kenyon, 1978). In the

National Football League the average career length is 4.5 years with an estimated average salary of \$50,000 and a maximum of \$450,000 (Loy, McPherson, and Kenyon, 1978). The contracts of many players include incentive clauses which boost potential earnings (Hill and Lowe, 1974). The average player in the National Hockey League has a career expectancy of eight years with the median salary being \$75,000 and an estimated maximum salary of \$250,000. The estimated average salaries for golf, tennis, and horse racing (jockeys) are \$30,000, \$50,000, and \$10,000 respectively (Loy, McPherson, and Kenyon, 1978). McPherson (1978) maintained that athletes' decisions to retire from individual sports are based on an economic basis when their winnings are insufficient to keep them on the tour.

The athlete's awareness of a deterioration of specialized physical skills may precipitate the decision to retire from sport. Unlike workers in other professions, the athlete reaches his/her peak in the late twenties or early thirties (Davies, 1973). Singer (1975) contended that while this is true of athletes in externally paced sports such as football, the athlete in self-paced sports such as golf, is capable of high-level performance well beyond this time. Many who retire voluntarily delay retirement as long as possible, consequently remaining in sport longer than they should (McPherson, 1978). Mihovilovic (1968) found this to be true with former Yugoslavian soccer players.

Jerry Kramer, former player for the Packers, expressed his reluctance to retire:

I thought about the loss of the football life and the loss of recognition, and still I knew that I should retire...yet I hesitated to retire for one more reason, for a reason that has prolonged too many athletic careers. I didn't want to go out a loser (1973, p. 369).

According to Weinberg and Arond (1952), some athletes postpone retirement even though permanently injured and well beyond their peak years. They stated that:

Many boxers persist in fighting when they have passed their prime and even when they have been injured. For example, one boxer, blind in one eye and barred from fighting in one state, was grateful to his manager for getting him matches in other states (p. 469).

Although many athletes who retire voluntarily from sport delay the decision as long as possible, others recognize their physical limitations and realize it is time to quit (McPherson, 1978). Bob Cousy, former professional basketball player, expressed it as follows:

Once I started to get older my physical skills started to diminish and a feeling of apprehension began to set in. I knew I could no longer control my destiny.... Suddenly I was thirty-four years old... and you know you cannot perform up to that level...I wanted to quit "on top" so I could capitalize on it for the next twenty years (Hoffman, 1977, p. 46).

Professional athletes' perceptions of second careers have a decided influence on the decision to retire from sport. Two avenues are available to professional sportsmen. They may choose to remain in the sport subculture as scouts,

trainers, coaches, and managers or they may select to become engaged in a nonsport career (McPherson, 1978).

Haerle (1974) described the player-manager role as a limited option for the athlete in his declining years. Jackson and Lowe (nd) suggested that both the commitment that athletes make to sport and "the love of the game" precipitate their involvement in sport after their playing days are over.

Many players view their participation in professional sport as providing a financial base for "launching a second career." Others see it as providing the financial backing for such pursuits. Still others opt to remain in their off-season jobs (Beckley, 1975). According to Beckley (1975), a number of players indicated that opportunities for a second career were available as the result of the name recognition, publicity, and business contacts which accrued from participation in professional sport.

Involuntary retirement. Unlike other persons in high-status positions such as doctors or lawyers, professional athletes have little autonomy regarding the decision to retire (McPherson, 1978). Involuntary retirement in professional sport is prevalent. Although there is little empirical research to indicate what percentage of athletes in all professional sports retire involuntarily, Mihovilovic (1968) reported that 94.5 percent of 44 former Yugoslavian soccer players indicated that retirement was forced on them.

Although involuntary retirement may be precipitated by a number of factors, the following seem to be most frequent: (1) failure in sport; (2) injuries; (3) age; and (4) elimination by younger athletes.

"Failure in sport" commonly results in forced retirement. This type of retirement, described by Ball (1976), refers to the athlete who is "sent down" to the minor leagues, maintained on a "taxi squad," or released outright from the team. For athletes who are forced into the minor leagues, "degradation and embarrassment may operate more frequently" due to the fact they are still in the system and their marginality is obvious to the public as well as their peers. This process exists in such sports as hockey, baseball, and to some degree in tennis and golf, which are structured to include satellite tours (Loy, McPherson, and Kenyon, 1978). Ball (1976) suggested that in such sports as football and basketball where there is no formal minor league structure, the rate of failure could be expected to be higher. He further pointed out that in this type of sport structure more alternatives were available; consequently, failure was usually less traumatic than in sport structures which provided an option to perform at a lower level. According to Loy, McPherson, and Kenyon (1978), another method of dealing with failures occurs when a demotion is made to appear as a horizontal move. They suggested that such may be the case when a "has been"

star is encouraged to retire in order to accept a relatively powerless position within the sports organization.

In some sport activities, injuries have become an increasingly prevalent aspect of the game. This is particularly true in heavy contact sport. "Injuries in most contact sports have become the major disruption of athletic careers" (Coakley, 1978). Runfola, as cited by Coakley (1978), alleged that the 1040 players who began the NFL season in 1974 and 1975, experienced an average of 1101 injuries severe enough to prevent participation in the subsequent game. Research by Mihovilovic (1968) indicated that 31.8 percent of the 44 Yugoslavian sportsmen were forced to retire as a result of injury.

Another factor which influences the mandatory termination of a sports career is the aging process. Management's evaluation of an athlete's value to the team is contingent upon physical performance which is influenced by "age-grading" (McPherson, 1978). "Many professional sport organizations consider age to be a criterion in establishing benchmarks for career progress" (Loy, McPherson, and Kenyon, 1978, p. 336). Faulkner (1975) reported from his investigation of hockey players that most players felt, unless they were promoted to the National Hockey League parent organization to play a continuous set of games before they reached the age of 25, permanent assignment to the minor leagues or outright dismissal would be imminent.

According to McPherson (1978) similar age norms are existent in other sports organizations. Youth dominates the world of professional sport and aging is viewed as a process of steady decline (Faulkner, 1975). Hill and Lowe (1974) pointed out that even minor consequences of aging are critical to the professional athlete's career. Statistics on the number of professional athletes who are forced to retire due to the aging process are unavailable. However, Mihovilovic (1968) indicated that 27.3 percent of his sample of 44 former Yugoslavian soccer players were involuntarily retired due to age.

Hill and Lowe (1974) contended that, in sport where there is no standard retirement age, the competition for playing positions between older players and newcomers is intense. The retirement of a professional athlete after his displacement by a younger player, like the retirement of the industrial worker at age 65, is involuntary retirement. Faulkner (1975) suggested that "...incumbents face the continuous prospect of being displaced by newcomers throughout their work life" (p. 532). Mihovilovic (1968) found that 6.8 percent of the former soccer players included in his investigation retired involuntarily as a result of being displaced by younger players. In an attempt to determine the methods employed by older players to remain on the team, Mihovilovic (1968) solicited responses from former players, coaches, and management.

The general consensus was that older players remained on the team primarily due to "unsavoury methods" such as intrigues, boycotting, and sabotaging the young, although the evidence indicated that they also trained more intensely, led a "cleaner" life, and showed dedication and good play in competition.

Preretirement Preparation

There is a consensus among most gerontologists that there is a definite need for pre-retirement preparation prior to the retirement of the older worker (Simpson, Back and McKinney, 1966; Hunter, 1968; Sussman, 1972; Kimmel, 1974; and Barrow and Smith, 1979). Similarly, sociologists and sport sociologists who have been concerned with the study of the professional athlete and his/her subsequent retirement, have also considered the importance of preparation for retirement (Hill and Lowe, 1974; Haerle, 1975; Coakley, 1978; McPherson, 1978; Loy, McPherson and Kenyon, 1978). Hill and Lowe (1974) alluded to the fact that athletes, like their older counterparts, did little if any planning for their postplaying days.

McPherson (1978) contended that regardless of the circumstances surrounding retirement, athletes were handicapped by not planning for their retirement, by not having the education or training for a second career, and by the desire to stay with the game to satisfy egos. Jim Lonsberg of the Boston Red Sox is quoted as having said:

Leaving baseball can be a big shock to a player because he may not really have prepared himself for a different kind of life. (Durso, 1971, p. 224)

Coakley (1978) also maintained that major difficulties in moving into another career could be attributed to "insufficient preparation for the non-sport job market."

It was pointed out by Hill and Lowe (1974) that many athletes do not start thinking about "alternative skills" until after they enter professional sport. Haerle's (1975) study supported this thesis. He examined the socio-psychological and occupational adjustment patterns to retirement among former professional baseball players and found that 75 percent of the 312 respondents did not consider the postcareer life until they were in their early or mid-thirties. While evidence indicates that many athletes do not begin preparation for retirement until they are well into their careers of professional sport, according to Truex (1978a), this has not been true of all athletes. He quoted Charlie Trippi, whose career in professional sport spanned almost a decade, as saying he started thinking of ways to prepare himself for postplaying days as soon as he began making money in sports.

Mihovilovic (1968), a pioneer in conducting empirical research on retired athletes, suggested that the problem of the older athlete could be solved in a more effective way. He advocated initiating a number of measures while they were still active to acquaint them with retirement and its

social effects as well as to introduce them to various kinds of activity with which they could occupy themselves. It would appear from the literature that Mihovilovic (1968) was among the first to propose preretirement preparation for professional athletes.

Since the late 1960's, the trend in preparation for retirement among professional athletes has changed. Almost all professional sports now have players' associations that generate pension and disability programs for the athlete's protection in later years. The players' associations in most of the popular professional sports have tried to initiate programs to make the athlete's socialization out of sport less traumatic (Coakley, 1978). According to Durso (1971), athletes now have access to capable financial advisors who, for a fee, assist the players in making wise investments for their postplaying days. In addition, athletes themselves, now recognize the insecurity and brevity of their playing careers. Consequently, many are initiating skill training or off-season employment from which may evolve permanent careers (Loy, McPherson, and Kenyon, 1978).

Adjustment to Retirement

The reaction to retirement from sport varies from that of satisfaction to trauma. It is frequently contingent upon the circumstances presaging the retirement decision, the age of the individual, the available options for a

second career, and the degree of commitment to sport (McPherson, 1978).

Since retirees from sport are chronologically much younger than retirees in other occupations, several areas must be considered when examining their adjustment to the termination of a sports career. The following topics will be explored: (1) psychological adjustment, (2) specificity of skills and employment opportunities, and (3) second careers of former athletes.

Psychological adjustment. Although empirical evidence regarding the athlete's ability or inability to adjust successfully to a postplaying life-style is limited, numerous literary works are replete with such evidence (Updike, 1960; Jordan, 1975; Michener, 1976). In such literary accounts, the former sports hero is typically described as inadequately trained for a second career, maladjusted, and past oriented.

In making the transition from athlete to ex-athlete, there are many psychological barriers which must be overcome. Page (1969) suggested that many successful athletes face an identity crisis following the termination of their sports careers, particularly if they fail to "make it" in another profession. Hill and Lowe (1974) and McPherson (1978) contended that the retired athlete faces a crisis brought about by the uncertainty of his/her personal and

social identity. Coakley (1978) made the following observation regarding self-identification and the athlete:

Among many sports participants, there seems to be a tendency to become so caught up with the role of athlete that they have a very difficult time switching the source of their identities from sport to some other involvement or activity. This does not mean that athletes do not have sources of self-identification outside their sport involvement, but only that their identities as athletes are likely to be so strong that it is difficult to leave them behind when facing the prospect of a new career (p. 207).

A second factor which induces trauma for some former athletes is a reduction in, or loss of, status (Mihovilovic, 1968; Hill and Lowe, 1974; McPherson, 1978). In their discussion of boxers, Weinberg and Arond (1952) explained:

Since boxing has been the vocational medium of status attainment and since they have no other skills to retain that status, many boxers experience a sharp decline in status in post-boxing careers (p. 469).

Coakley (1978) maintained that the role of professional athlete is one of the most clearly visible and prestigious roles in society's occupational structure. Athletes enjoy, if not savor, the publicity and notoriety associated with professional sport and some reap the benefits of such publicity outside of sport. Jerry Kramer, former offensive lineman with the Packers, expressed such enjoyment:

Giving up football is giving up that day. It is also giving up the hero's role. I worry about that. I wonder how much I'll miss being recognized, being congratulated, being idolized. For years, as an offensive lineman, I worked in relative obscurity, but with the block against Jethro Pugh and

with the success of instant replay, I became as well known as a running back. I was recognized in restaurants, on the golf course, in the streets, and I loved the strange, sweet taste of recognition (pp. 358-359).

Hill and Lowe (1974) alleged that since identity, status, and occupation were so closely interwoven in the human psyche, social and psychological adjustment was more demanding than accepting the biological consequences of aging. They further suggested that retirement was the "first major stress point" that the athlete encountered due to the protective environment of the sport subculture.

It would appear then, that a third factor which may precipitate trauma following retirement is the inexperience in coping with macroscopic society. According to Hill and Lowe (1974), the athlete is sheltered by his sports organization from mundane responsibilities and anxieties which are inherent in the lives of persons of comparable ages in other occupations. Consequently, many of the functions associated with maturity are delayed until retirement. In his book, Sport in America, Michener (1976) alluded to the fact that sport prolonged the period of adolescence. Empirical evidence to support or refute this concept is unavailable. The following statement made by Max Zaslofsky, a former professional basketball player, tends to support Hill and Lowe's (1974) contention that athletes are made to "face the world" well beyond the time when persons in other occupations do:

The only thing I found frustrating was when I left the game...there was something missing...the first four years after I left I was really, really in bad shape because I didn't know what was out there for me... It's a nightmare. You get a highstrung thoroughbred who's skilled to do a certain thing...when you leave that arena and walk out into the street it's a "dog eat dog" and you better be ready because someone's looking to gobble you up (Hoffman, 1977, pp. 18-19).

Beisser (1967) recognized the serious psychological effects of retirement on some individuals. He made the following observation:

Studying the athletes who crossed the threshold from psychiatric health to psychiatric illness, sports have been found to be of central importance in the change which occurred - when a signal event indicated the end of their satisfying role in sports (p. 228).

One of the first attempts to analyze adjustment problems among retired athletes was the study of former soccer players in Yugoslavia conducted by Mihovilovic in 1968. He found that athletes who had no profession in which to engage following retirement from sport experienced trauma, characterized by personal conflict, frustration, increased smoking and drinking. Managers who responded to Mihovilovic's (1968) questionnaire regarding retired athletes indicated that most displayed "a serious psychic state."

Several cases of suicide, or attempted suicide, among retired athletes have been recorded by Hill and Lowe (1974). They cited an example of Hugh Casey, former pitcher of the Brooklyn Dodgers who ended his life with a shotgun.

According to Hare (1973), Johnny Saxton, a few years after winning the welterweight championship, attempted suicide while imprisoned on burglary charges. Hare quoted Saxton as saying, "I used to be a somebody, but now I'm a nobody. I wish the police had shot me" (1973, p. 326).

Higgins (1976) claimed that several types of psychological adjustment were requisite to desocialization from the sports role. First, he suggested that the former athlete must cope with the loss of prestige which accompanies retirement. He extended this view by maintaining that the status enjoyed by the active participant cannot be retained when no longer involved. A second type of psychological adjustment which he deemed necessary was that of being able to cope with the fact that his/her identity as an athlete would be altered. He pointed out that although participation in sport may continue after retirement, the former athlete must redefine it as less worklike. A third type of adjustment pointed out by Higgins was that of restructuring values on the part of the former athlete in order to make them more congruent with those of society. Perceived values in the sports arena such as mental and physical toughness, Higgins explained, are not necessarily valued in the larger society and may, in fact, be incompatible in many other occupations. When adjustments are not made in each of the three areas the athlete is subject to increased difficulty in the resocialization process. Higgins expressed it as follows:

The failure of the society to grant the ex-athlete his former status is not uncommonly accompanied by permanent dissatisfaction and alienation. It is because of this alienation, that the possibility for resocialization becomes more difficult. A cycle of alienation and rejection may accelerate to the point of serious psychological impairment. The greater the rejection of the jock's values and behavior, the greater becomes his alienation. The increased alienation elicits further acting-out behavior on the part of the athlete with consequent increased rejection. The greater the possibility of being branded "different" by his peers, the less are the chances of the athlete receiving much needed social approval (p. 22).

Specificity of skills and employment potential. Blitz (1973) suggested that qualities baseball scouts generally look for in a major league prospect are speed, a strong arm, the ability to hit a ball consistently with power and agility. He mentioned size, speed, agility, quickness, strength, a strong arm for quarterbacks, and good hands for a receiver as being requisite skills for prospective football players. As Hill and Lowe (1974) pointed out, these skills are so specifically sports oriented, they are of little value in the athlete's postretirement career. Bill McGill, number one draft choice in the National Basketball Association in 1962, speaking of his lack of skill in postretirement, said:

All I'd ever done was play ball. I literally walked the streets for a couple of years, trying to find a job. Any job. I couldn't believe what had happened (Underwood, 1980, pp. 61-62).

McGill finally found a job scrubbing floors but found he lacked the skill to scrub floors well and was fired.

Athletes are typically socialized into sport at an early age. According to Hill and Lowe (1974) in order to acquire the skills necessary to become a professional athlete, one "serves a voluntary apprenticeship from early adolescence" (p. 17). During this time the athlete devotes most of his/her physical and mental energies to sport and consequently fails to develop the skills, knowledges and other qualifications which are essential for a career other than sport (McPherson, 1978). Failure to develop nonsport skills during the early years of socialization directly influences both psychological adjustment and adjustment to a second career.

Coakley (1978) also maintained that the training and skills required for a career in sport had little if any relationship to the qualifications being sought by employers in the general job market. He extended this view by stating:

Prospective employers may believe that sport builds character, but when it comes to adding someone to their payrolls, they want character to be combined with a skill that will contribute to the success of their business (p. 207).

Second careers of former professional athletes. Sussman (1972) indicated that in some occupations including professional sport, a process of informal socialization into new careers is operative well before retirement actually occurs.

He further suggested that when talented young football and basketball players sign contracts with professional teams they are assured of a second career when their playing days are terminated. According to Hill and Lowe (1974) and Coakley (1978), this is typical of some prevalent misconceptions held by many regarding the destiny of the ex-professional athlete. Coakley (1978) alleged that professional athletes are not usually sought by employers unless they are "visible enough, talented enough, and around long enough to make 'names' for themselves" (p. 207). Truex (1978b) found this to be true in the case of Bernie Geoffrion, one of the National Hockey League's most illustrious players, who was quoted as saying that wherever he went, people wanted to give him jobs and let him endorse their cars or clothes or beer.

In selecting a second career, the athlete may choose either to remain in the sport milieu, or seek a position in a nonsport occupation. The number of positions available in sport are limited, although many former professional athletes tend to prefer to remain in this occupational subculture (Hill and Lowe, 1974; McPherson, 1978). Two specific criteria seem to have a decided influence on the former athlete's opportunity to obtain a postretirement position. Blacks do not have the same opportunities as their white counterparts. Eitzen and Yetman (1980) pointed out that data from 1976 sources (The Baseball Register,

Football Register, and National Basketball Association

Guide) revealed that of the 24 major league baseball managers and 26 National Football League head coaches, only one was black. Five of the 17 head coaches in the National Basketball Association were black. They further contended that blacks were similarly disproportionately represented among assistant coaches and coaches or managers of minor league baseball teams, assistant coaches in the National Football League as well as coaches in colleges and high schools. Other areas such as sportscasting and officiating have also been predominantly white. Blacks are traditionally excluded from executive positions in organizations that govern both amateur and professional sports. Although no explanation has been found for the disproportionate number of blacks occupying positions in officiating, sportscasting, and executive positions, Eitzen and Yetman (1980) attributed the paucity of black coaches and managers to two forms of discrimination:

Overt discrimination occurs when owners ignore competent blacks because of their prejudices or because they fear the negative reaction of fans to blacks in leadership positions. The other form of discrimination is more subtle, however. Blacks are not considered for coaching positions because they did not, during their playing days, occupy positions requiring leadership and decision making (pp. 331-332).

Another factor which apparently influences which former athletes are hired in sports-related jobs is the playing position previously occupied by the athlete (McPherson, 1978;

Hill and Lowe, 1974; Grusky, 1969). Grusky (1969) found that in professional baseball organizations, players who occupied infield positions, which were considered to be positions of high interaction, were more likely to obtain managerial offices following the termination of their playing days. In football, players occupying backfield positions have been found to have greater access to coaching or management positions (Loy, Curtis, and Sage, 1978).

Sussman (1972) suggested that linking systems such as friendship groups, kinship networks, marital, inheritance or work systems may aid or constrain the individual in the selection of options following retirement. Professional sport organizations to which the athlete belongs frequently serve as a linking system in providing postretirement employment both within, and outside the sports arena. Hill and Lowe (1974) maintained that centrality of playing positions facilitated the formation of friendship linking systems which in turn provided opportunities for central players to obtain a postretirement position in sport. Brower (1977) proposed that some professional team owners exhibit strong paternalistic feelings for some of their athletes, and as a result, aid them in financial endeavors. According to Brower, Baltimore Colts' ex-owner Carroll Rosenblum put several of his players into business.

Data are limited regarding subsequent occupations of former athletes. McPherson (1978) suggested that following retirement from professional sport, "many go through more

than one occupation as they search for a meaningful career" (p. 56). Such was the case for Bob Turley, recipient of the Cy Young award and most valuable player award while pitcher for the New York Yankees. Turley's occupations included coaching for the Red Sox, major stockholder and fund-raiser for a furniture manufacturing company, manager of chain restaurants, and president of Future Planning Company which offers financial advice and sells life insurance (Truex, 1978d). Former professional athletes "span the gamut of fortunes from destitution to affluence" (Hill and Lowe, 1974). McPherson (1978) alluded to the fact that the status of the position the former professional athletes acquire is contingent upon the professional sport in which they were involved.

Weinberg and Arond (1952) reported that of ninety-five leading former boxers,

18 remained in the sport as trainers or trainer-managers; two became wrestlers; 26 worked in, fronted for, or owned taverns; two were liquor salesmen; 18 were employed in unskilled jobs; six worked in the movies; five were entertainers; two owned or worked in gas stations; three were cab drivers; three had news stands; two were janitors; three were bookies; three were associated with racetracks; and two were in business (p. 469).

Hare (1973) found that of the 48 retired boxers in his sample, 37 held steady jobs. Most of these were employed as unskilled or semiskilled laborers and 60 percent indicated a preference for different type work. Hare contended that white boxers fare better in postplaying days due to

greater benevolence on the part of their managers. He further suggested that, for small-time fighters, better job opportunities were available for whites.

In his book, The Boys of Summer, Kahn (1972) reported that the second careers of former players for the Brooklyn Dodgers included construction work, vice president of special markets, general manager, insurance broker, farm owner, and baseball manager. Andreano (1973) found an equally wide range of second careers when he analyzed the playing rosters of the 1941 pennant winners, the New York Yankees and the Brooklyn Dodgers:

As of October 1963, out of a total of 47 eligible ball players, 16 were still earning all their income from baseball, 13 were self-employed or worked in business outside baseball, 9 had service-type jobs outside of baseball, nothing was known about 7 players, and 2 were radio and TV announcers of major league games (pp. 310-311).

In another investigation of former baseball players, Haerle (1975) indicated that 65 percent of his sample were engaged in white-collar occupations, while 11 percent held blue-collar jobs, and 24 percent remained in baseball-related occupations. Hoffman's (1977) interviews with former professional basketball players revealed diverse occupations including banker, owner of a travel business, coach, assistant coach, and IBM employee.

Summary

Retirement from sport, like retirement in general, is the product of the industrialization of society. Urbanization

resulting from the transformation of society from rural-
agrarian to industrial, created a need for spectator sports
and industrialization raised the standard of living and
provided leisure time essential to organized sport (Betts,
1980). With professionalization, which began in 1869,
participants engaged in sport for remuneration; consequently,
it became a legitimate source for gainful employment (Furst,
1980). Although all former participants in professional
sport are considered "retired athletes," pension plans
were nonexistent until the 1960's.

There are many similarities between retirement from
sport and retirement from other occupations. Retirement
from sport, as in the work sector, has a negative connota-
tion. It is frequently associated with a reduction in
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Although retirement from sport parallels retirement
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records are kept and published regularly in professional
sport (Haerle, 1975); consequently, the careers of pro-
fessional athletes may be terminated by management at any
time. Retirement as an event is not as socially sanctioned
for the young retiree in sport as for the older worker

(McPherson, 1978). Unlike retirees in other occupations, the retiree from sport must frequently terminate his career before becoming eligible for a pension. Perhaps one of the most unique features concerning retirement from sport is that, for athletes, retirement from sport is a first retirement. Most will eventually retire again from a second career (McPherson, 1978).

Retirement from sport may be voluntary or involuntary; however, involuntary retirement is prevalent. Professional athletes have little autonomy regarding the decision to retire (McPherson, 1978). Voluntary retirement may be precipitated by such factors as educational level of the athlete, career expectancy and present financial situation, awareness of declining physical skills, and perceived opportunities for a second career (Hill and Lowe, 1974; McPherson, 1978). Involuntary retirement frequently results from failure in sport, injuries, age, and elimination by younger athletes (Mihovilovic, 1968; Hill and Lowe, 1974; McPherson, 1978).

There appears to be a consensus among most sport sociologists that there is a definite need for preretirement preparation (Hill and Lowe, 1974; Haerle, 1975; Coakley, 1978; McPherson, 1978; Loy, McPherson, and Kenyon, 1978). Professional athletes, like their older counterparts, do little if any planning for postplaying days (Hill and Lowe, 1974; Haerle, 1975; Coakley, 1978; McPherson, 1978).

The trend in preparation for retirement among many athletes has changed since the late 1960's. Most professional sports now have Players' Associations that generate pension and disability programs. The Players' Associations in many of the popular professional sports have tried to initiate programs to make the athletes' socialization out of sport less traumatic (Coakley, 1978). In addition, many players have access to financial advisors who assist them in making investments for their postplaying days.

As with the older worker, the athlete's adjustment varies from satisfactory to traumatic. It is frequently contingent on the options available for a second career, the age of the individual, and the degree of commitment to sport (McPherson, 1978), as well as to the degree of success and fulfillment achieved through a second career (Page, 1969; Coakley, 1978).

Retirement From Professional Football

A Brief History of Professional Football

Professional football as an occupation has evolved from the professionalization of sports in American society. In order to understand the emergence of the occupational role of professional football players, and their subsequent retirement from the occupational role, a brief history of professional football is necessary.

The first recorded professional football game was played in Latrobe, Pennsylvania in 1895 between a team

sponsored by the Latrobe YMCA and a team from Jeannette, Pennsylvania (National Football League, 1973). According to March (cited by Menke, 1976) the Latrobe regulars needed an experienced quarterback for the game with Jeannette and paid John Brallier, former star for Indiana Normal, \$10 and expenses. Brallier consequently became football's first professional.

The American Professional Football Association was founded in 1920 with Jim Thorpe, formerly of Carlisle, as president. Due to an insufficient number of spectators, the venture was financially unsuccessful; consequently the association folded at the end of the season. One year later the Association was reorganized under the leadership of Joseph F. Carr. In 1922, its name was changed to the National Football League (Menke, 1976).

In 1933, the National Football League was divided into Eastern and Western Conferences with the winners of each conference meeting for the championship at the end of the regular season. Despite the fact some 638 NFL players served in the armed forces during World War II, the league survived. At the conclusion of World War II, NFL attendance, which had decreased considerably, exceeded the million mark. In 1946, the All-American Conference was formed as a rival to the National Football League (National Football League, 1973).

Prior to World War II, players' salaries were relatively low. When the war ended, the salaries stabilized

and then increased. In 1947, Charles Trippi, former star halfback from the University of Georgia, received bids to play both professional baseball and football. He accepted the football offer, reported to be \$100,000 for four years, from the Chicago Cardinals. Trippi then became the highest paid professional player in the history of football (Menke, 1976).

The All-American Conference and the National Football League merged in 1949, thus ending the battle between leagues for college stars. Baltimore, Cleveland, and San Francisco of the All-American Conference joined the 10 teams of the National Football League. One year later the National Football League was again divided into two conferences, the American and National, which existed until 1953. At that time the two conferences were abandoned in favor of eastern and western conferences within the National Football League (National Football League, 1973; Menke, 1976).

In 1960 the American Football League was established. The next six years were characterized by intense rivalry between the two leagues. This competition resulted in an escalation of player salaries. During this time the New York Jets signed Joe Namath, former quarterback for the University of Alabama, to a reported \$400,000 contract. With television's increased interest in professional football during the early sixties, owning a team franchise

proved to be quite lucrative. In 1962 the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS-TV) paid \$4.65 million annually for rights to telecast all regular season National Football League games. Two years later the same network won the right to televise two years of National Football League games with a bid of \$14 million a year, while the National Broadcasting Company signed a five-year contract with the American Football League for \$36 million (National Football League, 1973).

In 1966, the two leagues agreed to merge into one expanded league of twenty-six teams. As part of the agreement the leagues maintained separate schedules until 1970, but started meeting in 1967 for the AFL-NFL World Championship game, later known as the Super Bowl. Congress passed special legislation exempting the agreement between the NFL and the AFL from anti-trust action (Menke, 1976).

The Baltimore Colts, Cleveland Browns, and Pittsburgh Steelers joined the existing ten AFL teams to form the new 13 team American Conference in the National Football League in 1970. The remaining 13 teams in the NFL formed the National Conference (Menke, 1976). The players' negotiating committee of the NFL's twenty-six teams and the NFL Player Association announced a four-year agreement that guaranteed approximately \$4.5 million annually to player pension and insurance benefits. Team owners also consented to contribute a total of \$250,000 per year for the improvement or implementation of disability payments, widows' benefits, etc.

(National Football League, 1973). Following the merger of the two leagues, the American Broadcasting Company began televising Monday night games, thus providing greater visibility of professional football and increasing the revenue for franchise owners (Beckley, 1975).

The World Football League (WFL) was founded in 1974. Its founders professed their intentions to compete as a major power with the National Football League (Daymont, 1975). This newly formed league lasted only three years. Loy, McPherson, and Kenyon (1978) alluded to the fact that insufficient television coverage contributed to its failure. Rozelle (1979) attributed its failure to its inability to stabilize itself through its own competitive balance and league-wide club income potential.

At the present, there are two conferences, the National and the American, within the National Football League. The winners of each conference meet in the annual super bowl game in January. It is now widely acknowledged that professional football has replaced baseball as the national pastime (Crepeau, 1979).

The Retirement Decision

In football, as in other professional sports, the decision to retire may be made by the individual or retirement may be imposed by management or external circumstances. Whether or not the decision to retire is voluntary or involuntary, the professional football player must terminate

his career in sport at any early age, usually in the late 20's or early 30's (Blitz, 1973; Beckley, 1975).

Voluntary retirement. There are several circumstances which precipitate voluntary retirement from football. For purposes of this paper the following areas will be explored: (1) educational level of the player; (2) career expectancy and present financial situation; (3) awareness of declining physical skills; and (4) perceived opportunities for an alternate career.

Players of professional football are, for the most part, above average in educational attainment when compared to the entire population of the United States (Beckley, 1975). When compared to other professional athletes, football players rank higher than participants in hockey, boxing, baseball, and basketball (Charnofsky, 1969; Blitz, 1973; Hare, 1973; and Haerle, 1974). Beckley (1975) indicated that from his sample of 501 professional football players, 73 percent had attained college degrees, while 84 percent of another sample of fifty-one players he interviewed held degrees. However, Underwood (1980) reported that of the 188 PAC-Ten players in the National Football League during the 1979 season, only 66 held college degrees. He further pointed out in an undocumented statement that approximately two-thirds of all the players in the National Football League did not have college diplomas. McPherson (1978) maintained that attainment of the college degree influenced the decision to retire early voluntarily because college-

educated players are usually less committed to professional sport and are adequately prepared to accept offers for other career-oriented jobs.

A definite consideration in making the decision to retire voluntarily from professional football is the career expectancy and present financial status of the athlete. In the National Football League, the average career length is 4.5 years (Loy, McPherson, and Kenyon, 1978; Jackson and Lowe, N.D.). In the National Football League, approximately 320 college draft choices report to training camp each year. Of this number, about 150 make it in professional football (Underwood, 1980). Eitzen and Sage (1978) reported that in 1975 only 4.1 percent of the players listed in the football register in the three predominantly black positions -- defensive back, running back, and wide receiver (65 percent of all black players) -- were in professional ball for ten or more years. Of players listed in the three predominantly white positions -- quarterback, center, and offensive guard -- 14.8 percent remained that long. Ball (1974) found that in professional football, replacement rates varied according to player position and that positional replacement rates were directly related to the precision and availability of evaluative opportunities and techniques. He suggested that the field positions of a football team group into four quantification levels of precision and availability of evaluation, or "positional visibility." At the highest are the quarterbacks, running backs, receivers (flankers,

tight ends, wide receivers, and kickers); high intermediate are the defensive backs (cornerbacks and safeties); linebackers are low intermediate; and lowest are the centers, guards, tackles, and defensive ends. Ball's (1974) data indicated that slightly more than 38 percent of the occupants of the position of quarterback have remained on the same team roster for an entire five-year period. As a group they averaged almost two teams per occupant. Approximately three-fourths of the offensive tackles remained on the same roster for the five-year interval. They averaged 1.32 rosters per occupant. In an overall rating of all positions, 62 percent stayed on the same team roster for five years and averaged 1.58 teams per occupant. The data indicate that those players most subject to quantitative evaluation are most likely to occupy positions on two or more rosters within a five-year period. As evaluation becomes less precise and more difficult or qualitative, occupants in those positions are more likely to remain on the same team for the term of their professional experience.

Frequently the publicized salaries of professional athletes are exaggerated. Many of the reported high salary contracts include a number of conditional clauses, insurance policies, and retirement annuities that inflate the actual salary a player receives (Parrish, 1971; Coakley, 1978). In 1975, Beckley computed a weighted mean of salaries in the National Football League from the means of twenty-four

teams for which salary data were available. He found the weighted mean salary to be \$28,607 for 738 players reporting salary information. The median salary computed from the median salaries of the twenty-four clubs was \$27,302. Included in both the mean and median players' salaries for each club were bonuses and deferred compensation. In examining salaries of professional football players in relation to the number of years of participation, Beckley (1975) found that the largest total amount of bonuses and deferred compensation was paid to first-year players. This tended to inflate the first-year salary so that both the mean and median salaries for second-year players, \$21,800 and \$20,500, were lower than first-year salaries. A mean salary of \$34,700 was found for those players who had played five years. At the extreme, following sixteen years of playing, mean and median salaries were \$100,800 and \$92,500 respectively. Loy, McPherson, and Kenyon (1978) indicated that the estimated average salary for professional football players in 1977 was \$50,000 while the estimated maximum salary was \$450,000. A recent article in the Atlanta Constitution listed Atlanta Falcon salaries ranging from a high of \$216,750 to a low of \$40,000 (Sheeley, 1980). It was pointed out, however, that these figures might be misleading since they were not inclusive of bonuses and deferred compensation. Of the big-name players throughout the league, the salary survey listed retired

San Francisco running back O. J. Simpson as being the highest paid individual in the National Football League with a reported salary of \$806,668. This resulted from playing out his option, therefore receiving the automatic 10 percent increase raising his salary from \$733,358 (Sheeley, 1980). Evidence was unavailable as to whether or not this figure included bonuses, deferred payments etc. McPherson (1980) indicated that since salaries being paid to professional athletes are considerably higher than in the past, more athletes would be willing to consider voluntary retirement. It appears then that increased salaries among professional football players would be a factor in the decision to retire voluntarily.

Another factor which influences the decision to retire voluntarily from professional football is the athlete's awareness of declining physical skills. While most athletes do not recognize, or fail to accept the fact that their highly specialized physical skills are declining (Weinberg and Arond, 1952; Mihovilovic, 1968; Kramer, 1973) others do (Hoffman, 1977; McPherson, 1978; Truex, 1978a,c). Such was the case with Charlie Trippi, former St. Louis Cardinal who stated:

I think at age 32 I started realizing I wasn't as quick as I used to be. I made up my mind I was gonna quit. I felt like I wasn't as productive as I wanted to be... (Truex, 1978a, p. 9-D).

According to Truex (1978c), Tommy Nobis's decision to retire was also the result of declining physical skills. He quoted the former middle linebacker for the Atlanta Falcons as saying:

Retirement was something that was working in my mind a couple of years. I would think about it a lot when the season ended. Even though I think I could have done it, I'd have been miserable to end up my career as a backup... I had a gradual decline the last three or four years of playing. I saw it. We saw those films, time and again. I wasn't getting to as many of those outside plays. Instead of getting to the tackle, I was eating dust off the guy's cleats. I was not getting back as quickly on pass coverage. I was not making the interceptions I made earlier in my career. As my career went on, the fewer number of big plays I had (p. 1-D).

National Football League stars such as Roger Staubach, Fran Tarkenton, and Jimmy Brown also made decisions to retire voluntarily from the game while they were still physically capable of commanding a big salary (Zimmerman, 1980).

Perceived opportunities for an alternate career may precipitate the decision to retire voluntarily from football. Governali (1952) suggested that professional football frequently served as a stepping stone to a second career. Beckley (1975) found, from his sample of professional football players still engaged in the sport, various perceptions regarding opportunities for an alternate career. The largest number of respondents perceived name recognition accruing from professional football as beneficial in an alternate career. A number of players viewed the combination of name publicity and business contacts resulting from participation

in the sport as instrumental in finding a meaningful second career. Some of the respondents deemed the experience gained in professional sport valuable in obtaining coaching positions. Others indicated that professional football provided a financial base for pursuit of graduate or professional education as well as for beginning a second career. Cliff Harris, free safety for the Dallas Cowboys, retired at the age of 31 to take advantage of a "good opportunity with a young and energetic oil company" (Zimmerman, 1980, p. 25).

Data are unavailable as to what percentage of former professional football players retire voluntarily. According to McPherson (1980), for persons in a team sport, the process is usually involuntary.

Involuntary retirement. Involuntary retirement in professional football may be precipitated by a number of factors; the following appear to be most prevalent: (1) failure in football; (2) injuries; (3) aging process; and (4) elimination by younger players.

Failure in professional football frequently presages forced retirement. In sports such as football, where there is no minor league structure, the rate of failure is high. The player who fails is removed from the organizational network, transferred to another team, or demoted to a "taxi" squad. Unlike athletes in other sports, football players are no longer publicly visible; consequently,

they do not experience the embarrassment of being seen in a marginal role (Ball, 1976). Failure is a common threat to the veteran player as well as to the "rookie," particularly during training camp and preseason play when teams must eliminate a certain percentage to comply with the maximum player rule (Profit, 1972; Beckley, 1975). Blitz (1973) reported that in 1971 only 30 percent of the total pool of draftees and free agents made National Football League teams. As recently as 1977, of the 320 college draft choices in the National Football League who report to training camp, slightly higher than 50 percent made it on an NFL team. Of those rookies who did succeed, the average career length was only 4.2 years (Underwood, 1980).

Injuries are common occupational hazards of the game of football. "An injury can end a promising career as quickly as the snap of a bone. Less than 25 percent of the players have multiyear contracts" (Blitz, 1973). Hoch (1972), reporting in an article for the Toronto Globe and Mail, indicated that an estimated 50,000 knee operations were performed every year in the United States as a result of football injuries. The annual death toll was approximately forty. Data were unavailable as to what percentage of the injuries and deaths involved professional football players. According to the Stanford Research Institute's report, 25 percent of the injuries resulting in loss of playing time to professional football players involved

the knee. Twenty-two knee operations were performed on players representing the Detroit Lions during 1976, 1977, and 1978. Players for the Miami Dolphins underwent eleven knee operations in 1976. Over a period of eight years with the St. Louis Cardinals, defensive back Jerry Stovall experienced a broken nose, broken clavicle, 11 broken fingers, lost five teeth, ripped his sternum, fractured his cheekbone, fractured seven ribs, and fractured a big toe three times. However, his career was terminated in 1971 as a result of a knee injury (Underwood, 1979).

According to Bell (1978), a rash of injuries were inflicted to quarterbacks in the National Football League during the 1977 season. The NFL Competitive Committee, which proposes rule changes that are then voted on by the owners, found that while injuries to players in other positions were similar, there was no way to group injuries to quarterbacks and draw any conclusions. Ninety percent of quarterback injuries were found to be freak accidents. Roger Staubach, former quarterback for the Dallas Cowboys, was reported to have received five concussions during the 1979 season. There are no empirical studies which reveal the number of professional football players who have retired as a result of injury.

The aging process has a decided influence on the mandatory termination of a career in professional football. In referring to professional athletes in general, Hill and

Lowe (1974) maintained that any reduction in stamina, speed or power could precipitate retirement. They further stated that although the athlete "is in the prime of life, he carries the stigma of an old man" (p. 20). This would appear to be applicable in particular to football players where stamina, speed and power are essential. The fact that the average age of the professional football player is twenty-six (Governali, 1952; Beckley, 1975) is indicative of the fact that football is a young man's game. Statistics are unavailable as to what percentage of professional football players are forced into retirement as a result of the aging process.

Both Hill and Lowe (1974) and Faulkner (1975) have recognized the intense rivalry for playing positions existent between older players and their younger counterparts in professional sport. This phenomenon is common in professional football (Beckley, 1975; Profit, 1975). According to Truex (1978c) the Atlanta Falcons had lined up a successor for Tommy Nobis, former middle linebacker for the Falcons, a year prior to his retirement. Nobis was quoted as saying:

They were ready to go with him the year before. Marion (Campbell) told me if Ralph played well enough he was gonna get the job. Here's a guy 10 years younger, 50 pounds stronger, and half a second faster, and he played well. I really thought I was gonna lose my job (Truex, 1978c, p. 1-D).

Veteran players are continuously threatened by the possibility of being replaced by a younger player. For veteran players who lack star calibre, the pressure is as great as for the rookies. "Cuts" and trades occur regularly during the eight weeks of training camp (Beckley, 1975).

Preretirement Preparation

The need for preretirement preparation among athletes in general has been established by Mihovilovic (1968); Hill and Lowe (1974); Haerle (1975); Coakley (1978); and McPherson (1978). They attributed the difficulties encountered by former professional athletes, as they moved into nonsport careers, to insufficient preparation prior to retirement from sport. It appears then, that football players, as part of the professional athletic subculture, would experience the same difficulties.

It was further pointed out by Hill and Lowe (1974) and Haerle (1975) that many athletes fail to consider alternate employment until they are well into their sports careers. Beckley (1975) found from his sample of professional football players that first-year players make few, if any, alternate career plans, while many veteran players desire to continue playing rather than "launching" other careers. Beckley further stated that players who failed to have plans for second careers indicated the strongest degree of intrinsic commitment to professional football.

Since the formation of the National Football League's Players' Association in the 1960's, the trend in preparation for retirement among professional football players has changed. The Players' Association is recognized as the union representing National Football League players. Recognized by the National Labor Relations Board, it negotiates the minimum salary, preseason game pay, per diem pay for training camp, fringe benefits, and pension fund contributions and rights (Beckley, 1975). Although most of the issues raised by the Players' Association are related to mechanics of control for the active player, the resolution of such issues provides greater freedom, thereby enhancing the player's plans for a second career (Beckley, 1975). Bertelson (as cited by Beckley, 1975) stated that one of the aims of the Players' Association is that of making a conscious organized attempt to deal with the reality of a second career as it concerns football players.

Adjustment To Retirement From Football

Empirical evidence regarding the adjustment patterns of retired professional athletes is extremely limited (McPherson, 1978); evidence concerning the adjustment to retirement among former professional football players is almost nonexistent. Among athletes in general, some have been found to react favorably to retirement while for others, the process has been traumatic (Mihovilovic, 1968; Hill and Lowe, 1974; McPherson, 1978). It logically follows that the reaction

of former professional football players would also vary. In considering the process of adjustment to a lifestyle outside of professional football, the following areas will be examined: (1) psychological adjustment; (2) specificity of skills and employment potential; and (3) second careers of former professional players.

Psychological adjustment. In making the transition from sport to a second career, professional athletes have been found to experience trauma resulting from a loss of social identity (Page, 1969; Hill and Lowe, 1974; McPherson, 1978), a loss of, or reduction in status (Mihovilovic, 1968; Hill and Lowe, 1974; McPherson, 1978), and inability to cope in the larger society (Hill and Lowe, 1974; Michener, 1976). Evidence which indicates whether or not this is true specifically in the case of the professional football player is unavailable; however, it appears that this generalization would be applicable to participants of this particular professional sport organization.

Referring to athletes in general, McPherson (1980) made the following observation concerning their psychological adjustment to retirement:

The process of adjustment to a lifestyle outside sport appears to be traumatic for some individuals. To illustrate, personality disorders appear as reflected in attempted or successful suicides, alcohol or drug addiction and a general orientation to the past rather than to the present or future. In addition, a number of former athletes have been arrested on a variety of criminal charges (pp. 15-16).

McPherson (1978) indicated that adjustment to retirement was particularly difficult for those professional athletes who began a "skidding" process during their sports careers. While no empirical evidence is available, journalistic accounts of former professional football players, as well as those still actively engaged, tend to indicate that personality and psychiatric disorders are manifested as a result of this skidding process.

According to Good (1978), when Joe Gilliam, former quarterback for the Pittsburgh Steelers, was benched and replaced by Terry Bradshaw, he turned to drugs, became addicted to heroin, and was arrested on charges of possession of drugs and carrying a weapon.

Another example of personality disorders resulting from failure in football is that of John Reaves who turned professional as a first-round draft choice in 1972. Knight News Service (1980) recently reported that Reaves became irrational on two successive nights in a Tampa restaurant, becoming physically violent and threatening to kill three of his friends. Claiming that he was under the influence of drugs, the friends filed affidavits against him which resulted in his being committed to a mental health center. His wife was quoted as saying:

I think it's total frustration, the build-up of complete frustration over eight years. I just think he didn't want to face another year of being on the bench. Since he was a little boy five years old, football has been everything to him. He doesn't feel he's anything

if it's football and he's not playing...
He's just bitter, bitter that he hasn't
played (p. 8-B).

West (1972) attributed some psychiatric disorders to an obsession with winning. As psychiatrist to Lance Rentzel, professional football player for the Dallas Cowboys who was arrested for exhibitionism, West made the following analysis:

The role of defeat or loss is often found to play a major part in the appearance of self-exposure as a symptom...Perennial exhibitionists are usually chronic losers, at least in some way meaningful to themselves. His pre-occupation with being a winner as a football player was always involved (p. 245).

Most of the information concerning abnormal behavior among professional football players seems to indicate that such behavior begins during active involvement in sport. Evidence as to whether or not these behavioral disorders are carried over into their postplaying days is almost nonexistent.

Specificity of Skills and Employment Potential

As in other professional sports, the skills required for a career in professional football are so specifically sports related they are of little value in the general job market. According to Blitz (1973), professional scouts and coaches look for the following characteristics and skills in a prospective football candidate:

Size is one of the first and most important factors to be considered, varying by position. Generally the requirement for running backs is 6 feet and 210 pounds; wide receivers 6 feet and 190 pounds; tight ends, 6 feet 3 inches and 230 pounds; and defensive linemen, 6 feet

4 inches and 250 pounds....According to the Washington Redskins tryout camp criteria, running backs must be able to run 40 yards in less than 5 seconds and linemen in 5.5 seconds or less...quickness and agility are important...strength is essential...more important is the ability to "hit" and be hit...factors such as intelligence, determination and drive also are vital. Some qualifications are important for certain positions, such as a strong arm for a quarterback or "good hands" for a receiver (p. 7).

Both Hill and Lowe (1974) and McPherson (1978) contended that socialization into the role of athlete occurs during early adolescence. Consequently, the development of useful nonsport skills are often neglected in lieu of acquiring skills necessary for a career in sport. Beckley (1975) maintained, however, that professional football players are socialized into the occupation by prior experiences in college athletics primarily, although for some, the process begins during high school. He further suggested that professional football, as an occupation, encompassed more than an execution of skills in an athletic contest. He extended this view:

A player must learn the role behavior appropriate to his status; he must internalize the norms of the football club; he must, if he plays certain positions, learn to handle "celebrity status";... (p. 143).

Speaking of professional athletes in general, McPherson (1980) noted that once socialization into the occupational role has occurred, the opportunity to develop skills necessary for another occupation is almost nonexistent. He attributed this to the length of the season, extensive

travel, and management's discouragement of such practice. For the professional football player, the season lasts from July to January. Including preseason, regular season, and championship games, a team may play as many as 23 games (Blitz, 1973).

At retirement, most athletes lack skills which can be transferred to occupations outside of sport. Consequently, many experience difficulty in beginning a second career unless they acquire positions within sport where their skills and training may be used (McPherson, 1980). In football, coaching positions at the high school and college levels generally require a degree (Blitz, 1973). Many former players failed to earn degrees; (Underwood, 1979), consequently, they even lack the training for some positions in sport.

Second Careers of Former Professional Football Players

Beckley (1975) noted that in making a comparison between the second career component of the professional football player and examples of the second career phenomenon involving people in other occupations, the following difference is obvious:

A second career for most individuals is not a built-in feature of their first occupation. Some teachers in elementary and secondary schools move to administrative jobs. Some professors in colleges and universities become deans or move into other educational administrative positions. For both of these groups, the organizational context of the work is the same. They do not "leave" the

occupation; a "return to teaching" is always a possibility. In a similar way, the shuttle between some personnel in academic, business, and governmental institutions, particularly at higher levels of these organizations, does not force these advisors, consultants, and administrators to give up the previous occupational identity. Their contribution to this second career usually is an expertise based upon their first occupation (p. 295).

Beckley pointed out that some former professional football players lend "expertise" in the form of name recognition or publicity to organizations for whom they are employed. While this is true in some instances, many athletes are faced with the task of developing a new and distinct set of skills which will be congruent with their second careers (Haerle, 1974; Coakley, 1978).

It has been previously established that the commonly held belief that athletes are assured of second careers upon their retirement from sport is a misconception (Hill and Lowe, 1974; Coakley, 1978). This misconception is illustrated by the following observation made by Tommy Nobis, former middle linebacker for the Atlanta Falcons:

So many players don't know what to do when they're finished playing. A lot of them end up without a job. While you're playing you run into a lot of people who say once you're finished playing I'd like to sit down and talk about a job. All of a sudden when the day comes, all those guys hide in a closet somewhere (Truex, 1978c, p. 6-D).

Retiring professional football players, like their counterparts in other sports, have two alternatives available to them as they embark upon second careers. They may choose an occupation unrelated to sport, or they may opt

to remain within the sports domain in some capacity (Blitz, 1973; Beckley, 1975). Governali (1952) contended that career continuity in professional football is extremely limited except for those who anticipate coaching. Approximately half of the 26 head coaches and essentially all of the 150 assistant coaches in the National Football League are former players. Former professional players account for almost half of the National Football League's administrative personnel. Scouting is another football-related occupation, although the computer pool operations employed by the National Football League have minimized the number of personnel needed in this capacity (Blitz, 1973). Governali (1952) suggested that professional football players are in an advantageous position to acquire future positions as coaches in schools and colleges. According to Blitz (1973), "there were 15,000 high school and over 700 college football coaches in the United States in 1972" (p. 8). Data are unavailable as to what percentage of these coaching positions were occupied by former professional football players. However, Hill and Lowe (1974) suggested that when the professional athlete retires, only a small percentage of these positions are vacant, therefore, coaching at a high school or college level is not always a viable option.

It has been pointed out in a previous section that centrality of playing positions and race influence an

athlete's chances of entering a sports-related career following his retirement (Hill and Lowe, 1974; McPherson, 1978; Eitzen and Yetman, 1980). In most instances, players occupying key positions are more likely to become managers due to the fact that they are more knowledgeable regarding team requirements. Players who occupied backfield positions in football were found to have greater access to coaching and management positions than were players in other positions (Loy, Curtis and Sage, 1978).

Little empirical evidence is available regarding second careers of former professional football players. According to Blitz (1973), retired professional football players engage in a wide variety of occupations including advertising, public relations, acting, politics and writing. Twenty-one former players were interviewed by Beckley (1975) to determine their present careers and the ways in which playing professional football had affected their employment following their retirement. He reported that seven former players moved into careers that could be classified as either professional, semi-professional, or technical (law, teaching, coaching); eight entered entrepreneurial careers in which name recognition or publicity from playing was of some value; two were in either communications or entertainment by virtue of name recognition resulting from professional sport; two held jobs in professional football organizations; one ex-player was a law enforcement officer; and one held a nonmanagerial position in a chemistry industry.

Of the twenty-one former players interviewed by Beckley (1975), nine indicated that the name recognition accrued from playing professional football greatly enhanced their ability to make a transition into a second career. Three of the interviewees considered the greatest benefit derived from their professional sports careers to be that of providing a financial base for graduate or professional education. Name recognition was also credited by two former players as an asset in establishing their professional practices. Two men (a coach and a scout for professional teams) found playing to be beneficial to their present occupations since these jobs were related to sport. Five former players reported that their careers in professional football were of little value in making the transition to a second career. Eight of the twenty-one former players interviewed indicated that their present salaries were less than the salary of their last year playing football. This was also found to be true for at least three years following retirement from football by four other ex-players. Beckley's (1975) findings tend to contradict Governali's (1952) contention that: "Those players who do not expect to coach football will find the professional game a deterrent to their ultimate careers" (p. 41). However, as Beckley pointed out, his sample was not representative and was composed of former players, none of whom played prior to 1950. Governali's sample included players who had played in 1949.

Summary

Professional football as an occupation evolved from the professionalization of sports in American society. The first recorded professional football game was played in Latrobe, Pennsylvania in 1895, approximately a quarter of a century after baseball achieved professional status (Menke, 1976). Since its beginning, professional football has undergone numerous changes in its organizational structure culminating in its present two conferences, the American and the National, within the National Football League (Crepeau, 1979).

In football, as in other professional sports, the decision to retire may be voluntary or mandatory. Voluntary retirement is frequently contingent upon such factors as educational level, career expectancy and present financial situation, awareness of declining physical skills, and perceived opportunities for an alternate career (Hill and Lowe, 1974; McPherson, 1978; Truex, 1978c). Involuntary retirement often results from failure in football (Ball, 1974), injuries (Hoch, 1972; Blitz, 1973, Underwood, 1979), the aging process (Governali, 1952; Beckley, 1975), and elimination by younger players (Beckley, 1975; Profit, 1975).

Professional football players, like their counterparts in other professional sports, engage in little preretirement preparation. This has been found to be true particularly among players who have a strong intrinsic commitment to professional football (Beckley, 1975). Recognizing the

importance of preretirement preparation, the Players' Association is now making a conscious organized attempt to deal with the reality of a second career as it concerns football players (Bertelson as cited by Beckley, 1975).

Empirical evidence regarding the adjustment patterns of retired professional football players is almost non-existent. The limited information available on retirement of professional athletes in general suggests that their adjustment ranges from satisfactory to traumatic (Mihovilovic, 1968; Hill and Lowe, 1974; McPherson, 1978).

CHAPTER III

PROCEDURES

The purpose of this investigation was to determine whether or not the characteristic patterns of adjustment to retirement among professional football players supported one or more of three current social theories of aging. Specific questions were posed as to whether there was supporting evidence that adjustment to retirement was facilitated by a "mutual withdrawal" from society, whether the maintenance of pre-retirement activity levels contributed to retirement adjustment, and whether involuntary changes in a professional athlete's career created an identity crisis.

The procedures followed in this study were: (1) selection of techniques for data collection, including interview procedures, standardized scales, and a biographical questionnaire; (2) selection of subjects; and (3) analysis of data.

Techniques for Data Collection

Interview

The interview technique was selected as the primary method for data collection since it provided a unique opportunity for in-depth responses and permitted probing

into the context and reasons for answers to specific questions. By using this technique, the interviewer and subjects were allowed freedom in pursuing areas of concern not specifically designated in the questions.

Following a thorough examination of the literature, 28 questions, based on three current social theories of aging, were developed. The questions were focused, yet open-ended to some extent in order to permit spontaneity and flexibility. Questions comprising the interview schedule were categorized into three areas: (1) social withdrawal, (2) activity level, and (3) identity crisis. Questions which were used in the categories representing the three social theories of aging selected for this study were adapted for use with the retired professional athlete. A copy of the original interview schedule is found in Appendix B.

Some questions which elicited information regarding social withdrawal (disengagement theory) were taken from those used by Lowenthal and Boler (1965) and Carp (1968). Questions 1, 2, and 3 were formulated by the investigator. Questions 4 and 5 were taken from a study conducted by Lowenthal and Boler (1965) and were changed for purposes of this study only in regard to number of years specified. Follow-up questions were added for the purpose of further probing. Questions 6, 7, 8, and 9, developed by Carp (1968), were changed to read as complete sentences rather than phrases as originally formulated. Follow-up questions

were also added to the original ones. Question 10, originated by Cumming and Henry (1961), was basically unchanged.

Sources used in framing questions concerned with activity level (activity theory) included Cavan, Burgess, Havighurst and Goldhammer (1949) and Lemon, Bengston, and Peterson (1972). Questions were structured around activity types (informal, formal, and solitary), frequency of participation, and frequency of interaction as utilized by Lemon, Bengston, and Peterson (1972).

The basic tenets of Miller's identity crisis theory provided the basis for which questions were constructed for this phase of the interview schedule. These include identity source, identity breakdown, degradation as a result of loss of identity source, and portent of embarrassment.

A pilot study was conducted during the Fall of 1979 in order to develop interview skills and determine the relevance and appropriateness of each question to retired professional athletes. Three interviews were arranged with former professional football players who resided in Athens, Georgia. Prior to conducting the interviews, a proposal for conducting research with human subjects was submitted and approved by the University of North Carolina at Greensboro School of HPER Human Subject Review Committee. Consideration was given to areas such as risks and benefits inherent in the study, methodology, and consent of subjects. Stipulations were made to protect the rights of the

participants. Subjects were asked to read and sign an Informed Consent Form, which appears in Appendix C, prior to conducting the interviews. Each interview conducted for the pilot study was audio-taped and later transcribed. An overall analysis was made of the interviews for the purpose of gaining experience in analyzing data to be collected during the study. Based on the responses of the subjects to the interview schedule, an additional category was added which comprised six general questions. These questions were considered by the investigator to be of special interest as well as pertinent to this study. As a result of the experience gained from the pilot study, a definite ordering of the interview questions was established.

Three persons, based on their expertise in the areas of social gerontology, sociology of sport, and interview technique, served as judges for the interview schedule dealing with the three social theories of aging. Each of the judges was provided with a general description of the study and a statement of the problem, directions for evaluating the interview schedule, and a copy of the interview questions. See Appendix B for information sent to the judges for their evaluation of the interview schedule.

Each judge was asked to read and sign an Informed Consent Form prior to beginning his/her evaluation. Judges were requested to assess each question on the basis of its relevance to sport and appropriateness for the three

designated social theories of aging. The questions which were added in the fourth category following the pilot study were sport specific and of a general nature, rather than pertinent to any of the three social theories of aging. The investigator, therefore, decided not to have these questions evaluated by the judges. The decision was made by the investigator to retain a question when two or more judges were in agreement about its relevance and appropriateness and to eliminate it based on the same criterion. See Appendix C for the final draft of the interview schedule.

Responses from the judges indicated unanimous agreement on five out of the 10 questions dealing with social withdrawal. Two out of the three judges agreed on four additional questions within this category. All three judges found question 10 to be irrelevant and inappropriate. As a result of the judges' evaluations, questions 1 through 9 within the category of social withdrawal were retained. Following the suggestions of two of the judges, these questions were altered only in regard to providing a third alternative, rather than leading the interviewee to a "more than" or "less than" response. An additional question was added under this category in order to comply with the suggestions of two of the three judges.

The category which comprised questions dealing with activity level required a number of revisions. While all three judges agreed on the relevance and appropriateness of 8 of the 10 questions, two of the judges suggested they

be adapted to give more indications of levels of activity and frequency of contacts relative to preretirement years. Questions 1, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, and 10 were changed, therefore, to provide the reader with three alternatives such as "increased, decreased, or remained the same" rather than the original dichotomous response. Two out of the three judges found questions 2 and 4 to be appropriate for this category but suggested utilizing a frequency check such as "as frequently," "more frequently," or "less frequently." Following the suggestions of two of the three judges, questions 5, 6, and 10 were rewritten as two questions rather than one.

The judges agreed unanimously on 6 out of the 7 questions within the identity crisis category. In one instance, two out of the three judges were in agreement. Consequently, all seven of the questions in the category designed to determine identity crisis were retained. Following the suggestions of one of the judges, a follow-up question was added to question 1. Refer to Appendix B for the original interview questions listed under the three designated categories.

The final number of questions which comprised the three categories totaled 30. Under the category of social withdrawal, there were 10 questions; thirteen questions made up the category of activity level, and the identity crisis category contained 7 items. These 30 questions in addition to the six placed in a fourth general category, which were

not evaluated by the judges, made up the final 36 question interview schedule.

Standardized Scales

Additional data were collected through responses to standardized scales used in social gerontology to measure life satisfaction, morale, and self-esteem. The Life Satisfaction Index B by Neugarten, Havighurst, and Tobin (1961) was used to measure life satisfaction. The Revised Philadelphia Geriatric Center Morale Scale (Lawton, 1975) was utilized in determining morale, and Rosenberg's (1965) Self-esteem Scale was employed to measure self-esteem.

The Life Satisfaction Index B, which is made up of 12 open-ended questions scored on a three-point scale, was selected because it permitted some degree of flexibility in responses. The content also seemed more relevant to this particular group of retirees than did other measures of life satisfaction reviewed by the investigator. The LSIB is a self-report instrument devised by Neugarten, Havighurst, and Tobin (1961) (in an attempt to provide an instrument) to assess life satisfaction more expediently than their original Life Satisfaction Ratings which required the ratings of two judges on lengthy interview material. The LSIB was validated against the judgments of a clinical psychologist who reinterviewed 80 of the 177 cases. For persons over 65 years of age, the validity was established at .55. According to Neugarten, Havighurst and Tobin (1961),

the index appears to be relatively satisfactory. The scale was designed to yield a possible score of 23 points. A mean score of 15.1 and a standard deviation of 4.7 were established using data on 177 men and women aged 50 to 90. A copy may be seen in Appendix D.

The decision to use the Revised Philadelphia Geriatric Center Morale Scale (Lawton, 1975) was made after investigating other instruments and after receiving advice from a researcher with expertise in the area of social gerontology. Seventeen items make up the Revised PGC Morale scale. These items were derived from a larger set of questions developed by Lawton (1972). Factor analysis of responses from several studies produced three factors representing the dimensions of morale. Items 4, 7, 12, 13, 16, and 17 load on Factor 1, labeled agitation. Items which relate to the individual's attitude toward his/her own aging comprise Factor 2. Items 1, 2, 6, 8, and 10 are included in this factor. Factor 3, which represents lonely dissatisfaction is made up of items 3, 5, 9, 11, 14, and 15. Reliability for the three Factors has been established at .85, .81, and .85 respectively. For each high morale response, a numerical score of 1 is given. Low morale responses and items which are not answered receive no numerical score. Totaling the number of high morale responses gives the individual's score for a particular administration of the scale. Scores from 13 to 17 are indicative of high scores on the scale, scores from 10 to 12 fall within the mid-range, and scores under 9 are considered to be at the

low end of the scale. Based on data from 928 subjects, the mean score was 11.35 with a standard deviation of 3.76.

A copy is included in Appendix D.

Rosenberg's Self-esteem Scale (1965) was included in this study to measure the respondents' positive or negative attitudes toward the self. This particular scale was selected because of ease of administration, economy of time, and its acceptability regarding validity and reliability. The scale was originally constructed for use with adolescents as a Guttman Scale to insure its unidimensionality. When administered to 5,024 high school juniors and seniors using the Guttman procedure, the reproducibility was 93 percent and the scalability 72 percent. The test-retest reliability was established by Silber and Tippett (1965) at .85. In a further assessment of the scale's internal consistency, Richardson (1974) found a coefficient of reproducibility of .90. The scale has been used with adults as both a six- and ten-item instrument; however, it has been found to have a higher reliability when used as a ten-item scale. (Dobson, Powers, Keith and Goudy, 1979). The ten items are answered using a four-step response framework ranging from strongly agree to strongly disagree. Through the use of contrived items, the ten items are scored to yield a six-point scale. Scale Item I was contrived from the combined responses to items 3, 7, and 9; Scale Item II was contrived from the combined responses to statements 4 and 5; Scale Items III, IV, and V

were scored simply as positive or negative based on responses to items 1, 8, and 10; and Scale Item VI was contrived from the combined responses to items 2 and 6. According to Rosenberg, a high self-esteem is indicated by a score of 0 or 1 point; a score of 2 points denotes a medium self-esteem; and a score of 3-6 points reflects a low self-esteem. The mean score has been established at 1.89 with a standard deviation of 1.44. The scale items and an explanation of the scoring systems can be found in Appendix D.

Biographical Questionnaire

A written questionnaire was used to obtain the biographical data of each subject in order to give an overview of the sample. This questionnaire was designed to elicit information regarding present age, marital status, number of children, number of years as a football participant, professional team affiliation, position played, age at retirement, and present occupation. See Appendix D for a copy of the questions.

Selection of Subjects

Five retired professional football players served as subjects for this study. The decision to use football players as subjects rather than former athletes in another sport was based on the premise that little research was available on this group of retired athletes. Inferences

were made, during discussions with several former professional athletes prior to beginning this study, that adjustment to a lifestyle outside of sport was most problematic during the first five years following retirement. For this reason, the investigator made the decision to use as subjects only those former players who had been retired from football between one and five years. In order to have a base from which to draw subjects, the investigator made the decision to select those retired professional football players who had participated in intercollegiate football at the University of Georgia.

A list containing the names and addresses, professional team affiliation, and date of retirement, of retired professional football players was obtained from the Sports Information Office at the University of Georgia. From an original list of seventeen, ten retirees who represented a variety of teams within the National Football League, whose geographic location was within a 500-mile radius, and who had been retired between one and five years were selected from the list. From the list of ten, letters were sent to the five prospective subjects whose geographic location was within a 200-mile radius. Self-addressed stamped postal cards, on which subjects were requested to indicate their willingness or unwillingness to participate in the study, and their preference as to site and time for the interviews, were enclosed. Of the original five individuals contacted, three agreed to serve as subjects.

Letters were sent to two additional retirees, based on their geographic proximity. Their responses were affirmative. Copies of the letter and postal card are found in Appendix A.

Each subject designated a preferred site and time for the interview. Follow-up letters were sent to each of the former players acknowledging their willingness to participate in the study and informing them that contact by telephone would be made during the week prior to the interview to confirm a meeting place. Interviews were conducted in the subjects' city of residence or city of employment. The interviews ranged in length from one to two hours. Since the time was adequate to discuss all the questions on the interview schedule, only one session with each retiree was necessary. The biographical questionnaire, which was given prior to the interview, was completed by each subject in approximately five minutes. The administration time for the three scales measuring life satisfaction, morale, and self-esteem ranged from 20 to 30 minutes. These were given following the interview session.

Subjects were asked to read and sign an Informed Consent Form prior to being interviewed. This form, which appears in Appendix C, contained an explanation of the purpose of the study, the subject's rights regarding voluntary participation and withdrawal privileges, a guarantee that tapes and transcripts would be destroyed following the

completion of the investigation and a guarantee of anonymity. Subjects were also informed that a summary of the results of the study would be available if they so requested.

Each subject was debriefed following the interview session. The debriefing consisted of a verbal review of the purpose of the investigation, the three specific questions which the study addressed, and the subjects' role in the project. The debriefing session was concluded by asking the subject his feelings about his participation in the study, his reaction to the four categories of questions, and his overall understanding of the investigation.

Analysis of Data

The biographical data of each subject, obtained through a written questionnaire administered prior to beginning the interview session, was given to show an overview of the sample.

The interview tapes were transcribed to achieve accuracy and consistency. Questions which related directly to the purposes of this investigation were used to focus the analysis of the interview information and the responses to the three scales given as pencil-paper tests: (1) Is there supporting evidence that adjustment to retirement by professional football players is facilitated by a "mutual withdrawal" from society? An analysis was made of the subjects' self-rankings on the Life Satisfaction Index B and of the subjects' responses to questions within the

interview schedule designed to address social withdrawal;

(2) Is there evidence which supports the premise that involuntary changes in a professional athlete's career create an identity crisis? Rosenberg's Scale of Self-Esteem in addition to the subjects' responses to items adapted to ascertain the existence of an identity crisis was used in making this analysis:

(3) Is there supporting evidence that the maintenance of preretirement activity levels contributes to the retirement adjustment of professional football players? Analysis was based upon the subjects' self-rankings on the Revised Philadelphia Geriatric Center Morale Scale, scores on the Life Satisfaction Index B, and responses regarding levels of activity as indicated from the interview schedule.

An overall analysis of each interview was presented. The analysis included the biographical background of the subject, an account of the responses to questions dealing with each of the three theories of aging, the results of the specific scale or scales used to measure each of the theories, and an interpretative summary by the investigator indicating support or nonsupport of a theory or theories. Only a few minor comparative statements were included and no generalizations were made.

CHAPTER IV

ANALYSIS OF DATA

It was inevitable that a study designed to examine multiple theories would present a problem in the analysis and interpretation of results. This appeared to be particularly true since the theories to be examined were originally formulated on the basis of studies using older populations. To study the problem posed, using a younger and smaller population than had been investigated in former studies utilizing theories of aging, it seemed appropriate to view each subject separately in order to relate his interview responses and scores on selected scales to each theory.

The purpose of this study was to determine if the characteristic patterns of adjustment to retirement among selected professional football players supported one or more of three current social theories of aging. More specifically, evidence was sought which would support or refute: (1) whether adjustment to retirement by professional football players was facilitated by a mutual withdrawal from society; (2) if involuntary changes in a professional athlete's career created an identity crisis; and (3) if the maintenance of preretirement activity levels contributed to the retirement adjustment of professional football players.

The data have been analyzed by presenting an overall analysis of each interview including the biographical background of the subject, an account of the responses to each question dealing with each of the three theories of aging, the results of the specific scale or scales used to measure each of the theories, and an interpretive summary indicating the subject's retirement pattern as supportive or non-supportive of a theory or theories. No attempt was made to compare subjects, nor were any generalizations made.

The quotations included in this chapter were taken directly from transcribed interviews with the subjects. The investigator assumed the privilege of editorial license concerning the transcriptions only to achieve clarity and readability. No attempt was made to correct grammatical errors or to alter style.

Subject A

Subject A was twenty-five, married, the father of one child, and had been retired from professional football for one year. Having participated in football since the age of seven, he was involved in the sport over a period of 17 years. During his collegiate career he became one of the most celebrated running backs in Georgia football history. His professional career as a running back for the San Diego Chargers and Kansas City Chiefs lasted only two years. With an undergraduate degree in one of the Social Sciences, he was in sales at the time of the interview.

Social withdrawal. Responding to questions on the interview schedule which were designed to elicit information concerning social withdrawal, Subject A stated that his retirement from football had been involuntary. He attributed his poor beginning in professional football to an injury which prevented him from playing in three pre-season games. His first year as a professional player was terminated by a trade to a different team. His position as running back with a new team, however, proved to be equally insecure. He was cut from the team and his young career was brought to an abrupt end. Subject A readily commented that his choice would have been to continue playing professional football another year or so.

Subject A indicated that, during his sports career, his circle of friends was composed primarily of persons associated with sport, such as fellow players. He explained the change which had occurred since his retirement from sport:

I think you interact with people that you have a common interest with. When I was playing ball, you practiced with the guys all day, you live in the same motels - forced association. Now I interact with people I work with.... I just associate with people that I work with and have common interests with.

Subject A stated that his contacts with relatives had neither increased, nor decreased, but had remained stable since his retirement from professional football. However, he indicated that interaction with persons other than relatives had increased. He credited this increase to the

fact that his present occupation was less time-consuming and demanding than was his lifestyle within the sports milieu.

In response to a question about his amount of interest in material things since his retirement from sport, he stated:

Well, I think maybe more since I feel like it is more of a working atmosphere that I am in now. Playing college ball you were there for school. I was on scholarship so the material things just came natural. I knew I was one of the marginal players - one that could be cut and my career terminated at any time, so I was real conservative with my money knowing that it might not be there for long. Now that I am in the working world, working every day trying to make a living, I "think" success. I have a kid now so I think I am more conscious of the material things as far as providing for the family.

Subject A expressed an increased interest in the news, books, discussions and other forms of mental stimulation, maintaining that, while in professional sport, he lacked the motivation to seek mental stimulation. He further pointed out that such activity was now a part of his everyday routine.

Although Subject A indicated a decreased interest in physical activity following the termination of his sports career, he reported that his interest in taking part in other activities had increased. He also stated that his interest in people had increased during his one year of retirement from sport. He lamented the fact, however, that his interest in former professional teammates had decreased and that despite "good intentions" he had not maintained contact with these persons.

It would appear from the comments made by Subject A and his responses to questions dealing with social withdrawal that disengagement from society is not a characteristic pattern of adjustment in this case. However, in examining his responses to the Life Satisfaction Index B (Neugarten, Havighurst, and Tobin, 1961), he scored 14 out of a possible 23 points, which is 1.1 points below the mean score established by the authors. Despite the fact that this former player's score on the Life Satisfaction Index B was slightly below the mean, it seems safe to assume it is not low enough to reflect social withdrawal.

Identity crisis. Subject A, responding to questions included in the interview schedule concerning identity crisis, indicated that he had experienced some difficulty identifying with his new position as he made the transition from player to ex-player. He extended this view:

The problem is you are in a tense situation. You are looked up to fan-wise. Every weekend you have a game and it is a rush - perhaps 50, 60, or 70,000 people there. It is humbling when you get back into the business world where you are just someone out there working for a living. That was the difficulty - coming to grips with that...

Prior to his retirement from professional football, he derived his identity primarily from his professional sports career. "I was athlete number one. Everything derived from that." Realizing the many roles which could be used as a present source of identity, including those of realtor,

husband, father, or former professional athlete, this former player tended to prefer the role of father as his source of identity.

Subject A acknowledged some breakdown in identity after leaving professional football and expressed the enjoyment he had derived from the fame, status, and prestige which accompanied the role of professional athlete. He went on to say:

I played for 16 or 17 years and it is hard when fall comes around not to be playing. Something is missing - I should be at camp somewhere. That is what I had the most problem with.

Subject A also indicated that retirement from professional football had been degrading:

I always demanded a lot of myself and I took it as a personal failure...I should have considered it an accomplishment to have made it that far, because I am not the biggest running back that ever played and I wasn't the fastest...I looked at it as a failure...Being out - that's just saying you are not good enough any more. When you have that kind of investment, 16-17 years into it, it is kind of degrading.

In response to a question about whether or not he felt any embarrassment at the time of his retirement as a result of being cut from the team, Subject A replied:

I did. I was thinking that I had disappointed some folks who expected me to do real well and I really did not look forward to coming back and going through all the questions. But I found out that most people were just glad that I had the opportunity to play the length of time that I did...It is a tough time when you are realizing that it is all over.

It was interesting to note that while this subject attributed his lack of association with former professional football players to distance he had not attended a University

of Georgia football game since his retirement. He further pointed out that he would not attend a professional game. He alluded, however, to the fact that he would watch it on television. He would prefer competing in a friendly weekend golf match to watching a football game. This tends to support Miller's (1965) contention that an implication of the portent of embarrassment is that it may result in the individual excluding himself/herself from social interaction with others in that social category. As Miller pointed out, if a person withdraws from the activity but replaces it with another which reduces the portent of embarrassment, he retains a base for an identity.

Based on the responses to the first phase of the interview schedule, it appeared that Subject A experienced an identity crisis following his retirement from professional football. Rosenberg's (1965) Self-esteem Scale, designed to measure self-acceptance, was used as a second criterion to ascertain the existence of an identity crisis. This subject scored 3 points on the six-point self-esteem scale. According to Rosenberg, a high self-esteem is indicated by a score of 0 or 1 point; a score of 2 points denotes a medium self-esteem; and a score of 3-6 points reflects a low self-esteem. The mean score for the scale has been established by the author at 1.89 with a standard deviation of 1.44. Scoring a total of 3 points, this former player's score indicated a low self-esteem according to the categorization of high, medium and low established by Rosenberg (1965).

Using both the interview schedule and the self-esteem scale to determine the existence of an identity crisis, it appears that there is supporting evidence to indicate that involuntary changes in this professional athlete's career created an identity crisis.

Activity level. Responding to questions about his present activity level, Subject A indicated that his circle of friends had increased since his retirement from football. It is now composed of persons with more varied backgrounds and interests than had been true when he was in professional football. Although he stated that the number of "close" friends had increased during his one year of retirement, the frequency of interaction with these persons had neither increased nor decreased, but had remained the same. Subject A expressed an increased interest in "neighboring" and indicated that he interacted with neighbors more frequently than had been the case prior to his retirement from football. Explaining the time commitment which a professional must make to the sport, Subject A stated that, since his retirement, he has spent much more time with his family. Being away from the family was "the tough part about playing pro ball...".

Subject A presently holds membership in four formal organizations. During his professional sports career he was involved in none. This was surprising since approximately 90 percent of the professional football players within the National Football League are members of the

Players' Association. Since retiring, his participation in these organizations has been on a frequent basis.

As he related his feelings regarding solitary activities, it was evident that neither his enjoyment nor his participation in such activities had altered since retiring from sport. He did not at the time of the interview, nor had he ever enjoyed solitary activities. He never engaged in such activity prior to, nor since, retiring from football.

Subject A stated that he had more social contacts now than when actively engaged in professional football. He suggested that the increase was primarily due to his present occupation. The literature suggests that professional football players consider the social contacts made through professional sport to be instrumental in future careers (Governali, 1952; Beckley, 1975). It is interesting to note that Subject A's social contacts increased after terminating his sports career. This could be due, however, to the brevity of his career in professional football. This must be viewed in the context of his two-year career in sport.

He stated that he placed more value on social activity now than when he was involved in professional football. Commenting on the vast opportunities for social activity available to professional football players, he indicated that the frequency of participation had remained the same since his retirement.

Commenting on his participation in physical activity, Subject A indicated a marked decrease now as compared to the years prior to his retirement from football. He placed less value on physical activity at the time of the interview than he did prior to retiring from sport. He cited golf as his only medium for participation, which he considered to be fun, rather than "physical."

Having analyzed Subject A's responses to the questions concerning activity level, it is evident that his participation in social interaction, informal activity, formal activity, and solitary activity has either remained the same or increased. The Revised Philadelphia Geriatric Center Morale Scale (Lawton, 1975) and the Life Satisfaction Index B (Neugarten, Havighurst, and Tobin (1961) were used to determine whether or not the maintenance of preretirement activity levels contributed to the retirement adjustment. This individual scored 12 out of a possible 17 points on the morale scale which was .65 above the mean score established by the author and well within one standard deviation of the mean. Scores from 13 to 17 are considered indicative of high morale; scores from 10 to 12 are considered in the mid range; and low morale is indicated by scores of 9 and under. Out of a possible 23 points, he scored 14 points on the Life Satisfaction Index B which was 1.1 points below the mean score. While the scores on these two scales indicated neither a high morale, nor a high degree of life satisfaction, they

did not fall within the low categories. Consequently, the evidence seems to suggest that the maintenance of preretirement activity levels may have been associated with the retirement adjustment of this former professional football player.

General. The final phase of the interview schedule dealt with questions of a general nature, rather than to a specific theory of aging. Responding to a question concerning the point at which he seriously considered a career in professional football, this former player suggested that, in his opinion, all athletes had professional sports careers in the back of their minds. His comment was:

College is when I really started considering it seriously. It's kind of a thing that takes care of itself. You just play and if you are good enough you will be in the pros and if you are not, then you're not.

His primary reason for wanting to play professional football was "for the money," although he indicated that he enjoyed the game and prestige that was associated with the role of professional athlete. Having identified so completely with the role of professional football player, it was a contrast that money, rather than "love of the game" was his primary reason for playing.

When asked if he held a job in the off-season, Subject A gave a negative response, explaining that he used this time to finish his undergraduate degree and to "work out" in order to stay in good physical condition. While he was playing professional football, he did not have an alternate career

in mind. Explaining the point in time at which he started making plans for a second career he said:

I had not really considered anything else until I got cut...I knew it was all over. Then it was a scramble to find something.

He related these feelings about leaving professional football:

I was glad to be leaving - I was sad because I was going to miss the money. I was wondering what I was going to do now. I had played ball for 16 or 17 years and that was it. I never had to make any decisions on doing this as opposed to doing this and really what was I going to do Now? I had a degree that would not help me in anything. My degree was in Political Science - either law school or public administration. I thought in high school I wanted to go to law school because my dad is an attorney, but I had a couple of years with the pros, then I was two years behind and I could not foresee three more years.

If he had it to do over again, Subject A would go into professional football. However, he emphasized the fact that he would be more conscientious about his academic work while in college.

Summary. The analysis of this subject's responses to the interview schedule and scores on the life satisfaction index, the morale scale, and the self-esteem scale failed to reveal evidence to support Cumming and Henry's (1961) contention that adjustment to retirement is facilitated by "mutual withdrawal" from society. Since retirement was imposed by management, "societal" disengagement was operative; however, the evidence did not support decreased interaction between this individual and others in the social system.

On the contrary, he indicated increased interaction in most instances with decreases only in regard to physical activity and his former circle of friends. Consequently, it appeared that the adjustment pattern of Subject A did not support disengagement theory.

This analysis disclosed substantial evidence to indicate that involuntary changes in Subject A's career created an identity crisis. Responses to the interview schedule supported the basic tenets of Miller's (1965) identity crisis theory. This individual, having derived his identity primarily from his professional sports career, following retirement preferred to use the role of father as his primary source of identity rather than identifying with his new occupation. This supports Miller's contention that identity breakdown undermines the foundation of the new identity. The fact that Subject A experienced degradation and embarrassment at the time of his retirement is also congruent with Miller's propositions. Responses to Rosenberg's (1965) Self-esteem Scale indicated a low self-esteem, which supports the findings of McMahan and Ford (1955) and Peretti and Wilson (1975), who reported a positive relationship among loss of the occupational role, identity crisis, and low self-esteem.

The available evidence indicated that the activity patterns and values which were characteristic of Subject A prior to his retirement from professional football were either maintained or increased following the termination of his sports career. Both Havighurst (1961) and Martin

(1973) found a positive relationship between social activity and life satisfaction, while Maddox and Eisdorfer (1962) found support for the basic assumption of activity theorists that high morale is concomitant with a relatively high activity level. Scoring in the mid-range on both the life satisfaction index and the morale scale, it appeared that the maintenance of preretirement levels of activity contributed to the adjustment of this particular retiree from sport.

It would appear that the adjustment to retirement for Subject A showed some evidence of an identity crisis. He was, however, able to maintain a high activity level and his adjustment pattern was not characterized by social withdrawal.

Subject B

Subject B began participating in organized football at the age of eight and continued playing for 19 consecutive years. His collegiate career was culminated by receiving All-Southeastern as well as All-American awards and a degree in Business. For three of his four years in professional football, he played as both an offensive and defensive lineman with the Detroit Lions. Subject B was an offensive lineman for the Buffalo Bills at the time of his retirement. He was twenty-eight years old and owned and operated a business at the time of his participation in this study.

Social withdrawal. The initial phase of the interview schedule dealt with questions concerning social withdrawal. When asked whether his retirement from professional sport was voluntary or involuntary, Subject B replied:

A little bit of both. I got cut from Buffalo and came home when I didn't get picked up (by another team). Then, the head coach in Canada called and wanted me to come up there but I didn't want to play any more so I guess it is a little bit of both - a little cut and a little bit of quit.

He would have stayed in NFL football one more year, but indicated that he really had no desire to play much beyond another year.

Subject B described his circle of friends during his sports career as being composed both of fellow players and persons not associated with the team. He stated, "I had a lot of friends around the area when I was in Detroit, but when I was in Buffalo I only met the players." He reported seeing some of his former friends who were fellow players; however, his present circle of friends was made up of persons not associated with sport.

Responding to a question about whether his contact with relatives had increased, decreased, or remained the same since retiring from professional football, Subject B indicated that they had remained the same. He also stated that interaction with persons other than relatives had remained stable. He credited the maintenance of his pattern of interaction to

the fact that he always came back to the same locale during the off-season; therefore, circumstances were relatively unchanged.

Subject B's decreased interest in material things since his retirement from professional sport was reflected through the comment: "I don't have anything. I have not wanted to buy anything..." He mentioned that he had never placed much emphasis on material things but alluded to the fact that while involved in professional football he was perhaps more interested than at the present time.

He acknowledged an increased interest in the news, books, discussions, and other forms of mental stimulation, and suggested that the increase was due to the fact that he now felt more involved. He expressed particular interest in the news and the economy.

Although Subject B indicated a decreased interest in physical activity following his retirement from professional football, he noted that his interest in other activities had remained unchanged. Mentioning that he still maintained contact with former teammates, he conveyed his feelings regarding his interest in these persons through the comment:

The more you stay out the more it will decrease, but your good friends you like to go and see them. The majority of the people you probably pass.

It seemed evident from the responses to the questions pertaining to social withdrawal that Subject B had not withdrawn psychological energy and ties from society as is

characteristic of the disengagement process. Examining his responses to the Life Satisfaction Index B (Neugarten, Havighurst, and Tobin, 1961), his score of 20 out of a possible 23 points was 4.9 points above the mean score established by the authors. His score was indicative of a high degree of life satisfaction which seemed to suggest that a maintenance of an increase in interaction with others in the social system, rather than disengagement, facilitated adjustment to retirement.

Identity crisis. Subject B experienced no difficulty in identifying with his new position when he made the transition from player to ex-player. He explained the relatively smooth transition:

The way I see it is that I was always coming back here every year which means I had my own circle of friends which I have always had for the past 10 years...I didn't have any trouble at all, whereas, if I had lived up there and had to come back home or somewhere else it probably would have been more difficult.

Prior to his retirement from professional football, Subject B did not derive his identity from his sports career. Responding to a question about which role he tended to identify with since retiring from sport, he made the following comment:

"I really couldn't say - I have not thought about having an identity." This response seemed to contradict to some extent an earlier one in which he stated that he had had no difficulty in identifying with his new position. He reported that

he has experienced no breakdown in identity after terminating his sports career.

He acknowledged some degradation as a result of being cut from the team:

I didn't really like it because I was seeing a lot of players and still seeing some of them now that I know I was a lot better than. It gets to you that way but other than that it doesn't really matter.

Subject B related his feelings of embarrassment at the time of his retirement through his comments:

When I was cut from Detroit I was kind of embarrassed. I was by far the best tackle they had there and I felt it was rotten, but when I was in Buffalo they had a pretty good organization and I knew they had two good tackles so it really didn't matter. I was ready to get out then anyhow.

Miller (1965) maintained that an implication of the portent of embarrassment is that it may result in the individual excluding himself/herself from social interaction with others in that social category. This was not evidenced by this particular subject, who stated that he still maintains contact with former teammates whom he considered to be good friends. He also indicated that when his former teammates are playing football in Atlanta he attends the game and interacts with them following the game.

A high self-esteem was reflected by this subject's score of 0 on Rosenberg's (1965) Self-esteem Scale (\bar{X} = 1.89; S.D. = 1.44). The range is 0-6 and a score of 0-1 is indicative of a high self-esteem. It would appear, from the responses of Subject B to questions which comprised this

phase of the interview schedule, and to his score on the Self-esteem Scale, that involuntary changes in his professional sports career had not produced an identity crisis.

Activity level. Questions concerning the subject's present activity level made up the third category included in the interview schedule. Responding to a question about whether his circle of friends had increased, decreased, or remained the same since his retirement from sport, Subject B stated that it had remained unchanged. Although he maintained that the number of close friends had remained constant, he indicated the frequency of interaction with these persons had increased during his one year of retirement. He credited this increase to the fact that he was now a full-time resident of the locale where most of his close friends resided. Expressing no change in his interest in "neighboring," he stated that he had never interacted with neighbors; therefore, there was no evidence of change in frequency since his retirement from football. Unlike Subject A, Subject B stated that the amount of time spent with family had not increased but had remained the same since terminating his sports career. This must be viewed in the context that Subject B is single and that his immediate family is made up of his mother and brother and sisters rather than a wife and children.

Naming one formal organization in which he held membership, Subject B stated that he had been involved in only

this one during his sports career also. This indicated that he, like Subject A, had not belonged to the Players' Association of the National Football League. He mentioned that since retiring from football he had participated in this organization less frequently, but pointed out that his recent infrequent participation was not due to retirement.

Subject B's response regarding his interest and participation in solitary activities conveyed a negative attitude toward such activities:

I don't really do anything alone that I can think of. I might go out and hit some golf balls at the driving range by myself but that is all. I don't know of anything you can do by yourself that is really too much fun.

He indicated that neither his interest, nor his participation, in solitary activities had changed since leaving professional football.

Comparing the number of social contacts now to the number he had prior to retiring from football, Subject B stated:

Well, in the _____ area it is the same. It had to have decreased (overall) because I had a lot of social contacts in Detroit where I played the longest...

Commenting on his participation in social activity, Subject B stated that he had always placed a lot of emphasis on this aspect of his life. He decided that the frequency of participation had remained the same since his retirement.

Subject B acknowledged that, despite the fact that he felt he needed more physical activity, his participation had decreased dramatically since leaving professional football.

Admittedly, placing less value now on physical activity, he mentioned that he enjoyed participating in golf and did so with some degree of regularity.

It seemed evident from this subject's responses to the questions regarding activity level, that his participation in social interaction, informal activity, formal activity, and solitary activity had remained the same. Scoring 16 out of a possible 17 points on the Revised Philadelphia Geriatric Center Morale Scale (Lawton, 1975), which was 4.65 above the mean, the subject evidenced a high morale. Subject B scored 20 out of a possible 23 points on the Life Satisfaction Index B (Neugarten, Havighurst, and Tobin, 1961). This score, which was 4.9 points above the established mean and above one standard deviation of the mean (S.D. = 4.7), reflected a high degree of life satisfaction. Data suggest that the maintenance of preretirement activity levels may have been related to the retirement adjustment of this former professional football player according to the criteria used in this study.

General. Responding to questions which made up the final phase of the interview schedule, Subject B stated that he did not give serious consideration to a career in sport until his senior year in college. He indicated that his primary reason for wanting to play professional football was for the money he would accrue. He further commented:

Nobody would play without the money, especially the linebackers and people like that. The quarterbacks and a few people like that can

say they are in for the love of the game, but you see them holding out for all this money so it has got to be the money...a person that loves the game is crazy. No way it can be anything else but the money.

The fact that his primary motivation for playing professional football was for extrinsic rewards is congruent with some of his earlier responses in which he evidenced a "lack of commitment" to the game indicating that he was ready to get out of professional sport.

Subject B stated that he did not hold a job during the off-season. He further pointed out that he did not begin thinking of an alternate career until he was cut for the final time.

Conveying his feelings about leaving professional football, he stated:

Well, the first time I thought I was going to get cut by the (Detroit) Lions and the second time (by the Buffalo Bills) it suited me just fine. I could still play this year if I wanted to, but I did not want to.

Reflecting on the sports establishment, he commented:

Well, there's a lot wrong with it, but there's a lot wrong with everything else. You are working for the person you go in there for...you have to go in and give all you can because as soon as you are over you will be thrown out the door, no matter who you are, unless you stay with a team for about 15 years and they put you in public relations or something like that. Everybody gets through and unless you are a superstar you are in trouble.

When asked if he would go into professional football if he had it to do over again this subject stated: "Sure - I guess.

It's a good way to make money." He indicated that football had provided the capital to establish his second career.

Summary. The evidence obtained from Subject B's responses to the interview questions and scores on the scales used to assess life satisfaction, morale, and self-esteem failed to substantiate Cumming and Henry's (1961) thesis that successful adjustment results from the "mutual withdrawal" of the individual and society. His interaction with others in society was maintained following his retirement from professional football, with decreases evidenced only in regard to his interest in material things and physical activity. Exhibiting a high degree of life satisfaction, as evidenced by his score on the life satisfaction index, it appeared that the adjustment pattern of Subject B was not representative of disengagement theory.

Despite the fact that Subject B experienced some feeling of degradation and embarrassment at the time he was cut from the professional team, there seemed to be insubstantial evidence to indicate that involuntary changes in his sports career created an identity crisis. Contrary to Miller's (1965) basic assumption, this subject did not base his identity on his occupational role. The "portent of embarrassment" apparently caused no difficulty in continued role performance, nor resulted in the individual's withdrawal from others in the social system. Subject B's self-esteem score reflected a high self-esteem, which provided supporting

evidence that involuntary changes in his career had not created an identity crisis.

The analysis of Subject B's responses indicated that the activity patterns and values inherent in the lifestyle during the preretirement were either maintained or in some instances, increased following retirement from professional sport. Decreases occurred only in regard to the number of social contacts, participation in physical activity, and participation in formal organizations. In view of both a high morale and a high degree of life satisfaction, it seemed apparent that the maintenance of preretirement levels of activity had the potential for contributing to the adjustment of this former professional football player.

From this analysis, there appeared to be insufficient evidence to support either the disengagement theory or the identity crisis theory. Having demonstrated a moderately high activity level, coupled with a high morale and a high degree of life satisfaction, Subject B's pattern of adjustment was more representative of activity theory.

Subject C

At the time of the interview this former professional football player was in sales in a city approximately fifteen miles from the town in which he grew up. Having been retired for two years, he was 33 years of age, married, and had two sons and a daughter. His participation in football began at age nine and continued for 22 years. He enjoyed an

eminent collegiate football career, receiving All-American awards three consecutive years. Leaving the institution of higher learning with both a degree in Education and a professional football contract, he opted to pursue a career in sport. He played defensive end for the Miami Dolphins for eight years and was vested for nine. His career in professional football was an illustrious one. He played on the National Football League world championship team two years and was named All-Pro four consecutive years.

Social withdrawal. Candidly responding to the questions pertaining to social withdrawal, Subject C described the circumstances surrounding his retirement which could be considered as both voluntary and involuntary:

I had kinda a unique case I guess. I played eight years. I had a serious injury the sixth year which almost paralyzed me. I was out for about two months, came back and played - played again the following season and during that season I kept experiencing pain. (I was) in and out of the hospital. At the end of that season I requested permission from the Miami Dolphin Organization to seek outside medical opinions. That permission was granted. I went to see two specialists for athletic injuries to the cervical spine in Ann Arbor, Michigan. Both of these physicians, an orthopedic surgeon and a neurosurgeon, recommended immediate retirement from football or risk permanent injury - being paralysis or death if I were to get hit again. I came back and reported these findings to the club. The team doctor said I could play. In his opinion I was perfectly able to play and did not risk any more of a chance than any of the other ball players. I filed a grievance to the Players' Association and in the procedures of this grievance I was sent to the Mayo Clinic where two physicians examined me and they were concurrent with the findings

that I had received from the physicians in Michigan. The team was still not willing to agree to those terms, the problem being I could retire on my own but I was in the third year of a five year guaranteed contract...I was entitled to the last two years of payment under that contract and the team said that since their physician said I was capable of playing, they wanted me to play or either not pay me. I went through an arbitration which I won. The management with the Miami Dolphins still did not want to pay. They filed court suit naming me and the Players' Association the arbitrator, and the National Football League Management Council, which is the owners. A settlement was made between myself and the Miami Dolphins and I am out of football.

Subject C commented that had he not been injured he would have continued to play for another year or so. He went on to say:

I was at the peak of my career when the injury happened. I had been selected to play in five pro bowls and made All-Pro several times, but that is one of the dangers and risks of the game - injury.

Subject C indicated that during his sports career his circle of friends was not limited to persons associated with the team, but included persons with various occupational backgrounds. He stated that his circle of friends had remained basically the same since his retirement from professional sport.

It was interesting to note that, in spite of the fact that he lived within fifteen miles of his relatives, Subject C reported that the number of contacts with them had remained the same as when he was actively engaged in professional football. With regard to seeing and doing things with people other than relatives, he commented that the frequency had

remained unchanged, although he specified that due to his marital status this interaction was somewhat different. He further explained:

I was married the first three years I played ball. The divorce was final and now I am re-married...my lifestyle has changed just from the cause that I am married and there are a lot of things I don't do that I use to do and vice versa. It has nothing to do with retirement. Just my marital status has changed.

Subject C maintained that his interest in material things had neither increased, nor decreased but had remained the same since retiring from professional football. Judging from his present surroundings, it appeared that he enjoyed a high standard of living. Expressing his enthusiasm for hunting, he stated ... "I enjoy hunting. I usually can justify anything I need in that department."

Subject C explained that his interest in the news, books, discussions, and other forms of mental stimulation had increased since his retirement from professional football, despite the fact that he now has less time for such pursuits.

Although this subject, like Subjects A and B, expressed a decreased interest in physical activity, he stated that his interest regarding social activities had remained the same. He indicated, however, that the types of social activities he participated in since his retirement were different from those in which he engaged as a professional football player. He cited the following example:

I use to enjoy running the bars at night when I was single...If I were to stay up

until 12 o'clock now I couldn't function the next day. I guess I am getting older. When I was playing ball I use to not go out until 12 o'clock at night...I (now) enjoy entertaining guests. I enjoy going to other folks homes - that sort of thing.

Subject C stated that his interest in people, other than relatives, had remained constant since his retirement from professional sport. He also indicated that his interest in former teammates had neither increased, nor decreased, but remained the same. He mentioned that although there had been a decrease in interaction with his former teammates, he kept in touch with three or four of them. He attributed this decrease in interaction to the fact that they were "spread out all over the country."

Having examined the responses to the questions dealing with social withdrawal, it seemed apparent that Subject C had not exhibited a pattern of withdrawal or disengagement from society. His score of 20 points on the Life Satisfaction Index B (Neugarten, Havighurst, and Tobin, 1961) was 4.9 points above the mean score and above one standard deviation of the mean which was established at 4.7. It appeared therefore, that continued role activity and continued interaction with others in the social system, rather than disengagement, contributed to Subject C's high degree of life satisfaction.

Identity crisis. In response to questions on the interview schedule designed to elicit information concerning identity crisis, Subject C specified that he had no trouble

in identifying with his new position when he made the transition from player to ex-player. This was evidenced through his comment:

I enjoyed it. It was nice while it was there. I miss the pretty automobiles, the pretty apartments that went along with that identity... I am happy as I can be to be away from it...It would have been difficult financially if I had not been so fortunate as to get out with two years left under contract with the club...I think if I had just been cut off, it would have been tough financially for a while.

Prior to his retirement from football, Subject C derived his identity primarily from his professional sports career. He indicated that he would now like to be known as a very successful realtor. He further stated, however, that his identity as a husband and father provided the most enjoyment and satisfaction. Subject C experienced no breakdown in identity after leaving professional football, although he admittedly enjoyed the role of professional athlete and the benefits that went along with it. He commented: "...it doesn't bother me at all that I am a 'has-been'...I am happy to be out..." He also maintained that he had not found retirement to be degrading since he made the decision to leave professional sport, rather than being forced out by management.

Indicating the he felt no embarrassment at the time of his retirement from professional football, he stated:

The kids are getting bigger, stronger, and faster each year. You are just getting older... My position was that I had made it. I had done well so I guess personal team goals (were met). ...I think my career was very fulfilling. Like

I said, I played on two super bowl championship teams. (I received) individual honors. I am very happy with it.

Judging from the responses to this phase of the interview schedule, there appeared to be no evidence to indicate that this individual experienced an identity crisis following his retirement from professional football. He scored 0 on Rosenberg's (1965) Self-esteem Scale (\bar{X} = 1.89; S.D. = 1.44) which was indicative of a high self-esteem, and incongruent with the presence of an identity crisis.

Activity level. The dialogue which resulted from the questions assessing Subject C's present activity level revealed that his circle of friends had neither increased, nor decreased, but remained the same since his retirement from professional sport. He had the same number of close friends as he had prior to leaving professional football. He indicated, however, a decreased frequency of face-to-face interaction with his "close" friends. He maintained that he interacted with them frequently on the telephone since geographic proximity limited "get togethers."

Like Subject A, Subject C expressed an increased interest in "neighboring" and suggested that he interacted with neighbors more frequently since he was no longer affiliated with professional sport. He attributed this increase to the fact that he was now a permanent resident and homeowner in the community. Explaining the time demands placed on a professional football player from July

through December, Subject C stated that during the two years of retirement he spent a lot more time with his family.

While actively engaged in professional football, Subject C belonged to only one formal organization. Since his retirement the number of memberships in formal organizations had increased to three or four, resulting in increased participation.

Subject C expressed a real enjoyment for participation in solitary activities, maintaining that the frequency of participation was comparable to that of his pre-retirement years. He mentioned that he had always been enthusiastic about hunting and fishing alone.

The number of social contacts Subject C had when interviewed were considerably less than the number he enjoyed while in professional sport. This was understandable since he was one of the more visible defensive players with the Miami Dolphin Organization over a period of eight years.

Like Subjects A and B, this individual reported that his participation in physical activity had decreased since his retirement. The fact that he placed less value on physical activity was reflected in his comment:

Physical activity - it was a job when I was playing. I don't like jogging. I didn't like running when I got paid for it. I need to get more exercise (due) to the fact that my body was pumped up for so long and now I am letting it come down a little bit.

Subject C indicated that he no longer placed as much value on social activity, nor did he participate in it as frequently since his retirement from football. He suggested that this could possibly be due to his remarriage, gaining custody of one of his sons, and the birth of an additional child.

This subject's responses to questions pertaining to his present activity level tended to indicate that his participation in informal activity, formal activity, and solitary activity had either increased or remained the same since his retirement from professional football. However, there appeared to be at least a partial reduction in social interaction. He scored 16 out of a possible 17 points on the Revised Philadelphia Geriatric Center Morale Scale (Lawton, 1975) which is 4.65 points above the mean score and above one standard deviation of the mean (S.D. = 3.76). According to Lawton (1975), this score was well within the range of scores indicative of high morale. His score of 20 on the Life Satisfaction Index B (Neugarten, Havighurst, and Tobin, 1961) was 4.9 points above the mean score and above one standard deviation of the mean (\bar{X} = 15.1; S.D. = 4.7). It appeared, therefore, that the maintenance of pre-retirement activity levels was evident in the retirement adjustment of this retired professional football player.

General. Subject C made the following comments regarding the point at which he seriously considered a career in professional football:

I don't feel like the decision was really mine...I started playing organized football when I was in grade school - then (through a progression of) high school. I was good enough in high school to be awarded a scholarship - went to college and was fortunate that I got to play...I am sure any kid watching TV dreams of being a baseball player or football player. It just happened for me. I was drafted by Miami and signed with them my entire career.

Subject C's primary reason for wanting to play professional football was reflected in his statement:

(For the) money. A kid right out of college making \$40,000 a year - that's hard to turn down. I never really enjoyed playing that much, but it didn't bother me and you get a lot of fringe benefits.

During the off-season Subject C held a job as an automobile salesman. When asked if he had an alternate career in mind while he was playing professional football he replied:

No - not really. I would have liked to have farmed, but established farmers are going broke. It would have taken more funds than I had available to get started.

He pointed out that he did not actually begin making plans for a second career until after he retired from professional sport.

Conveying his feelings about leaving professional football, Subject C commented:

When I first got into pro ball, (I would) play a game on Sunday, be a little sore on Monday, and be feeling fine on Tuesday. My last year I was sore from July to December. That's when I said it is time to get out of it. I am happy with what I am doing. I am glad to be walking around.

He reminiscently stated that if he were a college senior again and the opportunity presented itself, he would choose a career in professional football:

I wouldn't trade those experiences for anything. I enjoyed the comaraderie. I think...a football team, a close-knit team like we were, is pretty much like a fraternity. A lot of closeness. That is one thing that I miss about being out of it...that comaraderie with other players and a little bit of personal satisfaction in knowing that you line up nose to nose on a fellow and whip him.

Summary. Evidence obtained from the responses to questions comprised in the interview schedule and from the scales used to assess life satisfaction, morale, and self-esteem appeared to refute Cumming and Henry's (1961) disengagement theory. Contrary to the propositions set forth by Cumming and Henry (1961), Subject C's interaction with others in the social system was either maintained or increased following his retirement from professional sport, with reduced frequency occurring only in regard to physical activity and former teammates. His score on the life satisfaction index reflected a high degree of life satisfaction, which tended to suggest that continued engagement, as

opposed to disengagement, contributed to this subject's adjustment to retirement.

This analysis failed to lend supporting evidence to Miller's (1965) contention that involuntary changes in social position produce a crisis in the individual's ability to achieve a satisfactory identity in his new position. Despite the fact that Subject C's retirement was not mandated by management, it was involuntary from the standpoint that an injury forced the decision. However, he experienced no difficulty in identifying with a new position, no breakdown in identity as a result of "implied inability to perform," and no feelings of degradation as a result of his retirement. Feeling no embarrassment, he experienced no difficulty in continued role performance, nor showed signs of withdrawal from social interaction with others in the social institution of sport. Subject C's score on Rosenberg's (1965) Self-esteem Scale reflected a high self-esteem, which was congruent within the analysis of the responses to the interview schedule.

The evidence indicated that the activity patterns and values which were characteristic of Subject C while he was actively engaged in professional football were, for the most part, either maintained or increased following his retirement. Decreases occurred only in relation to "face-to-face" interaction with close friends, physical activity, and participation in social activity. A positive relationship had been found between activity level and life

satisfaction (Havighurst, 1961; Martin, 1973; Knapp, 1977). Similarly, a high morale had been found to be positively related to a relatively high activity level (Maddox and Eisdorfer, 1962; Rosow, 1967). Having scored high on both the life satisfaction index and the morale scale, there appeared to be supporting evidence that the maintenance of preretirement levels of activity contributed to the adjustment of this individual.

From the available evidence, it appeared that Subject C supported neither the disengagement theory nor the identity crisis theory. Viewed in the context that a relatively high activity level was found in concurrence with a high morale and a high degree of life satisfaction, his pattern of adjustment was more representative of activity theory.

Subject D

Socialized into organized football at the age of ten, Subject D was a participant in the sport for 26 years. His professional career as center for the Washington Redskins lasted for fourteen years, during which he was named All-Pro three times, and was selected president of the Players' Association of the National Football League. At the time of the interview he was thirty-seven years old, married, had one child, and had been retired from professional football one year. Having graduated from college

with a degree in Physical Education, he was in business. In addition, he was pursuing a degree in law.

Social withdrawal. In response to the interview questions which pertained to social withdrawal, Subject D indicated that his retirement from professional football had been imposed by management. When asked whether or not he would have continued to play another year or so had he had the opportunity, he commented:

Sure. There always comes this situation in football - are you able to play? Are you able to function to the standards you would like to or that you want to, because we have all seen the famous players who lose a step and the "experts" on television talk about how sad it looks that so and so has lost a step. But when it comes to ourselves, usually we don't look at it quite as objectively and we say well, can we play or not and you judge yourself on films. If you are doing the job and you feel that you are not embarrassing yourself, which motivates most people, then I think you would continue to play. There are extenuating circumstances for everybody and my particular situation in Washington was we had a coaching change and very often when you have a coaching change the new broom kinda likes to sweep a clean trail and they begin getting rid of the older guys. I was one of the first older guys to go. There were a couple of guys older than me that stayed another year there, but they pretty well have gone to the youth type movement in Washington and this happens frequently.

Subject D stated that during his sports career his circle of friends was composed primarily of fellow players during the regular season and "hometown friends" during the off-season. Explaining the change which had occurred since

his retirement, he pointed out that it now included more persons from his hometown with more varied backgrounds.

Subject D described the number of contacts with relatives as being basically unchanged since his retirement from football. He indicated, however, that interaction with persons other than relatives had definitely increased.

Subject D expressed an increased interest in material things since his retirement from professional sport. He attributed this increased interest to the fact that he had become accustomed to a certain standard of living while playing professional football, and in order to maintain this standard he had become more conscious of material possessions.

Explaining his increased interest in the news, books, discussion, and other forms of mental stimulation, this subject commented:

I know I am more interested in taxes... government programs, politics...it doesn't affect me any more now than when I was playing football, but I feel it more because I know in July I am not going to Pennsylvania for training camp and have to mark the rest of the world out of my life. I think one thing that guys in sports do and that is you have to, by the pure nature of the game, you have to kinda divorce yourself from issues, politics, and this type of thing if you are playing football. If you are playing football you don't make arrangements to do anything other than football because it dictates your life - so being out of it you do start taking interest in other things...

Subject D reported that his interest in both physical and social activities had increased since his retirement

from professional football; however, he maintained that his interest in people had remained the same. Although he indicated that he still maintained contact with some of his former teammates, he explained how his interest in these persons had decreased:

...Out of sight, out of mind. You don't forget the good times, but you certainly don't see them everyday. During training for six weeks...you are basically with the same guys between 7 o'clock that morning and 10 that night...during the off-season you certainly think about these people pretty regularly...It's just one long off-season (now) so you don't think about the people as much.

It appeared from Subject D's responses to questions pertaining to social withdrawal that his pattern of adjustment did not exemplify disengagement from society. His score of 18 out of a possible 23 points on the Life Satisfaction Index B (Neugarten, Havighurst, and Tobin, 1961) was 2.9 points above the established mean and within one standard deviation of the mean.

Identity crisis. Subject D stated that he had experienced no difficulty in identifying with his new position when he made the transition from player to ex-player. His view was emphasized in the comment:

I don't think I had any difficulty at all relating to being a non-player. I think a lot of it has to do with how you become a non-player. Are you a superstar today and then injured and whisked out of the game, or do you see the writing on the wall. Do you see it coming. I saw it coming because of the change in the coaches - you visualize

the youth movement coming...If you are 25 years old and you get cut, I think it is a little bit different. There are guys leaving the game today that are not even that old. A lot of my friends around here say, "you must miss it" and I say no...I had enough of football. I could have played more I think, but when I stopped I certainly did not feel like I wanted or cared whether I played any more.

He indicated that prior to his retirement from professional football he derived his identity primarily from his role as a professional athlete. Through his response to a question concerning which role he preferred as a source of identity since his retirement, he referred to three distinct roles, yet maintained that he identified with none:

I guess I am in a peculiar situation. I am not really doing anything - I'm doing a lot of things. I'm going to law school. I have a store out here but I don't spend day in and day out with it...I think of myself as a husband and father. I don't really think of myself as anything. That's not derogatory toward myself -- I really don't think of myself that much.

He reported that he had experienced no breakdown in identity as a result of his forced retirement from professional football.

Subject D attested to the fact that his capabilities had been inaccurately assessed by his superiors; consequently, he did not find retirement from football to be degrading. He described his feelings:

I was judged by my superiors as being not qualified to do what I had been doing. Certainly nobody appreciates that. I happen to think I know a little more about football than a good majority of the people

that were my superiors. So when I was told I couldn't play and I knew I could and I was told the reasons I couldn't play and I knew other things, to me it was kind of humorous. It was easy for me to say to myself - you don't know what you are asking for - you are the loser, not me. You are depriving me of something. I could play and I could help you but I'm not going to and it's your choice. It was easy for me because I think I realized it wasn't my fault...

In response to a question about whether or not he found the circumstances surrounding his retirement embarrassing, Subject D replied:

It was to a degree. It was embarrassing in a way that it was also funny...I went to training camp and played in the pre-season games then was cut before the season started. Like I said a while ago -- you could read the handwriting on the wall. There's something about when the coaches won't look you in the eye that you know something is going to happen. I don't mean just me. I've seen this happen over the years and there is a distinct way the coaches act. You know they are not being straight with you...In this particular game I make a block that is really a good block. It shows on the film we're watching. The line coach of the Redskins, [thinking it is a younger player] says, "now that's it - now ya'll look at that -- now that's blocking!" Kilmer [a teammate] said, "hey Ray, that's [Subject D]" and the coach said "oh." That's all he said, "oh." Everybody in the room laughed. Everytime the young player does anything, everytime he runs on the field [the coach] says, "that's the way." Everytime I do anything - stone silence. This builds up. I guess you can become angry and bitter when they are doing this. I reacted by saying hey, that's ridiculous.

Miller (1965) contended that an implication of the portent of embarrassment is that it may result in the individual excluding himself from social interaction with

others in that social category. Despite the fact that Subject D stated that he felt some degree of embarrassment as a result of being cut from the team, he indicated that this did not tend to precipitate a withdrawal from situations and persons associated with professional football. Interestingly, he pointed out that players frequently tend to withdraw from a team member who they think might be cut from the team.

He described his own situation and how his teammates reacted:

It didn't (tend to make me want to withdraw.) I think it relates (to) how you feel about yourself and how your friends feel about you. During this whole period of time the group that I associated with, would naturally talk about what was going on -- and they would say, "I don't believe it -- they are not going to cut you are they?" I said, sure they are -- of course they are. Sometimes when this starts to happen you start to shy away from the guy...this is why rookies have had such a hard time. Most players don't care about associating with rookies because you don't want to make a friend that is going to be gone. You don't want to really get close to somebody and have him get cut...This helped me a whole lot -- the reaction of my peers. It was also made easier on me for the reason that the Washington press was good to me. They wondered why it was done this way -- they wondered why it was done at all. They were extremely gracious to me...

It seemed evident from the responses of Subject D to this phase of the interview schedule that he did not experience an identity crisis as a result of his mandatory retirement from professional football. His score of 0 on Rosenberg's (1965) Self-esteem Scale ($\bar{X} = 1.89$; $S.D. = 1.44$),

reflected high self-esteem. According to research by Peretti and Wilson (1975), a high self-esteem is not positively associated with identity crisis.

Activity level. Subject D indicated, through his responses to questions concerning his present activity level, that his circle of friends had increased since his retirement from professional football. He also stated that the number of "close" friends had increased. However, he pointed out that the frequency of interaction with these persons had decreased. Suggesting that his interest in his neighbors had remained basically unchanged since leaving professional sport, he also mentioned that the frequency of interaction had remained the same. Subject D described the time commitment a professional football player must make to the sport and contended that, since he was no longer involved, he now spends more time with his family.

Having held memberships in two formal organizations prior to his retirement from professional football, he noted that during his one year of retirement the number of memberships had remained the same, with approximately the same frequency of participation.

As Subject D conveyed his feelings regarding solitary activities, it was evident that he thoroughly enjoyed such activity both prior to and since his retirement from

professional football. Expressing an increased interest in such activity he commented:

...My wife and I have a pretty good understanding that some of our happier moments was when I was at training camp and she was alone. We both feel a need to be by ourselves. In driving back and forth to school (approximately 70 miles), until gas went over a dollar, I always drove by myself. Until gas went out of sight, I preferred to ride by myself.

It was interesting to note that this subject stated that the number of social contacts he enjoyed while actively engaged in professional football had remained the same since his retirement. Having played at the professional level for a period of fourteen years in the Washington area, and having established a name for himself, it would seem that his number of social contacts could, perhaps, have decreased following his retirement.

Subject D was asked whether or not he placed the same value on physical activity now as when he was involved in professional sport:

No, I think I place a little more now, whether it is cosmetic ego, or what. I have seen too many guys go to pot when they got out of the game. A guy that played at 220 (pounds) winds up weighing 260 and of course there is a genuine interest in health and the heart. I used to not do anything during the off-season. I did all my physical activities from July to January. I did very little during the off-season. Now if I don't play tennis a couple of times a week I might go out and walk or jog whereas I use to not do this back when I was playing. I certainly did not feel any need to do anything physically. Again I think it is a frustration fulfilling type thing as much as it is a physical need that the body

needs some activity. Again with all the emphasis on the heart and staying trim -- I don't seem to be trim but I maintain or stay under the weight I was at when I played.

Subject D explained that he was actually more physically active while participating in football; however, he suggested that his physical activity in areas other than football had increased since his retirement.

Subject D, having acknowledged the fact that he placed less value on social activity, described his participation in such activity as extensive while he was in the sports milieu. He pointed out that since his retirement his participation was on a less frequent basis. He preferred to spend more time at home.

A maintenance of or an increase in participation in informal, formal, and solitary activities was evident in Subject D's responses to questions pertaining to present activity levels. However, there appeared to be a partial reduction in social interaction. His score of 13 out of a possible 17 points on the Revised Philadelphia Geriatric Center Morale Scale was 1.65 points above the mean score as established by Lawton (1975) and well within one standard deviation of the mean (S.D. = 3.76). Having scored 18 points out of a possible 23 points on the Life Satisfaction Index B (Neugarten, Havighurst, and Tobin, 1961) his score was 2.9 points above the established mean (\bar{X} = 11.35) and within one standard deviation of the mean. Having evidenced

through his scores on the two scales both a high morale and a high degree of life satisfaction, it appeared that the maintenance of preretirement activity levels may have been related to the retirement adjustment of this subject.

General. Subject D gave the following commentary regarding the point at which he seriously considered a career in professional football.

I never seriously considered it...It just came along. I started playing football when I was 10 because we had a little league team...when I got into junior high I played..., and when I got into high school I played in the high school program. I don't think I ever sat down and thought this is what I want to do. I more often thought, this is what I will be glad when I don't have to do. When I was a junior and senior in high school and developed into a college prospect, I wasn't sure I would get a scholarship. If I don't, I will do something else. I will go into service probably...back then it was fashionable for a young man to graduate from high school and go into service and that is what I thought I would do if I didn't get a scholarship. We couldn't afford to pay my way through college. Going to college was not quite as emphasized back then...But it came about that I did go to college on scholarship. When I was a senior in college with a degree in physical education with the intention to coach...I was drafted by a professional team...It was just another step you just take because it is there...I don't think in the late 40's and early 50's many kids were thinking about being professional athletes...you did not have a TV then and when you had one there wasn't any football on it, so there was not as much exposure. Our union runs a camp program during the off-season with inner-city kids that is government granted... we had ball players go and speak to the kids and instruct them in sports and so forth, but one of the programs that we project to the kids is "don't put your eggs in one basket." Get your education, think about this because it

is so emphasized today...We try to preach to these kids - don't think about being a pro athlete because there are 1400 players in the National Football League and there are that many million kids that want to be. Chances are, you are not going to do it.

The challenge of obtaining a position in professional sport was indicated by Subject D's response to a question as to why he wanted to play professional football. He commented:

Because it is the thing to go into if you get the chance. I don't know how I can convey to you what I have just told you about starting at (age) 10 and continuing to play. Most athletes today have done that. Maybe they didn't start at 10 and didn't have a little league program -- maybe they start in junior high or high school. But you play and if you have an opportunity to play professional football you do...I think you would like to get an answer whether I did it for fame or fortune, but I think that is really a wrong answer. I don't think anybody knows. I think it is just something that if you can do, you do because it is there and if you can't, you don't...A kid growing up today may think all his life I am going to be a professional football player.

Subject D stated that he always held a job during the off-season. He indicated that his off-season employment included teaching school, sales promotion, a position with the State Department of Labor, and liquor sales. He also pointed out that toward the end of his sports career he spent the off-season attending law school. When asked if he had an alternate career in mind while playing professional football, he stated:

Not really. Not until toward the end. I taught school a few years (during the off-season) and it did not take me long to realize that was not what I was going to do. I was in sales promotion for a few years -- that was a football player being used to promote but that was not a career. The Department of Labor -- that was during the off-season to make some money, but there was no career there. Then I got into the whiskey business and I felt that was something I could do when I got out of football. I could run my stores. Then law came along... When I got into the whiskey business I started reading the law related to the whiskey business. I started studying it and it appealed to me and then I got involved in the Union (The Players' Association) and we got involved in a lot of legal things...then I said why don't I go to law school, so I did.

Expressing his feelings about leaving professional football, Subject D indicated that he had had a long and rewarding career, and while retirement at that particular time had not been his choice, he was happy with his present circumstances. He alluded to the fact that he was enthusiastically pursuing the next phase of his life and his second career as an attorney. In retrospect, he stated that if he were to relive his life, he would again choose a career in professional football.

Summary. An analysis of Subject D's responses to the interview schedule and scores on the Life Satisfaction Index B seemed to disclose insufficient evidence to support Cumming and Henry's (1961) basic proposition that a "mutual withdrawal" between the individual and society facilitates adjustment to retirement. While "societal" disengagement

was in effect, there was no indication of "individual" disengagement. In contrast, Subject D evidenced a maintenance of, or an increase in interaction with others in the social system with a decrease occurring only with former teammates. His high degree of life satisfaction tended to indicate that a maintenance of, rather than a decrease in social interaction, contributed to his adjustment to retirement.

The evidence in this analysis proved inadequate to justify support for the identity crisis theory. Although Subject D did not presently identify with any one particular role, and despite the fact that he experienced some degree of embarrassment, his other responses coupled with his high self-esteem seemed to indicate an absence of identity crisis.

This analysis revealed substantial evidence to suggest that the activity patterns and values held by Subject D prior to his retirement from professional sport were either maintained or increased following the termination of his career in sport. Scoring high on both the morale scale and the life satisfaction index, it appeared that the maintenance of preretirement activity levels contributed to this former athlete's adjustment.

Subject E

Subject E retired from professional football at the age of 39 following 32 years as a football participant. He was affiliated with three different teams during his

seventeen-year professional career. At the time of his retirement, he was a punter for the Pittsburgh Steelers. He was married, had one child, and had been retired from professional football for three years at the time of the interview. Since his retirement he has been engaged in farming and until recently, he was also in business.

Social withdrawal. Subject E considered his retirement from professional football as both voluntary and involuntary. He described the circumstances surrounding his retirement:

My retirement was sort of involuntary and voluntary. I hurt my knee and I was contemplating retiring that year anyway, so when I hurt my knee that just made me go ahead and make up my mind...I think I could have played another couple of years. I was getting at the age too, that I was slowing down and I could feel it. My legs didn't have the snap in them that I had had in the past. I was thinking about it anyway. So it really didn't matter to me, so I just went ahead and retired.

Subject E indicated that, while he was actively engaged in professional football, his circle of friends was composed primarily of persons not associated with sport. Explaining the reasons for choosing friends outside the sports milieu, he stated:

You are around the players all the time. You sort of get tired of them. When I left the stadium I left them there except for a few that were real close.

Suggesting that the composition in the circle of friends had remained basically unchanged, he commented:

...After six months every year for 17 years all you do is eat and sleep football. You get tired of it. I moved back here to my home to get away from football. Most of my friends did not play football.

Subject E stated that his contacts with relatives had neither increased, nor decreased, but had remained stable since his retirement from professional sport. He maintained that interaction with persons other than relatives occurred with the same frequency as had been the case prior to his retirement.

This subject indicated that his interest in material things had decreased since his retirement from professional football. He suggested that his decreased interest in material possessions was due to his decreased interest in football. He did not explain further his perception of the connection between the two things.

Expressing an increased interest in the news, books, discussions, and other forms of mental stimulation, Subject E commented:

...As long as I was playing football I might glance at the sports page but that was it. But now since I have retired I have gotten to where I read the paper from front to back. Some of the things I read, when I was in sports, I didn't have to worry about anything. It didn't bother me. But now that I am out of sports, I read the paper. I read things in the paper now that I wouldn't have read if I was still playing football.

Subject E stated that his interest in physical activity as well as social activity had decreased during the three

years of his retirement. He also reported that his interest in people had decreased somewhat since leaving professional football. Unlike Subjects A, B, and D, he suggested that his interest in former teammates had increased, and that he had remained in contact with at least some of them.

Based on the responses to the interview questions dealing with social withdrawal, it was difficult to arrive at a conclusion with respect to this subject's support or nonsupport of disengagement theory. For example, unlike other subjects, he showed perhaps a greater degree of disengagement from society in general, however, he did not exhibit total disengagement. This supported the findings of Brown (1974) who reported that some individuals tend to disengage from specific nonsatisfying relationships, yet do not prefer it as a total lifestyle. Subject E scored 16 out of a possible 23 points on the Life Satisfaction Index B (Neugarten, Havighurst, and Tobin, 1961). This was .9 points above the established mean of 15.1 and within one standard deviation of 4.7. The investigator was inclined, therefore, to conclude that Subject E showed some evidence of the adjustment pattern associated with disengagement theory.

Identity crisis. Responding to questions concerning identity crisis, Subject E acknowledged considerable difficulty when making the transition from player to ex-player. He went on to say:

It was hard to go from football to everyday living and going into business and having to deal with all kinds of people. I had rather be playing football. This everyday life-trying to make a living, trying to please people - I don't like it at all.

Prior to retirement from professional football, Subject E derived his identity primarily from his sports career. He pointed out, however, that he had considered it as a job and never considered himself "special" because of his affiliation with professional football. Of the many roles which could be used as a present source of identity, he tended to prefer to identify with the role of farmer.

Subject E experienced some breakdown in identity after leaving professional sport, as evidenced in his response:

There was a little bit (of identity breakdown). Prestige never did follow me anyway... I didn't really care...you could tell that people treated you a bit different once you retired. I think people have a tendency to put you on a pedestal, then when you retire - then they don't make over you.

Subject E indicated that he had not found retirement from professional football to be degrading. He further commented:

...I could sense I was getting old. No, it was not degrading at all. Everybody gets old. I think I was lucky to be able to play 17 years professional football.

He also stated that he felt no embarrassment at the time of his retirement, which was in contrast to one of the basic assumptions of Miller (1965) who suggested that embarrassment results from an identity breakdown. Having felt no

embarrassment at the time of his retirement, Subject E showed no evidence of withdrawal from situations and persons associated with football.

When his answers to the interview questions were considered, in toto, there appeared to be some support for identity crisis theory. His score of 3 on the six-point self-esteem scale was 1.11 points higher than the mean established by Rosenberg (1965) ($\bar{X} = 1.89$; S.D. = 1.43). According to Rosenberg (1965), a score of 3 points is indicative of a low self-esteem. Based on this subject's responses to the interview schedule and his score of the self-esteem scale, it appeared that involuntary changes in his professional career created an identity crisis.

Activity level. In response to questions dealing specifically with his present activity level, Subject E suggested that his circle of friends had neither increased nor decreased, but had remained about the same since his retirement from football. Describing these friends he stated:

Some of them are a lot nosier - they want to know what you are doing, how much money you are making, what are you going to do now that you are retired - things like that.

He maintained that he had the same number of "close" friends now as he had prior to leaving football. He indicated, however, that the frequency of interaction had decreased. It was significant that he revealed a lack of "close" friends, other than his former teammates.

Subject E expressed a decreased interest in "neighboring" since retiring from professional sport. He also suggested that he interacted with neighbors less frequently. Describing the time required for playing, travel, and training camp, this subject stated that since his retirement he has spent a lot more time with his family, as well as other relatives.

Indicating that he held membership in three formal organizations, Subject E pointed out that he had held the same number of memberships while actively engaged in football. He described his participation in such organizations as being less frequent since retiring from football.

This subject showed a genuine enthusiasm for participation in solitary activities. He commented that he had always enjoyed hunting and fishing alone and suggested there had been no change regarding his interest in such activities since his retirement from professional football.

Subject E implied that professional sport provided a unique opportunity in regard to social contacts. He revealed a decrease in the number of social contacts he presently had, compared to the number he enjoyed as a professional football player.

He stated that he placed less value on social activity since leaving the world of professional sport. Indicating a marked decrease regarding participation in social activity, he commented:

We don't socialize as much as when I was playing football...We don't go and do as much as we would if I were playing football...Sometimes we had to, but now I don't do it. I had rather stay home.

Commenting on his participation in physical activity, this subject suggested a dramatic decrease since his retirement from football. In response to a question about whether or not he placed as much value on such activity as he had prior to his retirement from professional sport, he replied:

No I don't. I hate to work out. I still do a little bit of it, but nothing like I did when I was training - staying in shape. I hate to jog. The only thing I play is golf.

Subject E's responses to the questions concerning activity level tended to indicate decreased participation in social interaction and physical activity, partially decreased participation in informal activity, and a maintenance regarding participation in formal activity and solitary activities. His score of 9 points out of a possible 17 points on the Revised Philadelphia Geriatric Center Morale Scale (Lawton, 1975) was 2.35 points below the mean established by the author. His score represented a low morale according to the categorization of high, medium, and low morale established by Lawton (1975). Out of a possible 23 points this subject scored 16 points on the Life Satisfactory Index B (Neugarten, Havighurst, and Tobin, 1961) which was .9 above the established mean, and well within one standard deviation (4.7).

It appeared from the available evidence, that Subject E failed to subscribe to the activity theory.

General. Responding to general questions concerning his professional career in sport, Subject E stated that he first considered a career in professional football during his senior year in college. When asked why he wanted to play professional football, this subject gave the following dichotomous response: "The money - that's all. I loved it too." Reacting to a follow-up question which asked him to rank his two responses he stated: "I would say football - love of football. Money doesn't mean that much to me." It was noteworthy that Subject E was the only one of the five subjects involved in the study who specified "love of football" as the primary reason for pursuing a career in professional sport and even he responded by mentioning money initially.

Subject E described the type of work he was involved in during the off-season:

I worked with _____ Chemicals. There is a plant here...and I worked for them. But most of the time I worked on the farm. I think it was because for six months you are all keyed up and you are around people continuously all the time - I just wanted to get away. That is why I bought the farm. It was an investment that was giving me something to do during the off-season and I worked on it most of the time trying to build it up and fix things up.

He explained that he did not make plans for an alternate career until approximately two years prior to his retirement from football, at which time he and two associates

established a business. Contrary to Beckley's (1975) findings, this subject indicated that playing professional football had in no way helped him in his second career. He commented:

...I thought it should have, but in my case... it did not help me a bit. I thought the name and being raised in this part of the country (would have helped). That's why I came back here and went into this type business...the competition in football is entirely different from the competition in the business world. There is no comparison as far as I am concerned. Competition in football - they can't cheat and in the business world, they can.

Conveying his feelings about leaving professional football, Subject E stated:

It was sort of a sad feeling really, but I knew I had to. It wasn't (as though) I could play it forever. I was getting old like I said and it was something you just had to face. I knew that one day I would have to quit and I didn't want to get cut. I didn't want the coach to come in one day and say you are too old, we decided to go with a younger kid. I could see the handwriting on the wall. I knew it was not going to be long and I wanted to go out on my own. I didn't want to be like some of my real close friends that just kept hanging on and finally the coach told them they were cut. That's when it is really a bad feeling, especially when you are so close to some of them. I saw what happened to them because most of my real close friends that played football are older than I am.

When asked whether or not he would go into professional sport if he had it to do over again this subject replied:

Yes. I wouldn't change a thing...I loved it. The only thing I would change in my life is that I think I would have prepared myself for a second career. I would have studied and gotten my degree in college. I was lucky enough to play for 17 years and have some

money saved back, but I think I could have made it a little easier now if I had studied. A lot of athletes don't see this. I didn't either at the time. That's why that is all I preach to my son. I don't care what he does as long as he brings home those "A"s and "B"s.

Summary. An analysis of Subject E's responses to the interview schedule and scores on the life satisfaction index, the morale scale, and the self-esteem scale disclosed evidence which partially supported Cumming and Henry's (1961) basic proposition that "successful" adjustment is achieved as a result of a "mutual withdrawal" between the individual and society. Proponents of disengagement theory maintained that the aging person may withdraw "more markedly from some classes of people while remaining relatively close to others." This subject showed a decreased interest in people in general, yet evidenced an increased interest in former teammates. Although his interaction with relatives and persons other than relatives remained basically unchanged following his retirement from professional football, he reported decreased interest and involvement in physical activity as well as social activity. Having scored in the mid-range on the Life Satisfaction Index B, it appeared that the adjustment pattern of Subject E partially supported disengagement theory.

The available evidence indicated that the adjustment pattern of Subject E at least partially supported the basic tenets of Miller's (1965) identity crisis theory. Having

derived his identity primarily from his professional sports career, he acknowledged considerable difficulty in making the transition from player to ex-player. Despite the fact that he presently derived his identity from his present occupation, he indicated that his preference was to "be playing football." Miller (1965) contended that a stigma of "implied inability to perform" is associated with retirement from the occupational role and has a decided influence on the individual's remaining roles. According to Miller (1965), this "stigma" results in an identity breakdown. Subject E indicated that he experienced some breakdown in identity following his retirement from professional football. Although Subject E's retirement could be considered both voluntary and involuntary, a knee injury as well as declining physical skills, forced his decision. The circumstances surrounding his decision to retire could have precipitated a stigma of "implied inability to perform," thus contributing to his identity breakdown. His low self-esteem, evidenced by his responses to Rosenberg's (1965) Self-esteem Scale, supported current research (Peretti and Wilson, 1975) which found a positive relationship between loss of the occupational role, identity crisis, and low self-esteem.

This analysis failed to disclose evidence which would indicate that the activity patterns and values which were characteristic of this subject prior to his retirement from professional football were maintained following his retirement. On the contrary, Subject E's adjustment pattern

showed a decrease in social interaction, a partial decrease in informal and formal activity, with a maintenance only in regard to solitary activity. His score on the Life Satisfaction Index B reflected an average degree of life satisfaction and his score on the morale scale indicated a low morale. It appeared, therefore, that the evidence from Subject E did not substantially support activity theory.

It appeared that the adjustment pattern of Subject E showed some evidence of disengagement. This must be viewed in the context that he disengaged in some aspects of behavior and from some contacts while remaining engaged in others. The adjustment to retirement of Subject E also showed some evidence of identity crisis, but unlike other subjects in the study, showed no support for activity theory.

Table 1
Retired Players' Support or Nonsupport for
Three Theories of Aging

Subject	Theory of Aging		
	Social Withdrawal or Disengagement	Identity Crisis	Activity
A	No	Yes	Yes
B	No	No	Yes
C	No	No	Yes
D	No	No	Yes
E	Yes	Yes	No

Summary

The evidence obtained from this investigation seemed to suggest that the adjustment patterns of selected retired professional football players were both supportive and non-supportive, to some extent, of each of the three social theories of aging utilized in this study. In some instances the adjustment pattern of an individual appeared to support or partially support more than one theory. One former player evidenced a partial withdrawal or disengagement from society, while two retired players appeared to experience an identity crisis following their retirement from professional football. Four of the five retirees had maintained high activity levels, thus lending support to the activity theory of aging.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Summary

There has been a growing concern on the part of persons interested in the study of sport about the transition of the athlete from a career in professional sport to a lifestyle outside the sport establishment. The purpose of this study was to determine if the characteristic patterns of adjustment to retirement among professional football players supported one or more of three current social theories of aging. Five retired professional football players served as subjects for this investigation. The respondents ranged in age from twenty-five to forty-two, and had an average age of 33.4 years. Through prior membership they represented a total of eight teams within the National Football League. Positions played included running back, offensive lineman, defensive end, center and punter. Only two out of the five retired players, one who occupied the position of defensive end and one who played center, remained on the same team for the entire length of their professional sports career. This observation supports Ball's (1974) data which showed a positive relationship between team position and tenure.

The number of years spent in professional football by the retired players interviewed was 2, 4, 8, 14 and 17 years, respectively. The mean career length was nine years, which according to the literature is 4.5 years longer than the average career length in the National Football League (Blitz, 1973; Loy, McPherson, and Kenyon, 1978; Jackson and Lowe, N.D.). Their ages at the time of their retirement from professional football ranged from twenty-four to thirty-nine years, with a mean retirement age of 31.4 years. The number of years they had been retired from professional sport ranged from 1 to 3 years. Four out of the five retired players were married and had from one to three children. Similarly, four out of the five subjects had received a college degree. This finding supports Beckley's (1975) data which indicated that the majority of professional football players hold at least one baccalaureate degree. Each of the retired players interviewed was currently engaged in a second career. Two of the retirees owned businesses, two were in sales, and one was in farming.

All of the subjects indicated that they did not seriously consider a career in professional football until their senior year in college, although one subject suggested that all athletes have a professional sport career in the back of their minds. Three of the five subjects cited money as their primary reason for wanting to pursue a career in professional football. One subject was motivated by the challenge of obtaining a position among the professional ranks. Another

subject wanted to play football professionally because of his "love of the game." He indicated, however, that money was also an important factor. Three of the five subjects were employed during the off-seasons while two subjects used this time to stay in good physical condition and attend school. Those who were employed held jobs in sales, sales promotion, teaching, and farming. Three of the five subjects did not begin making plans for an alternate, or second career, until they terminated their professional sports careers, and two others indicated that plans were not made until toward the end of their playing careers. These findings support the current literature on professional athletes which shows that the majority fail to make preparations for a second career until they are faced with the reality of retirement from sport (Hill and Lowe, 1974; Coakley, 1978; McPherson, 1978). Two of the five players expressed grave concern regarding inadequate preparation for a second career. The subjects conveyed various feelings about giving up the role of professional athlete. Some of their feelings were reflected in the following comments:

. . . I was sad to be leaving...sad because I was going to miss the money. I was wondering what I was going to do now.

. . . It suited me just fine. I could still play this year if I wanted to (in a Canadian League), but I did not want to.

. . . I am happy with what I am now doing. I am glad to be walking around.

Retirement at that particular time was not my choice, but I am happy with what I am doing.

It was sort of a sad feeling, but I knew I had to...

Each of the subjects indicated that if he had it to do over, he would again choose a career in professional football.

The three theories of aging tested in this study included disengagement theory, activity theory, and identity crisis theory. Disengagement theory, first proposed by Cumming and Henry (1961) postulates that with the aging process there is an inevitable mutual withdrawal or disengagement, resulting in decreased interaction between the individual and others in society. Proponents of the theory hypothesize that as individuals age they simultaneously are released from social roles and withdraw psychological energy from social ties. Society is said to withdraw from the elderly in order to replace its dysfunctional members with younger, more efficient ones (Atchley, 1972).

Activity theory is based on the premise that normal and successful aging results from maintaining into old age the activity patterns and values typical of middle age. Proponents of activity theory suggest that these values stress maintaining a large number of roles and being very active in them. Thus, in order to retain a high morale and a high degree of satisfaction, the successfully aging person must find replacements or substitutes for roles and activities which they are forced to give up (Havighurst, 1961).

The identity crisis theory, proposed by Miller (1965), centers around the older person's view of himself/herself. It is based on the proposition that involuntary changes in social position occurring in later life produce a crisis in the individual's ability to achieve a satisfactory identity in his/her new position.

Data for the study were derived primarily from a structured interview which incorporated questions representative of three current social theories of aging previously discussed and questions concerning the individual's professional career in general. Specific questions were posed as to whether there was supporting evidence that adjustment to retirement was facilitated by a "mutual withdrawal" from society, whether the maintenance of preretirement activity levels contributed to retirement adjustment, and whether involuntary changes in a professional athlete's career created an identity crisis. Additional data were obtained from three standardized scales given as pencil-paper tests which assessed life satisfaction, morale, and self-esteem. These included Rosenberg's (1965) Self-esteem Scale, the Life Satisfaction Index B (Neugarten, Havighurst, and Tobin, 1961) and The Revised Philadelphia Geriatric Center Morale Scale (Lawton, 1975). Biographical information was obtained through a written questionnaire prior to each interview.

The recorded interviews were transcribed and reviewed for evidence which would support or refute one or more of the three social theories of aging. In addition, subjects'

scores on the self-esteem scale, life satisfaction index, and morale scale were analyzed for further evidence regarding the support or nonsupport of the selected theories of aging.

In general, results from this investigation varied in their support of the three theories addressed. In some cases, the characteristic patterns of adjustment tended to indicate support for more than one theory; four out of the five retirees interviewed evidenced patterns of adjustment which showed some support for activity theory, while two retired players appeared to experience an identity crisis following their retirement from professional football. Only one former player exhibited an adjustment pattern providing support for disengagement theory.

Conclusions

The following conclusions are drawn in reference to the specific questions set forth in the statement of the problem.

Research Question 1. Is there supporting evidence that the adjustment to retirement by selected professional football players is facilitated by a "mutual withdrawal" from society?

The results of this study disclosed negligible support for disengagement theory. Only one of the five subjects showed a partial withdrawal from society as evidenced by a

decreased interest in people in general and a decreased interest and involvement in physical and social activity as well as a score ranging in the mid-range on the life satisfaction index. This finding supported the existing gerontological research regarding disengagement theory which, for the most part, also refuted the theory. Prasad (1964), for example, found no support for the proposition that older men were ready to disengage. An investigation by Palmore (1968) showed little evidence to support the contention that activity decreases with age. Glenn and Grimes (1968) failed to find support for disengagement theory in their study of political behavior among older men. They found instead that political interest and participation increased with advances in age. The fact that one of the five subjects showed only partial support for disengagement theory tended to support the findings of Williams and Wirths (1965) which suggested that some older persons experience disengagement at different rates and in different aspects of behavior; and those of Brown (1974) which indicated that persons tended to disengage from contacts that were not totally satisfying and to maintain those that were.

Research Question 2. Is there supporting evidence that involuntary changes in a professional athlete's career create an identity crisis?

Based on the results of this study, partial support was found for identity crisis theory as evidenced by the responses of two of the five subjects. This is in keeping with the literature regarding identity crisis theory which showed mixed support. The fact that one of the two subjects, who showed evidence of an identity crisis, retired voluntarily tended to refute Miller's (1965) underlying assumption that an identity crisis resulted from being involuntarily removed from the work role. It also contradicted Atchley's (1972) contention that identity crisis theory omitted those persons who retired voluntarily. The finding from the present investigation both supported and refuted Peretti and Wilson's (1975) data. They found that persons who retired involuntarily experienced an identity crisis but reported that an identity crisis was not experienced by individuals who retired voluntarily. The evidence from this study seemed to suggest that variables other than involuntary retirement might be considered as causal factors in creating an identity crisis. Such factors include complete identification with the role of athlete prior to retirement, insufficient preparation for the nonsport job market, degree of commitment to professional football, and unfulfilling second careers.

Research Question 3. Is there supporting evidence that the maintenance of preretirement activity levels contributes to the retirement adjustment of professional football players?

Evidence from this investigation provided convincing support for activity theory as reflected through the responses of four of the five subjects. The four subjects showed a maintenance of, or an increase in various forms of activity as well as scores ranging from the mid-range to high on both morale and life satisfaction. This supports the literature which generally shows a positive relationship between activity level and life satisfaction (Havighurst, 1961; Martin, 1973; Knapp, 1977) and similarly, between activity level and morale (Maddox and Eisdorfer, 1962; Rosow 1967). This finding tended to refute Atchley's (1972) contention that activity theory was limited to a small minority of persons who were chronologically old, but symptomatically middle-aged. Interestingly, the population for this investigation was chronologically young to middle age but symptomatically old according to the criteria established by professional sports organizations.

It was concluded from this investigation that in terms of social theories of aging, activity theory appeared to be more applicable to this select group of retired professional football players as opposed to disengagement theory and identity crisis theory. Whether or not this would be characteristic of most younger retirees is purely speculative.

Recommendations

Based on the results and conclusions derived from this study, several recommendations for future research are suggested:

1. The present study should be duplicated using retired professional athletes from a sport other than football.
2. A similar investigation should be conducted with women who have retired from professional sport.
3. A study should be conducted which would utilize social theories of aging other than the three selected for the present investigation.
4. A comparative study should be conducted between retirees from professional sport and young retirees from other professions.
5. A similar investigation should be conducted with a larger population utilizing a written questionnaire.
6. Further exploration of activity theory is needed with athletes representing a variety of professional sports.

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APPENDIX A
Correspondence With Subjects

March 7, 1980

Dear _____:

I am on the physical education faculty at the University of Georgia and at the present time I am working on my doctoral dissertation for completion of the Ed.D. degree from the University of North Carolina at Greensboro. My area of specialization is sociology of sport which is a subfield within physical education. The topic which I have chosen for my dissertation is "Consideration of Selected Social Theories of Aging as Evidenced by Patterns of Adjustment to Retirement Among Professional Football Players." I am writing to you to request your participation in the study.

The investigation will focus specifically on adjustment patterns of professional football players who have retired within the last five years. Your participation in the study would involve an interview of approximately one hour and fifteen minutes duration followed by three very brief pencil and paper questionnaires which you should be able to complete within fifteen minutes. The interview would, of course, be scheduled at your convenience and at a site of your choice.

I am enclosing a self-addressed stamped postal card and would appreciate your indicating whether or not you would be willing to participate in the study. If you are willing to participate, it would be most helpful if you could indicate, in order of your preference, two possible dates for the interview on the enclosed postal card. I would appreciate your returning the postal card by March 25 if at all possible.

Thank you very much for your cooperation.

Sincerely,

Martha Washington

Enclosure

_____ I wish to participate in the study

_____ I do not wish to participate in the study.

Please designate your preference regarding the site, date, and time for interview.

1st Choice:

_____ Site _____ Date _____ Time

2nd Choice:

_____ Site _____ Date _____ Time

_____ Signature

_____ Phone Number

March 26, 1980

Dear _____:

Thank you for returning the postal card on which you indicated your willingness to participate in my dissertation project. I am sure that your participation will greatly enhance my study of the adjustment patterns of retired professional football players.

I will contact you by telephone approximately one week prior to the date which you indicated as your first preference in order to establish a specific place to meet. If for any reason you should find it necessary to change the scheduled interview, please call me collect at (404) 543-6768.

Thank you again for your cooperation.

Sincerely,

Martha Washington

June 10, 1980

Dear _____:

I want to take this opportunity to thank you for your participation in my study of retired professional football players. Your candid responses to the interview questions and additional commentary will contribute significantly to the present study as well as to the existing information regarding retired professional athletes.

It was indeed a pleasure to have met you and interacted with you regarding my study. Additionally, you contributed considerably to my understanding of professional football. Thank you for those insights.

My best wishes in your future endeavors.

Sincerely,

Martha Washington

APPENDIX B
Judge's Evaluation Materials

DIRECTIONS FOR EVALUATION OF INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

The following interview schedule is designed to focus on three current social theories of aging: disengagement theory, identity crisis theory, and activity theory. More specifically, the interview questions are structured to elicit information which would determine whether or not the adjustment patterns of retired professional football players support one or more of the theories of aging.

Enclosed you will find descriptions of each of the three selected social theories of aging and the interview schedule. Please judge each interview question according to the descriptions of the theories of aging. If you find the question to be representative of the theory under which it is designated and recommend that it be retained, place a plus (+) in the space provided. If, in your opinion, the question is irrelevant and should be eliminated, place a minus (-) in the space to the left of the question. If you are undecided as to the question's value or if you feel neutral regarding its relevance, place an N in the space provided by the question.

Any suggestions you might have concerning the total number of questions comprising the interview schedule, their appropriateness for professional football, re-phrasing of questions, and other revisions will be appreciated.

SOCIAL THEORIES OF AGING

DESCRIPTIONS

Disengagement Theory. Disengagement theory, first proposed by Cumming and Henry (1961), is based on the assumption that with the aging process there is an inevitable mutual withdrawal between the aging person and others in society. Proponents of the theory hypothesized that as individuals age they simultaneously are released from social roles and withdraw psychological energy from social ties. Events such as widowhood and retirement are viewed as society's sanction to disengage, thus leading to a reduction in the number and variety of social roles, and to more freedom from social norms. Society is said to withdraw from the elderly in order to replace its dysfunctional members with younger, more efficient ones. The implication is that this "mutual withdrawal" is the most beneficial result for society and the individual.

Identity Crisis Theory. Identity crisis theory, proposed by Miller (1965), centers around the older person's view of himself/herself. It is based on the proposition that involuntary changes in social position occurring in later life produce a crisis in the individual's ability to achieve a satisfactory identity in his/her new position. According to Miller, occupational identity establishes the individual's position in the social system. Therefore,

retirement is degrading. Loss of the occupational role also carries with it a "portent of embarrassment" and the stigma of "implied inability to perform."

Activity Theory. Activity theory is based on the premise that normal and successful aging results from maintaining into old age the activity patterns and values typical of middle age. Proponents of activity theory suggest these values include maintaining a large number of roles and remaining active in them. Thus, in order to retain a high morale and a high degree of satisfaction, the successfully aging person must find replacements or substitutes for roles and activities which they are forced to give up (Havighurst, 1961).

ORIGINAL INTERVIEW SCHEDULE/EVALUATION SHEET

Social Withdrawal (Disengagement Theory)

- _____ 1. What were the circumstances surrounding your retirement from sport? Did you retire voluntarily or involuntarily?
- _____ 2. If you retired involuntarily, had you had the choice, would you have continued to play another year or so?
- _____ 3. During your sports career, was your circle of friends composed primarily of fellow players or of persons not associated with the team? How has this changed since your retirement from sport?
- _____ 4. Would you say you have more contacts with relatives now than you did ___ years ago or are they about the same?
- _____ 5. How about seeing and doing things with other people -- not counting your relatives? Would you say you do more of that now than ___ years ago, about the same, or less?
- _____ 6. Are you more or less interested in material things now than you were while in professional sport? Can you cite examples?
- _____ 7. Are you more, or less interested in the news, books, discussions, and other forms of mental stimulation now than before retiring from sport?
- _____ 8. Are you less interested in taking part in activities than you were ___ years ago? What activities do you participate in?
- _____ 9. Do you find that you are more interested in people (other than relatives) now than before?

- _____ 10. How many roles do you occupy? Example: husband, parent, etc.

Identity Crisis (Identity Crisis Theory)

- _____ 1. When you made the transition from player to ex-player, did you have trouble identifying with your new position?
- _____ 2. Before retiring from football, did you derive your identity primarily from your professional sports career or from some other source?
- _____ 3. Did you feel any breakdown in identity after leaving football because you felt you would have no further claim to prestige and status?
- _____ 4. You have many roles that could be used as a source of identity such as husband, father, friend, head of household, present occupational role, and former professional athlete. Which of these do you tend to prefer as a source of identity?
- _____ 5. Was retirement from football degrading to you in any way? If so, in what way(s)?
- _____ 6. The decision to retire from professional football is usually the result of declining physical skills. Did you feel any embarrassment at the time of your retirement because of this?
- _____ 7. If you felt any embarrassment at the time of retirement due to declining skills, did this tend to make you want to withdraw from situations and people associated with professional football?

Activity Level (Activity Theory)

- _____ 1. Do you feel that your circle of friends has increased or diminished since leaving professional football?

- _____ 2. About how many friends do you have that you would call really close, people you can confide in and talk over personal matters with?
- _____ 3. How often do you get together with your close friends?
- _____ 4. How often do you interact with neighbors? Has this changed since you are no longer playing professional football?
- _____ 5. Do you spend more time now with your family than before? How about other relatives? Do you interact with them more frequently or less frequently than ___ years ago?
- _____ 6. How many memberships do you hold in formal organizations? Has this number increased or decreased since your retirement from sport?
- _____ 7. How frequently do you participate in these organizations?
- _____ 8. Do you enjoy participating in solitary activities such as fishing, hunting, etc? Do you participate in activities by yourself frequently? More so now than before?
- _____ 9. Do you have as many social contacts now as you did prior to your retirement from football?
- _____ 10. Do you place the same value on activity now as you did ___ years ago?

APPENDIX C
Interview Materials

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA AT GREENSBORO
SCHOOL OF HEALTH, PHYSICAL EDUCATION, AND RECREATION

INFORMED CONSENT FORM

TITLE OF PROJECT: Consideration of Selected Theories of Aging as Evidenced by Patterns of Adjustment to Retirement Among Professional Football Players

I understand that the purpose of this study project is To determine whether or not the adjustment pattern of Retired Professional Football players support one or more of three Social Theories of Aging

I confirm that my participation is entirely voluntary. No coercion of any kind has been used to obtain my cooperation.

I understand that I may withdraw my consent and terminate my participation at any time during the project.

I have been informed of the procedures that will be used in the project and understand what will be required of me as a subject.

I understand that all of my responses, written/oral/task, will remain completely anonymous.

I understand that a summary of the results of the project will be made available to me at the completion of the study if I so request.

I understand that all tapes/transcripts will be destroyed following use in the investigation.

I wish to give my voluntary cooperation as a participant.

Signature

Address

Date

FINAL INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

SOCIAL WITHDRAWAL

1. What were the circumstances surrounding your retirement from sport? Did you retire voluntarily or involuntarily?
2. If you had had your choice would you have continued to play another year or so?
3. During your sports career, was your circle of friends composed primarily of fellow players or of persons not associated with the team? How has this changed since your retirement from football?
4. Would you say you have more contacts with relatives now than you did while you were engaged in professional sport, less, or about the same?
5. How about seeing and doing things with people other than your relatives? Would you say you do more of that now, less, or about the same?
6. Are you more interested, less interested, or has your interest remained about the same in material things since your retirement from professional football? Can you cite examples?
7. Are you as interested, more interested, or less interested in the news, books, discussions, and other forms of mental stimulation now than when actively engaged in professional sport?
8. Would you say you are as interested, more interested, or less interested in taking part in activities now as compared to the years prior to your retirement from sport?
9. Do you find that you are more interested in people, less interested, or has your interest remained about the same as when you were engaged in football?
10. Do you still have contact with former teammates? Has your interest in them increased, decreased or remained about the same?

IDENTITY CRISIS

1. When you made the transition from player to ex-player did you have difficulty identifying with your new position? If so, can you rate the difficulty on a scale of (1) little or none; (2) some; (3) considerable difficulty?

2. Before retiring from football, did you derive your identity primarily from your professional sports career or from some other source?
3. Did you feel any breakdown in identity after leaving football because you felt you would have no further claim to prestige and status?
4. You have many roles that could be used as a source of identity such as husband, father, friend, head of household, present occupational role and former professional athlete. Which of these do you now prefer as a source of identity?
5. Was retirement from professional football degrading to you in any way? If so, in what way(s)?
6. Frequently the decision to retire from sport is the result of declining physical skills. Did you feel any embarrassment at the time of your retirement because of this?
7. If you felt any embarrassment at the time of retirement due to declining physical skills, did this tend to make you want to withdraw from situations and people associated with professional football?

ACTIVITY LEVEL

1. Do you feel that your circle of friends has increased, decreased, or remained about the same as it was when you were playing professional football?
2. Approximately how many friends do you have that you would consider "close" friends - people you can confide in and talk over personal matters with? Has this number increased, decreased, or remained about the same since your retirement from football?
3. Do you get together with your close friends as frequently, more frequently, or less frequently since retiring from professional sport?
4. Do you interact with neighbors as frequently, more frequently, or less frequently now as compared to the years you were engaged in professional football?
5. Would you say you spend more time, less time, or about the same amount of time with your immediate family now that you have retired from professional sport?
6. How about other relatives? Do you interact with them as frequently, more frequently, or less frequently now as compared to the years prior to your retirement?

7. How many memberships do you hold in formal organizations?
8. Has the number of memberships in formal organizations increased, decreased, or remained about the same since your retirement from football?
9. Do you participate in formal organizations as frequently, more frequently, or less frequently now than when you were in professional football?
10. Do you enjoy participating in solitary activities? Has your participation in such activities increased, decreased, or remained the same since your retirement from football?
11. Has the number of social contacts increased, decreased, or remained the same since your retirement from professional sport?
12. Do you place the same value, less value, or more value on social activity now that you are no longer engaged in professional football?
13. Do you place the same value, less value, or more value on physical activity now as you did prior to your retirement from football?

GENERAL

1. At what point in your life did you seriously consider a career in professional football?
2. What was your primary reason for wanting to play professional football?
3. Did you have a job during the off-season? If so, what type work did you do?
4. While playing professional football, did you have an alternate career in mind?
5. When did you begin making plans for a second career?
6. What were your feelings about leaving professional sport?
7. If you had it to do over, would you again choose a career in professional football?

APPENDIX D

Standardized Scales and Biographical Questionnaire

Standardized Scales

Lawton's Revised Morale Scale

1. Would you say that things keep getting worse as you get older?
 1. Yes
 2. No
2. Do you have as much pep as you did last year?
 1. No
 2. Yes
3. How much do you feel lonely -- not much or a lot?
 1. A lot
 2. Not much
4. Do little things bother you more this year?
 1. Yes
 2. No
5. Do you see enough of your friends and relatives?
 1. Yes
 2. No
6. As you get older are you less useful?
 1. Yes
 2. No
7. Do you sometimes worry so much that you can't sleep?
 1. Yes
 2. No
8. As you get older, are things better, worse, or about the same as you thought they would be?
 1. Worse
 2. Same
 3. Better

9. Do you sometimes feel that life isn't worth living?
 1. Yes
 2. No
10. Are you as happy now as when you were younger?
 1. No
 2. Yes
11. Do you have a lot to be sad about?
 1. Yes
 2. No
12. Are you afraid of a lot of things?
 1. Yes
 2. No
13. Do you get mad more than you used to?
 1. Yes
 2. No
14. Is life hard for you much of the time?
 1. Yes
 2. No
15. How satisfied are you with your life today?
 1. Not satisfied
 2. Satisfied
16. Do you take things hard?
 1. Yes
 2. No
17. Do you get upset easily?
 1. Yes
 2. No

A copy of the Revised Philadelphia Geriatric Center Morale Scale (Lawton, 1975) and scoring may be obtained from Dr. M. Powell Lawton, The Philadelphia Geriatric Center, Philadelphia, PA

The Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale

1. On the whole, I am satisfied with myself.
Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree
2. At times I think I am no good at all.
Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree
3. I feel that I have a number of good qualities.
Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree
4. I am able to do things as well as most other people.
Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree
5. I feel I do not have much to be proud of.
Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree
6. I certainly feel useless at times.
Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree
7. I feel that I am a person of worth, at least on an equal plane with others.
Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree
8. I wish I could have more respect for myself.
Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree
9. All in all, I am inclined to feel that I am a failure.
Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree
10. I take a positive attitude toward myself.
Strongly Agree Agree Disagree Strongly Disagree

A copy of Rosenberg's Self-esteem Scale (1965) and the scoring procedure may be obtained from Dr. Morris Rosenberg, Laboratory of Socio-Environmental Studies, National Institute of Mental Health, 9000 Rockville Pike, Building 10, Room 3D-45, Bethesda, MD 20014

Neugarten, Havighurst and Tobin's Life Satisfaction Index B

1. What are the best things about being the age you are now?
 - 1.....a positive answer
 - 0.....nothing good about it

2. What do you think you will be doing five years from now? How do you expect things will be different from the way they are now, in your life?
 - 2.....better, or no change
 - 1.....contingent - "it depends"
 - 0.....worse

3. What is the most important thing in your life right now?
 - 2.....anything outside of self, or pleasant interpretation of future
 - 1....."hanging on"; keeping health or job
 - 0.....getting out of present difficulty, or "nothing now" or reference to the past

4. How happy would you say you are right now, compared to earlier periods in your life?
 - 2.....this is the happiest time; all have been happy; or, hard to make a choice
 - 1.....some decrease in recent years
 - 0.....earlier periods were better, this is a bad time

5. Do you ever worry about your ability to do what people expect of you - to meet demands that people make on you?
 - 2.....no
 - 1.....qualified yes or no
 - 0.....yes

6. If you could do anything you pleased, in what part of _____ would you like to live?
 - 2.....present location
 - 0.....any other location

7. How often do you find yourself feeling lonely?
 - 2.....never, hardly ever
 - 1.....sometimes
 - 0.....fairly often, very often

8. How often do you feel there is no point in living?
- 2.....never; hardly ever
 - 1.....sometimes
 - 0.....fairly often; very often
9. Do you wish you could see more of your close friends than you do, or would you like more time to yourself?
- 2.....O.K.as is
 - 1.....wish could see more of friends
 - 0.....wish more time to self
10. How much unhappiness would you say you find in your life today?
- 2.....almost none
 - 1.....some
 - 0.....a great deal
11. As you get older, would you say things seem to be better or worse than you thought they would be?
- 2.....better
 - 1.....about as expected
 - 0.....worse
12. How satisfied would you say you are with your way of life?
- 2.....very satisfied
 - 1.....fairly satisfied
 - 0.....not very satisfied

Biographical Information

Name _____ Age _____

Marital status _____ Number of children _____

Age at which you began participating in football _____

Total number of years as football participant _____

College team affiliation _____

Professional team(s) affiliation _____

Number of years in professional football _____

Position(s) played _____

Position played at time of retirement _____

Age at which you retired from professional football _____

Present occupation _____

Degree earned in college _____