

**ג'וינט ישראל**

**מכון ברוקdale לגדשומולוגיה  
והתפתחות אדם וחברה בישראל**

**JOINT (J.D.C.) ISRAEL**

**BROOKDALE INSTITUTE OF GERONTOLOGY  
AND ADULT HUMAN DEVELOPMENT IN ISRAEL**

THE SOCIAL PROMOTER'S  
VIEWPOINT ON AGING

**reprint series**

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R-38-86

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THE SOCIAL PROMOTER'S VIEWPOINT ON AGING

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RCD 28.7.86

PR-R-38-86

Reprinted from: Aging, Mirror of Humanity, Canadian Gerontological Collection IV, pp. 1-22. Canadian Association on Gerontology, Winnipeg, Manitoba, 1985.

REFERENCE  
ביבליוגרפיה



ABSTRACT

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This paper was presented as a keynote address to the 12th Annual Scientific and Educational Meeting of the Canadian Association on Gerontology (Moncton, New Brunswick, October 1983). It provides a general review of the history of gerontological thought, current directions and issues, and policy problems.

# 1 Aging: Mirror of Humanity: The Social Promoter's Viewpoint

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I feel honored by having been asked to give the opening-session paper on a subject which is both thought provoking and anxiety producing. The selection of the theme, "Aging-mirror of humanity" is rather characteristic not only of its author, but of the developmental stage in which aging finds itself as a burning social problem and as an increasingly important scientific issue, as it is represented under the broad label of gerontology.

For the purpose of our deliberations at this scientific and educational meeting, let us understand gerontology as a "corpus scientiae", a body of knowledge concerned with the study of aging as a universal phenomenon and process, its origins, reasons, and effects; of old age as a stage of human development and a socially-culturally delineated period in human life; and of the aged persons as individuals or as an aggregate; and finally as the study of the interaction and mutual impact of aging and of the environment in which it takes place. This definition suffices to point to the multitude of issues and areas with which gerontology as a scientific field attempts to deal. (Bergman, 1982).

During its relatively short history as a scientific area, gerontology has gone through a two-directional process, from practice of work for and with older people rooted in charity, tradition, religion, and a growing sense of social responsibility of the collective for the welfare of the individual - to growing attempts to "scientize" aging by exploring the etiology of aging and of old age as a sociological and cultural phenomenon to be dealt with at the highest level of conceptualization in social and behavioral sciences; and back again from science to practice, the latter to be constantly enriched by achievements of our basic researches in the bio-psychosocial processes and components of aging. This two-directional process has not come to an end. On the contrary - we witness all the symptoms of continuity expressed on growing demands for more scientific exploration, more theoretical conceptualization and more intellectual depth in familiar areas of knowledge of historical settings, cultural milieus, traditions, norms, values, life styles and of the immense riches of the human cultural heritage.

Thirty years ago, IAG President Sheldon stressed that "there is hardly any scientific field which is more universal than aging despite the variety of social and cultural settings in which old people live and age". He went on to say that "gerontology affects the whole social structure, and while it may demand interim or separate measures, it is developing toward a state that may defy all hopes of piecemeal solutions. It has to be seen as a whole, in its foundations, its structure, its activities, and its planning for the future". Verzar, defined gerontology as "one of the most humane

problems, the solution of which is the hope and the dream of all people" ... and "that is why joint efforts of scientists of various specialities in solving problems are so important". Tschebotareff, saw gerontology as one "of the most complicated and extensive synthesizing sciences of today", and "successful solution of problems in gerontology is not possible without close cooperation of all related sciences" (Bergman, 1974).

In one of his essays, Philibert (1982), mentioned three stages of domination of sciences in gerontology. In the first stage, it was biology and medicine; in the second - it was social and behavioral sciences flanked by economics and demography. The time has now come for the third stage - that of new disciplines like geography, ecology, linguistics, history, philosophy, semiotics etc. The integration of these new disciplines may open the way to a broad humanistic inter-disciplinary development in the study and understanding of human aging.

This call for broadest possible involvement of all these sciences is no doubt well reflected in this audience, in the agenda, and in the selection of speakers for this Conference. At the same time it makes it even more imperative that common denominators and communication be developed to serve the scientific pursuits and the application of its achievements to a better quality of life of the elderly. How much society is, or will be ready to invest in gerontology as a scientific field, in its theoretical and applied aspects, is a problem of political - and value decisions, and of the historical circumstances and cultural context in which such

decisions are, or will be made. In a way, such decisions mirror and reflect the form aging is perceived, weighed, valued, or comparatively placed on the continuum of societal concerns.

Fullarton mentions three major priority setting criteria: Magnitude of the problem; public perception of the problem; and scientific opportunity of advancement.

Each of these criteria has been extensively dealt with in gerontological literature and conferences. Let us briefly consider the problem of magnitude. The dramatic increase in the number of aging persons in developed societies; the emergence of old age as a major issue on a global scale, and the increasing concentration of older people in societies that are least equipped economically, scientifically and professionally to cope with the phenomenon, have made aging one of the central issues of humanity in the decades to come. The demographic shift expected the world over, especially in developing countries, is only one aspect of the disturbing, and to many - menacing globality of the phenomenon. The rapid pace at which this process is occurring in major concentrations of humanity - Latin America, Africa and Southern-Eastern Asia - raises some very crucial issues what directions development will take. (United Nations, 1975). Aging as we experience it today, and others will experience it in the near future, is a product and function of social reality and development. What will happen to the older people in various societies will depend on the direction development will take. In historical gerontological perspective - we concentrated our attention on the individual functioning and adjustment of elderly or of aged aggregates to the environment.

We may have to ask ourselves "how long will it take for social reality, i.e., the environment, to be a function of aging, namely - to reflect at societal level all the changes that are constantly occurring as a result of the aging of populations. How will societal institutions, like work, education, retirement, activity, etc., reflect the consequences of the phenomenon that - as a British newspaper put it - people in developing countries are "ceasing to multiply like rabbits or to die like flies" and that in developed countries the chronological concept of old age - has to be "pushed-up" so that it reflects the reality of longer survivalship.

Aging - and with it gerontology - has become an integral component of broader global issues, controversies, and of possible concerted international planning and action to meet the needs of the elderly of the world.

This shift - from "localism" to "globality" is bound to further sharpen our understanding of aging as a function of social reality in which needs and solutions in one socio-cultural and political context are neither exportable nor automatically applicable in other contexts.

Furthermore, it should strengthen our resolve to search and uncover universal and culture-free elements in aging for planning and action to better cope with the foreseeable consequences of aging.

We are aware of the growing involvement of formal, organized gerontology in the issues, affecting aging at national and international levels. New dimensions have been incorporated in gerontology - global next to local or national; long-range next

to preoccupation with the here-and-now; and cross-national next to concentration on one's own socio-cultural and political context of aging.

For the first time in its 30 years existence, the International Gerontological Association, has gone on record with its document "Foundations of a policy for the aged in the eighties and beyond", (Bergman, 1982), in which the present state of knowledge in gerontology was reviewed and interpreted with respect to policies for the future. The challenge to gerontology to take a stand and to be accountable, was first formulated in a WHO document ("Health Concerns and the Aged") and I quote:

"If gerontology has now come of age as a science, then gerontologists must face the issues of accountability to society just as other scientists are being asked to do" (United Nations, 1975).

We have learned to include in our deliberations not only the analysis and forecasts of population shifts in our own countries until year 2000 or "beyond" but also the staggering data on the hundreds on millions of aged individuals in other areas of the world. It is not easy for any one of us to absorb the forecast that more than a billion humans will be so defined in less than fifty years from now - each one a world to himself - and together - an aggregate, no nation and no community of nations can disregard in its striving for a better and more equitable humanity. At the same time, we are facing an ever accelerating international process of aging within the aging population. One wonders whether gerontology has already reoriented itself to the future and given up its

generally short range view of the development of aging along the dimension of time. Regardless of whether we subscribe to, or reject the chronological division of the elderly (the "young-old" and "old-old" - in the early formulation by B. Neugarten, 1982), or adopt the term suggested by de Bono of "grand aged", we must in the long run, as social planners, face the problem of these grand-old populations with all the consequences of health needs, second retirement (from active old age into passive old age), increased dependency and reliance on exogenous sources of support (be it from family or from society), and of the rather unpopular and rejected image of old age of increased environmental confinement and supported survival.

Speaking on "America's old age crisis" Crystal (1982), offers a dichotomy of two worlds of aging: one - poor; the other - comfortable; separate and unequal; one - below 75; the other - above 75, with sharply diverging needs, interests, problems, and abilities; one - with some risks; the other - with multiple jeopardies. The major characteristics of this dichotomy apply to many societies in the West, and certainly to those societies in transition in which the dynamics of social change have created a difficult interim period between "traditionalism in dissolution" and external "modernity in ascension".

The conditions and experiences of old age are constantly changing and gerontology must take into consideration not only what has already changed but also what will change with the time. Social gerontologists must look more critically and empirically at the present and future roles of older people in large economic and

social systems in order to evaluate the impact of aging on the functioning of the macro-system and the impact of the latter on the style, contents, status and role of aging in society. A word of caution by Sandrudu Aga Khan may be in place here that

"gerontologists should be aware that they themselves are likely to become first beneficiaries or victims of the solutions or reforms they hope to implement or recommend to society as the basis for social planning and policies to cope with consequences of aging in the future"

(United Nations, 1975).

Our policies toward old people are formed out of the total sum of our experiences. However, experiences of past are not good for policies of tomorrow. Assuring physical survival and mere existence may possibly suffice in some of the least developed areas of the world for some period of time, but will hardly suffice in the interim period of societies in transition, and must be rejected as policy for developed societies.

In view of the magnitude of the problem symptomatic approaches will not provide a long range solution. "Tampering around the elderly problem" as Maddox puts it, is not the way to come to terms with it. "What we are talking about is restructuring society", its way of thinking, its institutions and their policies, and the principles by which society views and acts in regard to its older population, (W.G.S., 1981). There are some who term it "the need for a new social constitution" of humanity. (Birren, 1983).

This would lead us to a brief consideration of the second of Fullerton's (Neugarten and Havighurst, 1977), three criteria, namely

public perception of the problems. If public opinion surveys are the "attitudinal mirrors" of society and researches are their "analytical and objectivized" counterparts - the picture of the aged generation in our societies today is one of a self-confident, healthier, more aggressive and more self-conscious group, generally secured in its existence, but not always satisfied with what it has achieved in terms of quality of life; a generation for whom - as Hayflick (Neugarten and Havighurst, 1977), assumes - quality of life is more important than its quantity. There may be a moral imperative for society to make life better. It is doubtful whether the same applies to making it longer. As our knowledge stands today, longer need not necessarily mean better.

In a recent introduction to articles on aging and psychology, Birren (1983), speaks of two faces of aging: an optimistic one representing millions of competent older people who enjoy full quality of life; who want opportunities for growth and sharing, and who expect society to reflect these legitimate aspirations in services and policies; a face not yet sufficiently expressed in existing policies: the other - a pessimistic face of aging, namely, those with multiple health, social and psychological dependencies; lonely, poor and neglected elderly - who although a minority, seem to have overshadowed the real face of the majority of the aged.

This discrepancy between the two faces of aging is a frequent theme in gerontological literature: so is the discussion of the contribution of gerontologists to its perpetuation or elimination. The issues of vested interests of the gerontological establishment have not yet received sufficient attention in theoretical and in

practical terms. Yet, they must if gerontology is to play a constructive role in the process of influencing perception of aging and old age in society.

In Western societies, old age as such is still feared though long life is desired. As Rabbi Heschel (1961), in his famous address to the White House Conference on Aging, put it,

"More money is spent on concealing signs of old age than on the art of healing serious diseases. You find more patients in beauty parlors than in hospitals. We would rather be bald than grey".

Though everything is greying around us, humanity does not seem to be happy about it. There are mixed feelings about what Butler calls "the triumph of survivalship". The constant presentation of old age in negative terms does something to the "aggregate mind" of society despite evident achievements and improvements. Today's older people in most Western societies are healthier, better off and better educated than any previous generation of elderly; yet neither popular beliefs nor institutionalized policies reflect these assets older people represent. We consider long life an important indicator of our social progress - yet we reject old age as a personal experience and in effect devalue our achievements in longevity. We have yet to learn to resolve the paradox of our collective behaviour of spending tremendous resources on extending life, including the one rich in pathology and disabilities - while doing amazingly little to make that later life normal and meaningful. What really activates man is the need, and consequently - the search - for meaning. No one from outside -

including most liberal policy and best services - can give us that meaning. It has to be looked for, created or found. As the Canadian, Novak (1983) stressed in a recent article,

"No one can give meaning to someone else's life. One must discover it himself. The discovery of meaning in later years takes place in relation to others. It happens when older persons reach out beyond themselves and find a way to others. Good meaningful old age does not just happen by accident. It is something people have got to work for and discover for themselves."

Nevertheless, promoting appropriate policies and restructuring and reorienting societal institutions may be conducive to meaningful involvement of older people in society. We may be committing the error of teaching too much about failures in old age and not enough about those who age well and meaningfully. Only those who have aged well and meaningfully can better teach us what we really need to know about better aging (Novak, 1983).

There is renewed interest in wisdom of old age, and a search for how wisdom of the elderly could be utilized in contemporary society. Wisdom, like meaningfulness, is not innate. It is acquired over the many years of one's life, although long life by itself does not automatically result in acquisition of wisdom. There should really be more of it in our modern society because it is only now that more people live longer and stand a better chance of acquiring wisdom (Birren, 1983). How can we make society realize the value and applicability of that wisdom; and how can we help older people realize and apply it for their own benefit and for the benefit of

others - this is the major issue we face.

The current discussion on and search for the role of a "XX century Elder" in modern society is increasingly reflected in gerontological literature. Some educators experiment with the system of "aged advisor" to students during their studies on aging. Some researchers studied the teaching and socializing role of older people in regard to younger generations (Cibulski, 1981). Young people may need more of a historical orientation and valuation of the past - something which older people might be able to provide; while the older people may need more direct relationship with what symbolizes and reflects the future (Kaplan, 1973); for the young, an elderly friend can be a link to the past. For an older person - a young friend can be a link to the continuity and future of life. It helps both to realize that horizons of time are larger than they. Life was there before the young was born. Life will continue when the older person will be gone.

In discussing the perception of old age one is tempted to refer again to the motto of this conference: Aging - mirror of humanity. What does a mirror reflect? Reality? or what we wish to see in it? To quote Proust, "We do not see our own appearance, our own age; but each like a facing mirror, sees the others". Or shall we quote Ernest Becker that "Man is the animal that holds up a mirror to himself" - the only animal capable of developing a mirror, using it, disregarding it, relating to the reflection in it, and interpreting its meaning. Philibert suggested in the program outline to this Conference a quote from James, 1:23-4,

"A man who listens to the message but never acts upon it,

is like one who looks in a mirror at the face nature gave him, then glances at himself and goes away, and at once forgets what he looked like".

The capacity to perceive aging and old age realistically, as an integral part of extended living - is not yet sufficiently internalized in our being or behaving. There is almost a "horror" element in it for some who see themselves as they are or fear they will be in the future. How the non-aged will relate to old-age rather than the attitudes of those who are already aged should command more of our attention.

We have to pay more attention to "gerontologizing" our whole educational system so that from their earliest years the young be sensitized and socialized to a concept of a long life and of old age as parts of their normal being. The reorientation of the concept of human life, of dimensions of time, of aging as "hominis fatum necessarium" (as man's unavoidable fate) will be a long process with consequences for our societal institutions and the need for political and value decisions that may run counter entrenched concepts and interests.

As gerontological leadership, we may have devoted insufficient attention to the long-range commitment to venture into areas of research, experimentation, teaching and practice of which we know as yet relatively little though we realize and appreciate its human and societal importance. The present generation of older people is a product of historical periods and of social realities over which we have no control today. However, future generations of older people will be products of history, values, and realities which we may

still be able to influence. The aggregate accumulation of knowledge, experience and wisdom could be made use of to guide us in the decades to come and which may well be crucial for the way in which aging will be perceived and integrated into thinking and behaving of humanity.

How does society reflect perception on of aging? We shall not refer to such areas as history, folklore, humor, tales, poetry, art and religion. Some aspects of the issue are beginning to appear in gerontological literature, in anthropology, humanities, philosophy, etc. One of the universities in Israel has developed a computerized program on "questions and responses" by outstanding Jewish religious scholars in matters relating to aging and covering responses of several centuries. Anyone interested in what has been decreed in our law and tradition in regard to aging, can use this immense accumulation of wisdom, interpretations and decisions. From my own experience of drawing on the program on problems of housing, violence against aged, and adult education, I have learned more about the historical dimension at aging of my cultural heritage, than I had ever known before. This may be an individual gain - one would say - of a single gerontological scientist who, on the threshold of his personal old age, looks for that link to the roots and for the meaning of continuity. However, there is more to it. I find myself discovering that many of the "newer" concepts and solutions in gerontology are already there and applicable today or even in the future. It is in such interpretations of social norms and values that societies reflect, like mirrors, their perception of the problem, their feeling of obligation toward, and their

expectations of what aging and the aged should be. In modern societies we reflect this in laws regulating distribution of social goods, division of responsibilities between individual, family, and society, in the regulations of priorities of allocation of resources, and in the formulation of rights and obligations of the older members of society. The preamble section of the Older American Act of the USA, or of the Older Persons Welfare Law of Japan, or of laws of other countries, reveal legal, ethical, and moral principles on which societies are basing their perception and commitment to its older members. The UN World Assembly on Aging was expected by some to adopt a Magna Carta of the elderly of the World. Some believed it was premature; others thought it was superfluous or even undesirable. For some, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was seen as humanity's valid commitment of rights and obligations applicable to all members of society, irrespective of their age.

A comparative cross-national research of such societal commitments could provide the reply as to what are the ethical and moral foundations of societal commitments to the elderly.

The Chicago 1975/76 Conference on "Social Policy, Social Ethics, and the Aging Society" was an interesting attempt to discuss problems of the elderly in the light of the tradition of ethics (Neugarten, 1977).

According to that approach, the elderly have a right to objective conditions which would make possible ending one's history without resentment against Society. This is a right in justice, not merely an act of benevolence. It is a right to social goods they

have participated in creating.

Is age in itself a morally relevant characteristic which automatically creates individual and aggregate needs? Does age automatically bestow on a person a status of needy who is also perceived as more needy than others outside his age category, and therefore also has more rights to societal protection and resources than other needy who are not of that age?

As social gerontologists we are keenly aware and involved in the ongoing ideological and political discussion of universalism versus selectivity, integration versus categorization, self-responsibility and filial obligations versus primary societal responsibility for the well-being of the aged individual.

The vision of a future "age-irrelevant" society (Neugarten, 1982), is shared by many but doubted by others as a realistic model for social policy for the aged of Western societies.

Of particular relevance to the central theme of this Conference seems to me to be Nelson's discussion of "Alternative images of old age as the basis for policy" (Neugarten, 1982), or in other words - translation of perceptions of old age into principles of policy and ways of their practical implementation in our societies.

Three alternative conceptual approaches emerge from the current discussion on the subject:

- (1) The concept of "unitary adulthood" which rejects relevance of chronological age in the conception of old age. What has come to be associated with the image of old age - economically, healthwise, psychologically, etc. - is not automatically attributable to age per se and must not be

definitive of the role and status of the whole age group in which it occurs. The prevalent categorical approach (age-relevant) contributed to the devaluation, exclusion, confinement, patronization and waste of older people. In brief - doing away with age as a criterion of need and its supply.

(2) The concept of old age has to be narrowed or "upped" to reflect the higher probability of broader prevalence of frailty, impairment, incapacity, etc. associated with and reflected in the "grand old" group characterized by greater dependence on exogenous supportive services and interventions. Need and not age would be the basis of policy and of service allocation. Special status for older people would be based not on age, but on their infirmities and limitations.

(3) Old Age - as social "veteranship"

Old age is to be seen as an earned status and aged as a recognized class, different from the young by virtue of wisdom and experience.

It would be philosophically and ethically based on the principle of retributive justice for important functions and contributions society has duty to repay. In Nelson's formulation, "veteranship" would be perceived as "the reward merited from work; the freedom from responsibility; respect earned from achievement; care repaid for care given; and privilege earned by denial". In brief - a special status for older people based on their achievements and

contribution. This perception of old age may help to re-conceptualize the prolonged human life cycle. It may replace, what Fullerstone calls the "horror element" in aging with an ability to face it rather than reject it. Translated into terms of policy, this concept envisions a society which guarantees old people the widest possible choice of opportunities and options; an enhanced authority, prestige and autonomy of life style; use of potential equal to that of younger generations; meaningful roles of leadership; of counselorship; of social critics; and models to be emulated by the younger ones in their process of socialization. If one were to imitate the style of the late Martin Luther King, one would say, "I have a dream of a society of tomorrow which will be as much concerned about the person and potential of the over 80 year olds as it is with that of a young person aged 18." (Neugarten, 1982).

Years ago, Irving Roscow wrote an essay on aging in affluent societies. He posited that Western society can economically afford mass aging - therefore, it need not be an economic dilemma. He saw aging rather as a moral dilemma. However, social reality of the last several years in the developed world - growing economic crisis, inflation, unemployment of serious dimensions, staggering increases in the costs of maintenance of welfare progressiveness - raises serious questions of cost of aging to advanced societies and their ability to bear it. Some social scientists envision possible

inter-generational and aspiring social pretenders - those with the claim for the future and those with the claims for their meritorious past - both of them in search of a better society with higher quality of life.

Retributive justice, distributive justice, benevolence, self-responsibility of man and kin, aged privileges or need-based claims; a categorical identity, or "dis-aging" of old age as an identity - all this may sound like a litany of cliche terms borrowed from conferences and gerontological literature. Yet, as one dwells on the problems of our current social reality, one cannot escape the feeling that, as gerontologists we are facing in research, education, and practice an issue of paramount importance, the resolution of which must be the result of joint efforts of all levels of societal forces, of scientists, of policy makers, of care providers, of educators, and of what you call - the social promoters or planners.

As a student of global dimensions of aging, I have been exposed for years to the reality of aging in many countries of the world - developed and developing, rich and poor. I am coming to you now from South America, the most rapidly aging sub-continent of the world. There is a universal awareness that aging of tomorrow and of the years to come will not be like the one of yesteryear or of today; that our ability to absorb the social consequences of such achievements; that, as Hayflick so succinctly expressed it,

"if our political, economic and social institutions are likely to be severely dislocated by these achievements, what right do we have to encourage (this kind of

scientific) research" (Neugarten, 1977), -that old age, like a Pirandello character, is in search of a meaning and of an identity; that in the majority of areas of the world aged are still involved in the struggle of "to have" (coverage of their basic needs) while we in the West are already beyond that and are concentrating on becoming equal participants in a more equitable humanity.

And as for the third and final of Fullerton's three criteria - namely, that of the scientific opportunity for advancement in our knowledge of coping with the consequences of aging, I would like to quote - for conclusion of my paper, from Prof. Marois' address to the 1977 Vichy Conference on "Aging: A Challenge to Science and Society" (Birren, 1983).

"This is a time and a human society in which fear and danger loom high and menace us in all ages. Yet, never before was man so rich in science to preserve life as much as to destroy it. Never before have so many faced the hope and the fear of long life and late age. Possibly, never before have so many felt the burden of old age in a society of unlimited possibilities. Yet never before could man with the help of enormous knowledge be able not only to postpone death, but to prolong active life - not only to exclude, but also to integrate; not only to disengage but also to offer broad possibilities to participate in all efforts of a society and of humanity in constant search for a better and richer life".

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Bergman, Shimon



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המכון

הוא מכון ארכז למחקר, לניסוי ולחינוך בגרונטולוגיה והתפתחות אדם וחברה. הוא נוסד ב-1974 ופועל במסגרת היינט האמריקאי (ועד הסיווע המאוחר של יהודי אмерיקה), בעוזרתן של קרן ברוקרייל בניו-יורק וממשלת ישראל.

בפועלתו מנסה המכון ל淮南 חברות ולחיציב להן פתרונות חילופיים בשירותי הבריאות והשירותים הוציאליים בכללם. אחד מיעדיו הוא לגבור שיתוף הפעלה של מומחים מהאקדמיות והממשלה, עובדי ציבור ופעילים בקהילה כדי לגשר בין מחקר לביצוע ממשש מסקנות מחקר הלאה למעשה.

ראיית הזיקנה מנקודת מבטו של המתכנן החברתי

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שמעו ברגמן  
סגן מנהל לענייני חינוך והדרכה  
ג' וינט ישראל - מכון ברוקדייל לוגרונטולוגיה  
והתפתחות אדם וחברה

הREFERENCE:  
Aging, Mirror of Humanity, Canadian Gerontological Collection IV, pp. 1-22. Canadian Association on Gerontology, Winnipeg, Manitoba, 1985.



## תקציר

עבודה זו הוגשה כהרצאה מרכזית בכנס השנתי ה-12 לענייני מדע וחינוך של - Canadian Association on Gerontology (МОНКТОН, ניו ברונזוויק, אוקטובר 1983). במסגרת העבודה מובאת סקירה כללית של ההיסטוריה הרווחנית של הארונטולוגיה, ונסקרים כיווני פעילות בהווה, נושאים העומדים על סדר היום ובעיות מדיניות.