

Age Differences and Age Changes in Activities: Baltimore Longitudinal Study of Aging

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This study examines cross-sectional age differences, longitudinal age changes, and secular changes in obligatory, committed, and discretionary activities, using activity questionnaires completed by men and women participants in the Baltimore Longitudinal Study of Aging between 1958 and 1992. (1) Time spent on obligatory activities and passive leisure is greatest, and on committed activities and active leisure least, for older adults. (2) Longitudinal patterns usually mirror cross-sectional ones. There are pronounced exceptions for women whose paid work time has been increasing and housework decreasing, while cross-sectional patterns show the reverse. (3) Over recent decades, time in committed activities shifted in opposite ways for men and women. Men decreased paid work and increased housework, repairs and yardwork, shopping, and child-care, while women increased paid work and decreased housework. In sum, the age structure of activities has persisted in the midst of new social opportunities; gender roles have proven more malleable than age roles.

AS people age, their activities change due to shifts in preferences, constraints, abilities, and health. The changes occur in many ways — the specific activities a person does, procedures to accomplish them, frequency, and duration. Stated briefly, these features are what, how, how often, and how long. Together, frequency and duration determine the amount of time spent on an activity in a day or a year.

This analysis examines time spent in 14 activity domains that span obligatory, committed, and discretionary activities. Data are from the Baltimore Longitudinal Study of Aging (BLSA) conducted since 1958 by the federal government. We analyze cross-sectional age differences, longitudinal changes for individuals, and secular trends over recent decades in self-reported activities for men and women of all adult ages. Do age differences mirror age changes? Have overall shifts occurred in recent decades in how men and women spend their time? How socially enduring are age differences and gender differences in activities?

Background

Cross-sectional age differences in activity patterns have been studied in sociology and gerontology (Altergott, 1988; Baltes, Wahl, and Schmid-Furstoss, 1990; Chapin, 1974; Herzog et al., 1989; Hill, 1985; Juster, 1985a; Lawton, Moss, and Fulcomer, 1986-87; Moss and Lawton, 1982; Robinson, 1985a, 1988). In sociology, the strongest tradition of activity research is in time-use (time budget) studies (Juster and Stafford, 1985, 1991; Szalai, 1972). Subjects are asked to report all activities for a 24-hour period with start and stop times, either retrospectively by an interview about "yesterday" or prospectively by keeping a diary. Before the 1970s, samples were often limited to ages 18-64, thus excluding older persons; this has changed so there is now no upper age bound. Subjects' data are aggregated for analyses.

Participation rates (percentages doing an activity) and minutes per day (average minutes for an activity) for subgroups, such as gender or employment status, are reported. Age differences were of little interest until the past decade, and some major studies do not report them (Chapin, 1974; Szalai, 1972).

Although gerontology studies have a deeper descriptive and theoretical interest in age differences, their perspective on activities is often limited. (1) Studies tend to focus on selected specific domains such as leisure, or ADLs and IADLs, or productive activities (Altergott, 1988; Gordon and Gaitz, 1976; Herzog et al., 1989). Until recently, virtually all research on older persons' activities was about leisure (Burrus-Bammel and Bammel, 1985; Cutler and Hendricks, 1990; Gordon and Gaitz, 1976; Kloeckner, 1961). From the 1980s onward, interest in disability prompted a focus on personal care (ADLs) and household management (IADLs) activities. Recently, research on paid and unpaid productive activities (e.g., job, housework, child-care, volunteer work) has developed to offset the unbalanced view that older persons' lives are devoted to leisure and self-care. For particularly thoughtful reviews of activities in late life, see Lawton (1985a, 1985b). (2) Gerontology studies often focus solely on older persons either by limiting the survey sample to older ages or by choosing older respondents from a broad dataset for secondary analysis (Altergott, 1988). (3) Even when a wide age span is used, results are usually cross-sectional. It is hard to say how well the age differences reflect age changes, that is, how activities change as individuals age. Longitudinal (intra-individual) data on activity changes are sparse, as noted by Cutler and Hendricks (1990). Longitudinal data that do exist are retrospective or of limited prospective duration; for example, changes in leisure activities of retired men over 3 years (Bossé and Ekerdt, 1981; Parnes et al., 1985), time-use

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