THE ART OF AGING

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We are at a new turning point in the field of aging. The past 25 years have witnessed two major conceptual turning points that have fundamentally influenced the course of research, practice, and policy deliberations. The first one occurred in the mid-1970s when the major federal research programs on aging were launched. This is interesting as, in many ways, research into aging became a phenomenon only in the last quarter of the century.

A conceptual turning point occurred at that time. Many of the negative changes that people had attributed to aging instead came to be seen as problems with aging.

The second major turning point, which we are just entering now, is the idea of potential in later life. This is an idea where individuals, communities, and policymakers are far from up-to-speed. And until one fully understands potential in later life, individual motivation is stifled in terms of planning for one's future. Creative community program planning is inhibited. Enlightened social policies are stymied unless one sees what is truly possible in aging.

So the challenge now, in addition to dealing with the problems, is to look at potential. When I headed the National Institute on Aging, I had the wonderful opportunity to interview the comedian George Burns, who was 97 years old at the time. I was there as a public health official representing the federal government, presenting him a certificate acknowledging his positive contributions to images of aging when he staged a joke on me. To fully appreciate the context of the joke, you have to understand the timing of the meeting. It was during the height of the Surgeon General's campaign against smoking, and I was there as a public health official. So as I'm presenting him the certificate, he hands me this illegal Cuban cigar. At which point I said, "Not to worry, I don't inhale." And he said that he didn't either. And the more he thought about it, he was going to run for president.

Then he went on to explain how he was adapting to his own advanced age. He said he had begun to ask for his applause in advance, just in case. And that he no longer purchased green bananas. I asked him, "What does your doctor say about your smoking and your drinking?" He said, "My doctor is dead."

That meeting with him was one that best captured the changing face of aging in the late 20th century, and now the 21st century. His agent was, understandably, very protective of him. But what we did not realize until we got there was that his agent himself was 85 years old. And the joke writer was in his 70s. The only young person was the car driver. But it was a remarkable picture of the changing face of aging in contemporary society. We ended up doing a public service message that a number of you may have seen. The point of this message was to get people's attention to write into the National Institute on Aging for information.

Examining potential and looking at creativity in later life is critically important, not only from the quality-of-life standpoint but from a health perspective. Some of the latest findings, looking at productivity in terms of older people, are associated with an increase in health, a reduction of illness, and improvement in response to procedures like bypass surgery. So people who are socially connected and involved in some productive activity not only have important payback, in terms of how they feel in general from a life satisfaction

standpoint, but in terms of health. And of course, there is a broader opportunity here in terms of the potential contributions to family and society.

Franklin Delano Roosevelt pointed out that no society, however rich, can afford to waste its human resources. And he could have easily made that statement about our older human resources.

Defining Creativity in Aging

In understanding creativity in aging, the definition that I use is really deceptively simple. It is bringing something new into existence that is valued.

Two other aspects are important to appreciate creativity, because I see this as a universal phenomenon. One, building upon Howard Gardener's concepts, is it is important to look at creativity with a capital "C," which is the typical type of creativity that we look at, the type of creativity that can influence the course for a community or culture.

But equally important is creativity with a little "c," the type of creative acts that can change the course for an individual or their family, and bring something new into existence in terms of how they deal with their job, a hobby, a new career, interpersonal relationships, family life, community, and volunteer work. These are areas ripe for opportunities for creativity with a little "c."

Related to that, also building upon Howard Gardener's concepts of multiple intelligences, is the importance of looking at diverse forms of creativity, not just in terms of the artistic realms, but also in the social realm. Across the history of civilization, older people have, in many ways, been keepers of the culture, and have shown remarkable social creativity. We see this in many roles today -- older university professors, judges, and diplomats -- and in areas where the opportunity for age and its relationship to accumulating wisdom and emotion and intelligence is important.

The Biological Basis of Creativity

The whole focus on creativity in later life is not just an anecdotal one. Indeed, there's a neurobiological foundation for understanding the capacity for ongoing learning and creative potential in later life.

Picture two neurons, nerve cells of higher intellectual functioning in the brain. Humans have more than 15 billion neurons that are involved in memory and intellectual function. These cells communicate with one another in two fundamental ways: one, through their anatomy or their architecture, extensions known as dendrites (analogous to limbs on trees), and also through the release of neurotransmitters, or chemicals, from one nerve cell to the other.

A remarkable set of studies done initially by Marian Diamond and colleagues looked at the impact of an enriched and challenging environment on the anatomy and physiology of the brain. And what the researchers found startled the scientific community and, in many ways, turned upside down the way that people looked at the brain. They found that animals that were exposed to a more challenging environment, compared to a control group of animals, sprouted considerably more dendrites than those that were not exposed to this challenging environment. It was like a tree sprouting new branches. A given nerve cell can sprout hundreds or even thousands of these dendrites.

So if you picture these cells and their extensions analogous to a tree with limbs, and you picture the neurotransmitters like squirrels, a tree that has more branches makes it easier for a squirrel to jump from one tree to another. In effect, these cells that sprouted more branches or dendrites made it easier for neurotransmitters to move from one cell to another. What was also discovered in these experiments of the

animals that were exposed to a more challenging environment is that they produced more of the transmitter acetylcholine, which is the neurotransmitter involved with memory and intellectual functioning. This is the neurotransmitter that is found to be at deficit levels in Alzheimer's disease.

So here -- in response to only environmental challenge, nothing physical, nothing pharmacologic -- these animals responded dramatically with a change in their anatomy. They actually had an increase in their braincell bodies. Brain weight itself increased with these animals, and they increased production of this neurotransmitter. But even more exciting and relevant to this discussion is all of these changes, all of them, continued independent of age. The older animals showed the same responses.

Subsequent research found that the length of these dendrites grew to their greatest length in humans from their early 50s to their late 70s. These changes turned upside-down our understanding about the capacity of the brain to respond to challenge and its modifiability. They set the stage for the beginning of our biological understanding of the capacity for ongoing learning and, indeed, the capacity for creativity independent of age.

Another major confounder came into play, and we perhaps saw this at its greatest height in the late 1960s and the early 1970s where, in our culture, images of aging were probably at their lowest. This was the time when you often heard the phrase, "You can't trust anybody over 30." Today you are more likely to hear the phrase in reverse. But at that time, it was quite powerful and people talked about the generation gap and the age gap. But what was missed, the more fundamental explanation of what was going on, was not an age gap but an education gap. The late 1960s was the beginning of the space age. Sputnik had been launched, and a revolution in education was going on. And this affected the young first.

It is important to realize that, in 1970, the median years of education for persons beyond the age of 65 was only 8.7 years. That is less than a high school education. Twenty years later, in 1989, that same middle group of those over 65 had gone from under a high school education to over a high school education. And one of the most rapidly growing groups of college graduates and graduate students became the 50 and older age group. In that 20-year period, the sociologic literature shows an unparalleled increase in positive, constructive intergenerational relationships.

Stages in Later Life

In terms of changes that are going on biologically and educationally, we are witnessing some profound changes. But we also have not fully understood basic psychological developmental capacity in later life. And here theory has been thin. In Eric Ericson's stage theory of the life cycle, he only had one stage in later life.

In my book, I introduced another stage theory based on 30 years of research. I describe four stages. The separation line between all of these is not absolutely rigid -- there is some overlap -- but they generally follow chronologically. One is the mid-life reevaluation phase that goes on throughout the 40s and the 50s. What happens in both genders, once one enters his or her 40s, is people begin to think about how much time is left, as opposed to how much time has gone by. Children are always measuring their situation from birth. But then all of a sudden that changes. And when that occurs, a profound psychological change occurs where one begins to think, where have I been? Where am I? Where am I going?

In some, that triggers a mid-life crisis. But in a much larger group, it triggers constructive mid-life reevaluation, sort of the situation with Odysseus or Ulysses or with Alex Haley, who began in his mid-40s with a 12-year quest through Africa and ended up with the writing of *Roots*.

This is followed by what I describe as the liberation phase. Contrary to stereotypes about aging, many people, when they reach their 60s, know who they are. They know that, if they make a mistake, it is not

going to undo the view others have of them. And more importantly, they know it is not going to undo the view they have of themselves. So they often feel free to do something that they have never done before. It is sort of an "If not now, when?" phenomenon.

Now let me illustrate this, building upon some of the earlier points that I mentioned about looking at creativity from a social standpoint, and give you a contemporary example. Think of the Mideast Peace Agreement. This astounded everyone, that these lifelong archenemies from Israel and Palestine could get together. Not just the countries, but the players. How could this happen?

Well, I feel that one of the key dynamics was a social creativity phenomenon in the liberation phase, because all of the major players were in their mid-60s and early 70s. For the Israelis, Itzhak Rabin and Shimon Peres were in their early 70s. Arafat was approaching 65. I feel, in the liberation phase, their age gave them the courage to finally do the right thing: If not now, when? And following the whole history of social creativity -- of older people as keepers of a culture -- if they did not do that, they could lose their cultures. They were in jeopardy. It is a powerful dynamic.

This is followed, as one gets into the 70s and early 80s or beyond, by a summing-up phase. We see a tremendous increase in storytelling and autobiography across all fields. And in the process of looking back and summing up, many people think about what they have gained in life, and they give it back not only in storytelling but through volunteerism and philanthropy. They deal with unfinished business.

I always try to test these theories. I was once attending a talk on opera and the speaker was noting the fact that Verdi had composed *Falstaff* at 80. I rose from the audience and said "That, in itself, is remarkable. Why do you think Verdi wrote *Falstaff* when he was 80 years old, as opposed to anything else?" And so the lecturer, like a psychiatrist, turned it back on me and asked me why I thought Verdi had done this.

I had just finished developing this theory about the summing-up phase and what's left undone. Here Verdi is in his 80s. He is in the top of his field. He is looking back and thinking, what is unfinished? And he realizes there is one area that he has never really done right, and that is comic opera. When he was in his 20s, he composed his only comic opera and it was a terrible flop. If I were Verdi and at the age of 80, I would want to set that picture straight. And sure enough, he composed *Falstaff*, a comic opera.

Then I said that if I were Verdi, I would want to stage the opera in the same theater where the original opera flopped, if it still existed. The lecturer did not know the answer, but she had these reference books with her. So she looked it up, and it was the same theater, La Scala. And so the theory holds up.

And then you go to the encore phase. People used to describe this phenomenon as swan song. That always bothered me in two ways. There is a certain sadness about the swan song, and it implies a single event. Rather, I describe this as encore, a more uplifting quality, and often you see more than one encore. An illustration of the encore stage is George Abbott, the playwright. It was remarkable that he wrote *Damn Yankee*s when he was 68. But as an encore, he revised it when he was 107. So it gives you a sense of these different stages that are operating.

The Dynamics of Aging

Despite this new knowledge in aging and these findings, we still have just this proliferation or this legacy of negative stereotypes and negative images. And they are often combined together. Three that you often hear together is, with aging, there is an inevitable decline in creative vision. There is a disappearance of risk-taking where people are becoming conservative, restrictive, and cautious. And motor skills are going fast.

Let us look at these three dynamics -- creative vision, risk-taking, motor skills -- in the great Renaissance portrait painter, Titian, particularly his remarkable painting of *Man With A Glove*, painted when he was 39 years old. It is a great portrait in the history of art. There are many things that one can say about this work but, for purposes of our discussion what I'd like you to focus on -- in addition to the beauty, the power, the poignancy of the painting -- is how well-defined it is along the edges.

Now let us double Titian's age and consider what he was doing at 78 years old. A self-portrait that he did then was considered by art historians to be an equally great work of art, but a little controversial in the eyes of some who said that the portrait is not quite as well-defined as *Man With A Glove*. A little less defined, a little more amorphous along the edges, but he was 78 years old, people said, and you have to factor that in.

Let us push this point a little further and consider what Titian was doing when he was 83 years old in his famous painting of *The Rape of Lucretia*, the event that brought down the Roman Empire. This is a great painting, but quite controversial in the eyes of the critics of the 16th century. People were saying this is just not a typical Titian portrait. It is very amorphous, but he is 83 years old.

Now in any area, before one reaches a conclusion, you need a control group, as in the earlier example that I gave with dendrite sprouting and the control group of laboratory animals. And Titian here remarkably provides his own control. He does a second painting of Tarkin and Lucretia at the same age of 83. Now I researched this very carefully. Titian did both of these paintings. This was not a matter of the master doing a sketch and having his students complete the work, to explain the difference in the form of the painting. He did both of them.

One is indistinguishable from the qualities of *Man With A Glove*, in terms of how well-defined it is. So he showed he could still do the same type of work, in terms of form. But what the other illustrates is -- very often with an older person, as opposed to a younger person -- if something is not understood, there is a rush to judgment. And they say "Well, he is getting older, he is kind of losing it, his marbles are rolling out." Whereas a younger person at least gets the benefit of a doubt -- they are either a genius or crazy -- to explain something that is not understood.

So then how do you explain the differences in the paintings? Put yourself in the shoes of the greatest portrait painter of the Renaissance. Anybody who could afford a painting by Titian at that time typically wanted the type of painting that made him famous. This is a problem that many artists have that locks them into a style.

But it was as if Titian, in his 80s, in his ninth decade, said, "I want to do something that I want to do. I want to explore new territory." I think you can then look at the painting and rather than call it amorphous, you can make a point that it shows great creative vision, great risk-taking, and boldly anticipating by three centuries impressionist art of the 19th century.

When you focus on Titian and Picasso, some may say, aren't these exceptions rather than the rule? Isn't this a bit of a *Ripley's Believe it or Not*? And those are fair questions. But my own views and research in this area were profoundly affected following a show that I saw in 1980 at the Corcoran Gallery of Art in Washington, DC. This show was a formal study of American folk art from 1930 to 1980. What the curator and art historian who put on the show were struck by was that almost half of the outstanding work during that time was by minorities, and particularly African Americans, many of them living along the Mississippi-Alabama corridor.

I went to the show not only with the eyes of somebody who appreciates art, but with those of a gerontologist, and I saw something they had not described. They put together a show of 20 of the outstanding black artists during that 50-year period, many of whom had died. But what they had not described of these 20 artists, and what struck me, was that 16 of them, or 80 percent, were over the age of

65 when they either first began their work or reached their mature phase. Thirty percent were older than the age of 80 when they either began their work or reached their mature phase.

Following the show, I did my own in-depth study of folk art and I found that this pattern continued independent of racial and ethnic diversity in this country. It is a field dominated by older persons.

When you have any field that is dominated by older persons, then you can no longer trivialize interesting examples as outliers or exceptions rather than the rule. It says something inherently profound about the basic underlying potential for creative production on the part of older persons. Folk artists are particularly interesting because they close the gap between the Picassos and everyday people, and they bring the point home even stronger.

Take, for example, work done by Bill Traylor, who did his first work when he was 85 years old. Traylor had been a slave and, following emancipation, continued to live on the plantation where he worked. He had a large family and wanted to stay there until all his children reached maturity and independence, which finally happened, and then his wife died and he was the only person in his family left there. He was 84 years old. And he felt he no longer had a reason to stay.

So he moved to Montgomery, Alabama, and got a job in a shoe factory where he worked for a year until they let him go because he had developed arthritis to the point that he could no longer do the quality of work demanded of him. And he basically became a street person and tried all kinds of things to survive. And one of them was drawings, which he began to hang on clotheslines, and almost overnight he was recognized as an extraordinary artistic talent. Within a year, his work was being shown regionally and then nationally.

The liberation phase often intersects with retirement, which I feel for many people acts like a patron. It gives people time to focus on activities other than having to meet ends. So you have this external freedom and this internal freedom, this liberation aspect, that creates a powerful partnership.

Somerset Maugham was not only a gifted writer but he was a medical school graduate. He made an interesting observation in his own late life work that he wrote in his 60s called *Summing Up*. And in looking at older persons, he brought to bear the intuitive insights of a gifted writer with the trained observations of a health professional. And in *Summing Up*, he wrote, "When I was young I was amused at Plutarch's statement that the elder Cato, who was a Roman statesman, began at the age of 80 to learn Greek. I am amazed no longer. Old age is ready to undertake tasks that youth shirked because they would take too long."

And in this, Maugham captures the wonderful twin paradox about the capacity to change and the significance of time in health. Life expectancy at birth in Rome during the great Roman Empire was only 22 years. That did not mean that people did not reach old age, but there was a tremendous falloff from death due to disease, famine, war, complications of childbirth, and poor public health. Today, in contemporary America, life expectancy is approaching 65 years, with the fastest growing group being centenarians.

Shortly after I read *Summing Up*, I interviewed a woman who was 81 years old who had just graduated from high school. And she said she finally had the time and the opportunity to get involved with her lifelong passion. She had a large family and spent her earlier adulthood raising them. And three of her children had problems, two severe health problems and one marital problems. And finally she turns 80, things are settled down, and she was able to turn to her passion of reading historical and biographical novels, these huge 1,000-page books. And she had read 18 of them over the previous seven months. Again, it was this idea of finally having enough time.

The psychoanalysts have weighed in on this as well. Basically, from psychoanalytic research, they find --contrary to stereotypes -- that older persons are more in touch with their dynamic psychological inner life. That is a tremendous asset for anybody who is an artist or going to be creative in any area to draw upon one's inner life.

Going back to the Corcoran show, there was another artist, William Edmundson, who was a janitor in the 1930s, working in a women's hospital at that time in Nashville, Tennessee. The 1930s was the period of the Great Depression, and hospitals were under great trouble then, as many are today. That hospital folded, and Edmundson was out of work.

As he later described to a reporter, he had the inspiration to carve. A photographer saw these new carvings and was totally captivated by them and sent a portfolio of Edmundson's work to the Museum of Modern Art (MOMA) in New York. And in 1937, at the age of 67, Edmundson's work became the basis of the first solo exhibit by a black artist in the history of the MOMA, in effect opening the doors up to a generation that followed.

Another artist in the Corcoran show, Sister Gertrude Morgan, was a nun who established in the mid-1940s a highly regarded and well-known orphanage called Gentilly, in New Orleans. Over 20 years, the orphanage grew and thrived and made tremendous contributions to the community. But in 1965 tragedy struck. Hurricane Betsy swept through New Orleans and leveled the orphanage. Sister Gertrude Morgan was devastated. She felt her life's work was destroyed. And in trying to cope with that depression, she turned to an earlier talent that she never really had time to pursue: painting. Ten years later, in her mid-70s, she reached her mature phase, and any national show that you see of Southern art will have her work in it.

At a different folk artist exhibit, the Hemphill Folk Art Collection at the National Museum of American Art, I found the best work in the show by Irving Dominick, which he did in his late 60s. In this work, Dominick brought something new into existence. He drew upon his preretirement skills of making ductwork for a heating and air conditioning company, and began to create cylindrical scupltures. He did not totally reinvent himself; he took this skill and, going back to that definition of bringing something new into existence, he turned it in a slightly different direction, and it opened up a whole new world for him.

There is another dynamic going on with a number of these artists, and it has been captured in the late-life work and poetry of Carlos Williams. Most people know Carlos Williams as a poet, but he was also a physician. He was still practicing pediatrics in his 60s when he suffered a stroke. Those of us in the health field know that we examine patients who have suffered from a stroke along multiple domains: cognitive, physical and emotional functioning. Fortunately, Carlos Williams did not have significant cognitive changes. He did have major motor and muscle changes, to the point that he could no longer continue the practice of medicine. As for emotional changes, he developed severe depression, to the point that he was hospitalized for a year at the age of 69. He came out of that and began a new phase of his poetry that culminated 10 years later, at the age of 79, with the publication of *Pictures from Brueghel* which was awarded a Pulitzer Prize.

What is Added, What is Taken Away

The third dimension is the relationship between what is added in the later life and what is taken away. There is nothing romantic about loss. But when loss occurs and you can only go so far in dealing with it, it is part of the human condition to want to transcend it in a certain way. In his poetry in late life, Carlos Williams wrote about an old age that adds as it takes away.

But later life has much more loss, and so you see this much more commonly, and you see many more examples of people dealing with loss and trying to transcend it. . . Bill Traylor, whom I mentioned earlier with the arthritis, William Edmundson in losing his job, Carlos Williams with the stroke.

And it also points out that just because there is loss does not mean it is over. Instead, for many people, it just moves them in an entirely new direction. This concept about old age that adds as it takes away is not new to modern medicine or poetry, but it is actually captured in a major theme from Greek mythology over 25 centuries ago in the myth of Tyresius. Tyresius was walking through the woods one day thinking great thoughts, and had the misfortune of being in the wrong place at the wrong time. His eyes inadvertently moved in the direction of the goddess Athena and fell upon her as she was bathing in the nude. She caught the eyes of a mortal seeing her bathe in the nude. She went into a rage, and in her fury she blinded Tyresius. The other gods and goddesses said, "Why did you do that? Tyresius was a great man. He was just in the wrong place at the wrong time. He is certainly not a voyeur. Reconsider." Athena did reconsider but she did not restore Tyresius' outer eyesight, but instead gave him great inner vision. Tyresius later went on to predict the plight of Oedipus. And so it is again this idea about old age that adds as it takes away.

Henri Matisse, in his early 80s, suffered from multisystems disease -- cardiovascular disease, pulmonary disease, and gastrointestinal disease -- that sapped his energy so that he could no longer paint the way that he did before. It was not enough for him to paint less well than the way he had. And so as a result, he moved in a new direction and launched his work with cutouts, which art historians describe as closing the gap between color and form. What Matisse's shift in his art shows is that, in the midst of all of these limitations, there is the tremendous power, strength and reserve of the human condition, independent of age. And so Matisse, in the midst of all that restriction, turned a new page in the history of art.

Aging and Social Policy

I am going to wind up with a few more anecdotes to show how these negative images can, in fact, short-circuit social policy. The idea that you are over the hill, it is too late to change, tremendously interfered with Medicare coverage of mental health services. This culminated in 1987 with hearings on Medicare. Medicare had been operational at that time for more than 22 years. During that time, there had been few changes in coverage for mental health, which was virtually nonexistent.

And so Medicare continued to severely limit mental health coverage. This outcome was a cynical rationalization that all of the people who did not want mental services did not seek them because they could not afford them and they did not want to be humiliated. And people said, "Why offer them anyway? Can you really do anything about depression in later life? Doesn't it go with the territory of aging? And psychotherapy? Come on, does that really have a role in later life?"

I was the first witness. And I said I am astounded that the Congress in the late 20th century is asking if you can treat depression in later life, and whether psychotherapy works with older people. I am astounded because Western civilization has known the answer to both of these questions in the affirmative for almost 150 years: Every December, with the annual arrival of the winter holidays, celebrates the ability to treat depression in the elderly and the role of psychotherapy.

At which point they thought *I* needed psychotherapy. And I went on to present the famous case of 1843 of this well-known London figure described as mean-spirited, miserable, misanthropic, making the lives of all around him miserable. But basically, rather than reflecting the ravages of aging, he had an undiagnosed depression causing all these problems. But then he was the fortunate beneficiary in 1843 of a home visit by a multidisciplinary team. This was more than 100 years before the community health movement. And they employed psychodynamic dream work. This was more than 50 years before Freud's classic work on the interpretation of dreams. This, of course, was Charles Dickens famous case history of Ebenezer Scrooge, also known as *A Christmas Carol*.

I pointed out that the real reason that Dickens wrote this case history was several-fold. First, he wanted to show it was never too late to change in later life. Secondly, he wanted to show how often the diagnosis of

depression was missed. Thirdly, he wanted to show that chronic illness, regardless of age, often presents a window of opportunity to make an intervention, sometimes profound. Fourth, and most important, he wanted to show the efficacy of psychotherapy, including dream work, in dealing with depression of the elderly. And finally, he wanted to show that when you treat the problems of the elderly, it need not be at the expense of other age groups. Witness the impact on the community of London, Bob Cratchit, and Tiny Tim.

This was the real reason that Dickens wrote this case history. Western civilization has celebrated the ability to treat depression and the efficacy of psychotherapy every Christmas for 150 years; wasn't it time for Congress to do the same?

This, coupled with some Washington-style, behind-the-scenes lobbying, helped contribute to changes in mental health coverage in 1987. But it shows how these negative images can not only stifle individual motivation, community planning, but also social policy. This was the happy outcome.

Looking for New Metaphors

There is a need for new metaphors about aging. We often hear about the autumn of your life, the winter of your years, the trees becoming barren, the sky clouding up. Georgia O'Keeffe, in her mid-70s, had reached great fame as a painter. Over her life, she had a number of fears and one of them was a fear of flying. As her work came under greater demand, she was forced to fly more and more. One day, looking out the window of the airplane, she realized she no longer had a fear of flying. She felt this tremendous exhilaration, launched a whole new body of work -- which I will give her full credit that she understood the double meaning, the double entendre of the title -- *Sky Above Clouds*.

And she did this work and it was huge in number, almost 100 pieces. What she is pointing out, which I think captures the changing face of aging, is rather than looking just at the clouds that can occur, she saw blue sky above those clouds. And I feel that is a much more accurate picture of aging today in the 21st century.