

This research examined dimensions of life satisfaction of rural lifelong single elders in comparison with their married and widowed counterparts. A random sample including 30 singles, 214 married, and 163 widowed adults aged 65 to 99 years was interviewed. Contrary to much of the literature, the data indicated that single adults lead relatively active lifestyles. Lifelong singles reported experiencing significantly more loneliness and unhappiness than the married, but less loneliness than the widowed. Taken as a whole, self-rated life satisfaction was not significantly different for singles, the married, or the widowed.

SINGLE RURAL ELDERS

A COMPARISON OF DIMENSIONS OF LIFE SATISFACTION

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Singles in general tend to be overlooked as a category for study; for older singles in particular there is virtually no information at all. Much of the folklore about older singles has been based on stereotypes and speculation about "old maids," "spinsters," and "old bachelors." Perhaps one reason the literature is scant is that single persons have been negatively defined and viewed as a relatively unimportant category. The life situation of the approximately 6% of older adults (65 and over) who are lifelong singles needs

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examination (Butler and Lewis, 1973). This study intends to contribute to our knowledge of older singles by examining aspects of the single lifestyle and comparing singles with their married and widowed contemporaries on dimensions of life satisfaction.

Many studies comparing singles with married and formerly married individuals on dimensions of life satisfaction have focused on psychological well-being (mental health). For all ages, mental health data show greater unhappiness for single individuals than for married persons (Bradburn and Caplovitz, 1965; Gurin et al., 1960), as well as higher mortality rates (Gove, 1973), higher rates of suicide (Segal, 1969), higher rates of mental illness (Gove, 1972; Knupfer et al., 1966; Palmore, 1973), and a greater likelihood of having been reared in families with pathology (Knupfer et al., 1966; Spreitzer and Riley, 1974). When sex is controlled, important sex differences have been noted for singles, with women reporting greater happiness and a lower rate of mental illness than men (Gove, 1972; Gurin et al., 1960). In comparison with the married, single men appear most unhappy and single women differ little from married women. Some studies have found single women to be better adjusted than their married counterparts (Baker, 1968; Knupfer et al., 1966). In comparison with other nonmarried statuses, singles tend to have lower rates of mental illness than the divorced and separated and lower rates than the widowed, depending on the dimension of mental health being measured (Bradburn and Caplovitz, 1965). On the whole, then, married persons and single women seem to fare best with regard to mental health.

The gerontological literature offers another perspective on singles. Gerontologists have assumed that singles enjoy

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a continuity of lifestyle and thus they are better able to cope with the crises of later life (Clark and Anderson, 1967; Gubrium, 1975; Manney, 1975). The only major American study to focus on single elders' social lives is that of Gubrium (1975), who intensively interviewed 22 singles in Detroit. He found singles to be more independent and more socially isolated than other older persons; yet, they were characterized by relatively little loneliness. On the basis of these findings, Gubrium (1975) suggested that the lifelong single may represent a special kind of social personality well suited for old age. Previous British studies (Townsend, 1957; Tunstall, 1966; Willmott and Young, 1960) utilizing small, urban samples of older singles found similar results.

Research on the social interaction of older singles has borne out Townsend's (1957) desolation-isolation hypothesis that while lifelong singles may be isolated, they are not desolate. Singles have been found to be more like the married in their evaluation of the quality of their lives and in their psychological well-being (Gubrium, 1974). The widowed, on the other hand, have been found to be more negative in their evaluations of life than either the single or the married, since they have experienced the desolating effects of a significant social loss.

In summary, the mental health data depict singles (and particularly single men) as being disadvantaged in terms of overall psychological well-being. On the other hand, the gerontological data present singles as relatively isolated but surprisingly well-adjusted, autonomous individuals. Some clarification of this discrepancy is needed. What, for example, appear to be some of the strengths and weakness of the lifelong single's ability to cope with the vicissitudes of later life? Also, how do singles fare in their later years in comparison with married and widowed elders? These are some of the questions addressed in this study

METHOD

PARTICIPANTS

The single (N = 30), married (N = 214), and widowed (N = 163) participants in the study represented a subsample from an earlier sample comprising 418 adults aged 65 to 99 years who resided in a southern, rural, isolated county.¹ The sample was selected randomly by a compact cluster technique.²

The original sample of 418 older adults consisted of 43.5% male respondents and 56.5% female respondents. Of the sample, 63% was white and 37% was black. Mean educational level for the sample was 6.8 years, and the average age was 73.4 years. According to marital status, 7.2% of the sample was single, 51.2% was married, 39.0% was widowed, 1.9% was divorced, and .7% separated. The separated and divorced were omitted from the statistical analyses of small cell frequencies. Only 3.3% of the respondents were new residents in the county, and 77.5% indicated that they had lived in the same neighborhood over 30 years. Mean annual income for the sample was \$2,375.45 (62 respondents did not disclose their income).

PROCEDURE

Data collection began in the spring of 1976 and was completed in early 1977. Every person 65 years or older living within the sampled areas was individually interviewed by trained interviewers. A 99-item questionnaire that took approximately 1 hour and 15 minutes to complete was orally administered to the participants. The interview schedule covered the following major areas: demographic characteristics; housing status and preferences; work status and satisfaction; health status; visiting patterns with children, siblings, and neighbors; income; social activity; medical costs; problems and worries; life satisfaction; and

morale.³ Singlehood and marital status were examined in terms of several dimensions of life satisfaction: satisfaction with frequency of visiting relatives and friends, loneliness, frequency of feeling there is no point in living, unhappiness, and self-rated life satisfaction. Several demographic characteristics and social variables were also examined: education, income, health, frequency of visiting with friends and neighbors, amount of organized social activity, and presence of a confidant.

RESULTS

Looking first at *demographic indicators*, the single subsample was composed of 11 males and 19 females, 83.3% of whom were white and 16.7% of whom were black. Singles were, on the average, better educated than the total sample (8.4 years versus 6.8 years mean educational level, $t = -.47$, $p < .01$). One-third of the singles lived alone, nearly one-half lived with siblings, and the remainder lived with relatives or others. The mean number of living siblings per respondent was 2.9. Respondents who had a sibling living in the same town or neighborhood usually saw them either daily or weekly. Siblings who lived within 49 miles of the respondent were seen monthly, with visits dropping to once a year when siblings lived over 250 miles from the respondent. Approximately 29% of the lifelong singles reported having adequate incomes to meet their needs, 57% reported that they had adequate incomes if they were careful with their money, and 14% reported that they did not have enough money for the things they needed. Chi-square tests of independence performed on several demographic characteristics showed that adequacy of income did not differ significantly according to marital status. Neither did the single respondent differ from the other categories on self-ratings of health status. Equal proportions of singles indi-

cated that their health was fair or poor (27.6%). The largest proportion (34.5%) reported good health, and the smallest proportion (10.3%) reported excellent health.

Frequency of interaction was assessed by how often respondents visited with friends and neighbors. Responses were categorized as frequently (at least once a week), occasionally (at least once a month), seldom, or never. A chi-square analysis showed no relationship between frequency of interaction and marital status (Table 1). For the single category 17.9% never interacted, 10.7% seldom visited, 25.0% visited occasionally, and 46.4% frequently visited with friends and neighbors.

The following question was used to assess extent of *organizational social activity*: "In general, how many times a month do you get together with other people in a group for some organized activity, for example, church, clubs, or group meetings?" Categories of response were (1) never, (2) once, (3) 2 or 3 times, (4) 4 or more times. Frequency of organized social activity was not found to be dependent on marital status (Table 1). Of the singles, 50% indicated social participation of 4 or more times a month.

The presence of a confidant was determined by asking respondents whether or not they had as much contact as they would like with a person with whom they felt close and in whom they could trust and confide. Responses were coded as either "yes" or "no." There was a significant relationship between marital status and the presence of a confidant (Table 1). Whereas 89.0% of the married had a confidant and 80.3% of the widowed had a confidant, only 64.3% of the singles had a confidant.

Five indicators of life satisfaction were measured, four of which were considered unidimensional constructs and one a global assessment of perceived satisfaction.

Satisfaction with frequency of interaction was assessed by the following question: "Do you see relatives and friends as often as you want to or are you somewhat unhappy about how little you see them?" Responses were categorized as (1)

TABLE 1
Social Variables by Marital Status and Singlehood

Variables	Single	Married	Widowed
Frequency of Visits with Friends and Neighbors			
$\chi^2 = 6.14$ $df = 6$ NS	% (n)	% (n)	% (n)
Never	17.9 (5)	11.1 (23)	11.9 (18)
Seldom	10.7 (3)	14.5 (30)	21.2 (32)
Occasionally - at least once a month	25.0 (7)	26.1 (54)	28.5 (43)
Frequently - at least once a week	46.4 (4)	48.3 (100)	38.4 (58)
Frequency of Organized Social Activity			
$\chi^2 = 11.92$ $df = 6$ NS			
Never	21.4 (6)	13.4 (28)	19.6 (30)
Once	17.9 (5)	13.4 (28)	20.9 (32)
2 or 3 times	10.7 (3)	24.9 (52)	24.8 (38)
4 or more times	50.0 (14)	48.3 (101)	34.6 (53)
Presence of a Confidant			
$\chi^2 = 13.64$ $df = 2$ $p < .01$			
No	35.7 (10)	11.0 (23)	19.7 (30)
Yes	64.3 (18)	89.0 (187)	80.3 (122)
Expressed Satisfaction with Frequency of Visits with Friends and Relatives			
$\chi^2 = 3.52$ $df = 2$ NS			
Satisfied	59.3 (16)	68.4 (143)	62.7 (96)
Somewhat Unhappy	40.7 (11)	31.6 (66)	37.3 (57)
Expressed Loneliness			
$\chi^2 = 30.0$ $df = 4$ $p < .001$			
Almost Never Lonely	35.7 (10)	54.8 (115)	26.8 (41)
Sometimes	53.6 (15)	33.3 (70)	52.9 (81)
Quite Often	10.7 (3)	11.9 (25)	20.3 (31)
No Point in Living ^a			
Hardly Ever	77.8 (21)	86.7 (182)	79.7 (122)
Sometimes	14.8 (4)	13.3 (28)	17.6 (27)
Often	7.4 (2)	00.0 (0)	2.6 (4)

TABLE 1 (Continued)

Variables	Single	Married	Widowed
Expressed Unhappiness			
$\chi^2 = 21.21$ $df = 4$ $p < .0003$			
Almost None	40.7 (11)	50.5 (106)	30.7 (47)
Some	29.6 (8)	28.6 (60)	50.3 (77)
A Good Deal	29.6 (8)	21.0 (44)	19.0 (29)
Self-rated Life Satisfaction			
$\chi^2 = 7.14$ $df = 6$ NS			
1 (Lowest)	14.8 (4)	4.4 (9)	10.3 (15)
2	22.2 (6)	29.9 (6)	29.7 (43)
3	40.7 (11)	44.1 (90)	39.3 (57)
4 (Highest)	22.2 (6)	21.6 (44)	20.7 (30)

a. Expected cell frequencies were too low for valid χ^2 .

as often as wants to, and (2) somewhat unhappy about how little. Satisfaction with frequency of interaction was not significantly related to marital status (see Table 1). Approximately 60% of the singles were satisfied with their frequency of visiting with family and friends.

Extent of loneliness was determined by asking the question: "Do you find yourself feeling lonely quite often, sometimes, or almost never?" Frequency of loneliness was significantly associated with marital status (Table 1). The widowed reported themselves "quite often lonely" a great deal more than either the single or married groups. The married were most likely to report almost no loneliness (54.8%) followed by the single (35.7%) and the widowed (26.8%). Consequently, singles as a category tended to be less lonely than the widowed, yet somewhat more lonely than the married.

Another indicator of psychological well-being was examined by the following question: "How often do you feel that there's just *no point in living*—often, sometimes or hardly ever?" The overwhelming response for singles, marrieds, and the widowed was "hardly ever." The widowed (17.6%)

had a slightly higher percentage of response of "sometimes" as compared with the married (13.3%) and single categories (14.8%). Two of the single (7.4%), none of the married, and four of the widowed (2.6%) indicated that they often felt that there was no point in living.

Respondents were asked the following question: "All in all, how much *unhappiness* would you say you find in life today?" Responses included (1) a good deal, (2) some, but not much, and (3) almost none. Amount of unhappiness was significantly related to marital status (see Table 1). The association between marital status and amount of unhappiness was most salient for widows who expressed a greater frequency of "some unhappiness" (50.3%) than the single (29.6%) and the married categories (28.6%). The largest discrepancy between the single and the married was the almost no unhappiness category where 40.7% and 50.5%, respectively, said they experienced almost no unhappiness.

Self-rated *life satisfaction* as defined in this study represented a global assessment of present life circumstances. The Cantril Ladder technique (1965) was used to assess each subject's rating of his or her life satisfaction. Respondents were shown a picture of a ladder which represented from the top (9) to the bottom rung (0) the best possible life for them to the worst possible life for them. Subjects selected the rung on the ladder which represented their lives at the time of the interview. For purposes of statistical analysis, life satisfaction scores were broken down into four levels from the lowest or most negative to the highest or most positive scores. No significant relationship between life satisfaction scores and marital status was shown (see Table 1).

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

The findings show that the single elderly are similar to the married and widowed in terms of general life satisfac-

tion, frequency of organized social activity, frequency of visiting with friends and neighbors, satisfaction with the amount of interaction with family and friends, and having a point in living. Expressed loneliness and unhappiness, however, vary with marital status and singlehood. Each of the three groups of participants shows distinctively different levels of loneliness, with the widowed category showing the highest extent, followed by the single and married. Significantly less unhappiness is observed among the married than the widowed and single. Widowed and married persons report having a confidant to the same extent, which is significantly higher than for the lifelong single.

The inconsistencies in the findings between loneliness, unhappiness, point in living, and self-rated life satisfaction lead to some serious questioning about how validly and reliably these variables can be measured. It may be that the general life satisfaction measure is too general, while loneliness and unhappiness tap some specific dimensions of life satisfaction. Although these measures of life satisfaction are widely used, their limitations have been noted (Larson, 1978; Rosow, 1963; Veroff et al., 1962; Wilson, 1967). Self-report measures of unhappiness, loneliness, point in living, and life satisfaction are subject to social desirability response bias and are subject to different interpretations by the respondents. We could speculate, for example, that married individuals would be more strongly motivated to say they were not experiencing any unhappiness, since marriage normatively is expected to lead to personal happiness. Also, different demographic groups may define terms such as happiness and loneliness much differently. The use of one-item measures of these variables may also limit the validity and reliability of the data. However, other studies that have used similar one-item measures of unhappiness and life satisfaction provide some support for the use of these measures (Harry, 1976; Palmore and Luikart, 1972; Spreitzer and Snyder, 1974; Wilson, 1967). Correlations between the study variables and other psychological and

behavioral measures used in the larger study provide some evidence suggesting that the questions tapped some dimensions of life satisfaction.⁴ However, this does not exclude invalidity in methodology as an explanation for the discrepancy in the findings.

Given these methodological considerations, several tentative conclusions can be drawn from the data:

(1) Rural singles are similar to their married and widowed friends when compared on health and income measures and somewhat better off in educational achievement. The findings did not indicate any socioeconomic disadvantages incurred through lifelong singlehood. No differences by sex were found among singles with regard to educational achievement, except that females only were represented at the graduate level. The overrepresentation of women at the highest educational levels supported an earlier finding of Spreitzer and Riley (1974) that higher educational achievement was associated with singlehood for females. For the present older generation, singlehood probably provided a better option for persons who wished longer schooling, particularly females.

(2) Rural singles are involved with friends, relatives, and organized groups with frequency similar to the married and the widowed elderly, and they do not differ from the married and widowed in their satisfaction with the frequency of those relationships. Contrary to the conclusions of previous research (Clark and Anderson, 1967; Gubrium, 1975; Townsend, 1957; Tunstall, 1966; Willmott and Young, 1960), no support was found for the perspective that singles are often social isolates. The lack of differences in frequencies in interaction among married, widowed, and single elders suggests that the "distinct type of social personality" attributed to lifelong singles (Gubrium, 1975) does not stem from social isolation (at least in rural areas). This study did not delve into important qualitative aspects

of the single elders' social relationships, and thus no definitive conclusions about the social personalities of lifelong singles can be made. Further investigation into the nature of single elders' participation in group activities, intimate relationships (heterosexual, same-sex), leisure activities, satisfactions derived from interpersonal relationships, and so on would more adequately address questions about the social personality of single elders. The quality or meaning of social relationships for older persons appears to be a more promising direction in which to move, especially when examining the impact of these relationships on life satisfaction (Conner et al., 1979).

The present study differs from previously cited studies in that the sample was from a geographical area (southern, rural) quite unlike the urban areas of Detroit (Gubrium, 1975), San Francisco (Clark and Anderson, 1967), or of East London (Townsend, 1957; Tunstall, 1966; Willmott and Young, 1960). Geographic location may have a crucial impact on the social lives of single older adults, thereby explaining the difference in findings from previously mentioned studies. The continuity and homogeneity in the composition of the neighborhood in this rural area may have helped the older adult maintain a social world that is much larger in scope than that of the urban adult. The literature demonstrates the importance of a homogeneous social context as a facilitator in the formation of friendships, social contact, and morale (Blau, 1961; Lowenthal and Robinson, 1976; Rosow, 1967). More information is needed, however, on the various environmental factors that impinge on the social interaction patterns of older adults.

(3) *Fewer rural singles have a close friend or confidant compared with the married and the widowed.* Despite similarities in the frequency of social interaction among the three groups, the degree of intimacy appears to be different for singles. An explanation of this finding is not immediately clear; however, several possible explanations are offered.

The first is a methodological consideration. Respondents were not questioned about their sexually intimate relationships or, as noted earlier, other qualitative aspects of their social relationship were not examined. It may well be that the lack of a confidant relationship is more than compensated through other relationships. If sexually intimate relationships did exist among these older, rural adults, they probably would exist in highly guarded secrecy and could prove difficult to investigate.

Second, intimacy or the support available through a confidant may not be as valued or desired by the lifelong single, or at least not valued enough to entail the costs of emotional dependence, time, and other considerations. Singles in this instance would view their lifestyles positively, since they afford the best option for emotional autonomy. Although it is generally assumed that intimate relationships are important for emotional well-being, Powers and Bultena (1976) raise some doubt about this assumption, since a proportion of the subjects from each marital group studied indicated that they did not have an intimate friend. Lee (1978), on the other hand, provides support for the importance of good primary relationships to the psychological well-being of older married people.

A third explanation is that societal norms restrict the expression of intimacy to the marital or family relationship, thereby reducing the alternatives available for singles (Dressel and Avant, 1978). Likewise, the extreme scarcity of other single friends as potential confidants places a restriction on singles. Kieffer's (1977) "patchwork intimacy" model, in which intimacy needs are met through a network of complementary relationships, may offer a more successful way of meeting intimacy needs, particularly for singles.

Furthermore, it could be that singles lack the interpersonal skills necessary to initiate or maintain a relationship characterized by intimacy (assuming that a relationship with such intrinsic rewards as intimacy and trust involves inter-personal skills including openness, honesty, and the

ability to communicate inner thoughts and feelings). Spreitzer and Riley (1974) suggest that singles' poorer family-life situations in childhood may make the formation of close relationships difficult in adulthood.

Some caution must be taken in interpreting the confidant finding, since no restrictions were made about who could be designated as a confidant. Powers and Bultena (1976) found single older adults (singles, separated, divorced) to have the highest percentage of intimate friends. However, respondents were not allowed to include immediate family members as intimate friends. If restrictions had been placed on the confidant response in this study, it could well be that singles would be compared more favorably.

(4) *Widowhood is associated with higher frequencies of loneliness.* The hypothesis proposed by Townsend (1957) and substantiated by the literature (Gubrium, 1974; Willmott and Young, 1960)—that the widowed report more negative feelings than the other marital statuses due to the desolation experienced from loss of a spouse—was supported for loneliness, but only partially supported for feelings of unhappiness and no point in living. Loneliness has been cited as a major problem of the widowed (Kivett, 1977; Lopata, 1969). In considering the causes of loneliness, Weiss (1973) attributes the source to two basic forms of isolation: emotional and social. Loneliness on the part of widowed persons seems most directly attributable to the emotional loss of a spouse and its social consequences, whereas for singles loneliness may be attributed to the emotional isolation experienced from lack of the availability of an emotional attachment.

When looking at those who experience "a good deal" of unhappiness, the widowed category did not appear to have as serious a problem as the singles. This finding does not support the desolation-isolation hypothesis that the widowed will be more negative in their evaluations. The expectation was that the widowed elderly would have

dropped sharply in their evaluations of happiness, having suffered a role loss as well as the loss of emotional fulfillment intrinsic to the marital relationship. The different meanings attached to unhappiness for the singles and the widowed may account for this discrepancy. Perhaps more probing with questions or use of an index of items would better assess loneliness, unhappiness, and feelings of no point in living.

(5) *Marital and singlehood status of rural older adults is not associated with general life satisfaction.* This finding is supported by much of the literature on the life satisfaction of the elderly. Larson's (1978) extensive review of the literature on subjective well-being showed a slight independent relationship between marital status and well-being in most studies when controls were introduced. The variables contributing to life satisfaction have received much attention in the literature. Multivariate studies indicate that health, socioeconomic status, and social interaction (in that order) are the most important indicators of life satisfaction (Larson, 1978). Since singles in this study were seldom situationally different from the married and widowed and were similar in their social and kin involvement, it is not unexpected that singles' global evaluations of life would be the same as the married or widowed.

We may wonder why self-rated life satisfaction is not dependent on single or marital status when the findings of the present study show significant differences on other, more specific social-psychological dimensions of life satisfaction (in relation to unhappiness and loneliness). Although validity problems are possible, the inconsistencies in these findings show similarities with the findings of a national survey of happiness (Bradburn and Caplovitz, 1965) which are explained within an affect balance model. Bradburn and Caplovitz (1965) found evidence that psychological well-being was determined by the relative balance between two independent dimensions—a negative and a

positive dimension. As long as individuals have some compensating positive affective experiences, they can report dissatisfaction with some areas in life and yet still be generally satisfied. That is, negative feelings do not necessarily diminish positive feelings.

It seems that as singles evaluate the rewards and costs in their lives, the rewards and costs balance in such a way as to be no different from the married and the widowed. Perhaps the costs of any lack of intimacy in single adulthood are offset by other more salient factors such as high educational levels, independence of lifestyle, and comparable health and income status. Likewise, the greater loneliness and unhappiness of the widowed in comparison with the married are not adverse enough to offset general life satisfaction. Here again, the widowed may have redefined life satisfaction such that their comparison of relative costs and rewards is evaluated against a different standard than that of the married and the single.

Figure 1 represents the interrelationships of the variables examined in this study. Included also are other relevant variables mentioned above. The dimensions of life satisfaction have been grouped as a set of dependent variables. No attempt is made to weight these variables according to their relative importance to life satisfaction.

As discussed earlier, the literature provides evidence that health, socioeconomic status, and marital status are influential in life satisfaction. This study suggests that residence, rural or urban, may also be explanatory. These primary variables in turn condition the extent of one's social activity, the quality of interpersonal relationships, and the nature of one's reference group(s). These intervening variables, then, are posited to be related directly to life satisfaction. Future researchers may want to test this model for its power in explaining life satisfaction generally and in sorting out the particular impact of marital status with regard to this dependent variable. This study has made a beginning by questioning empirically the stereotypes of being old and single.

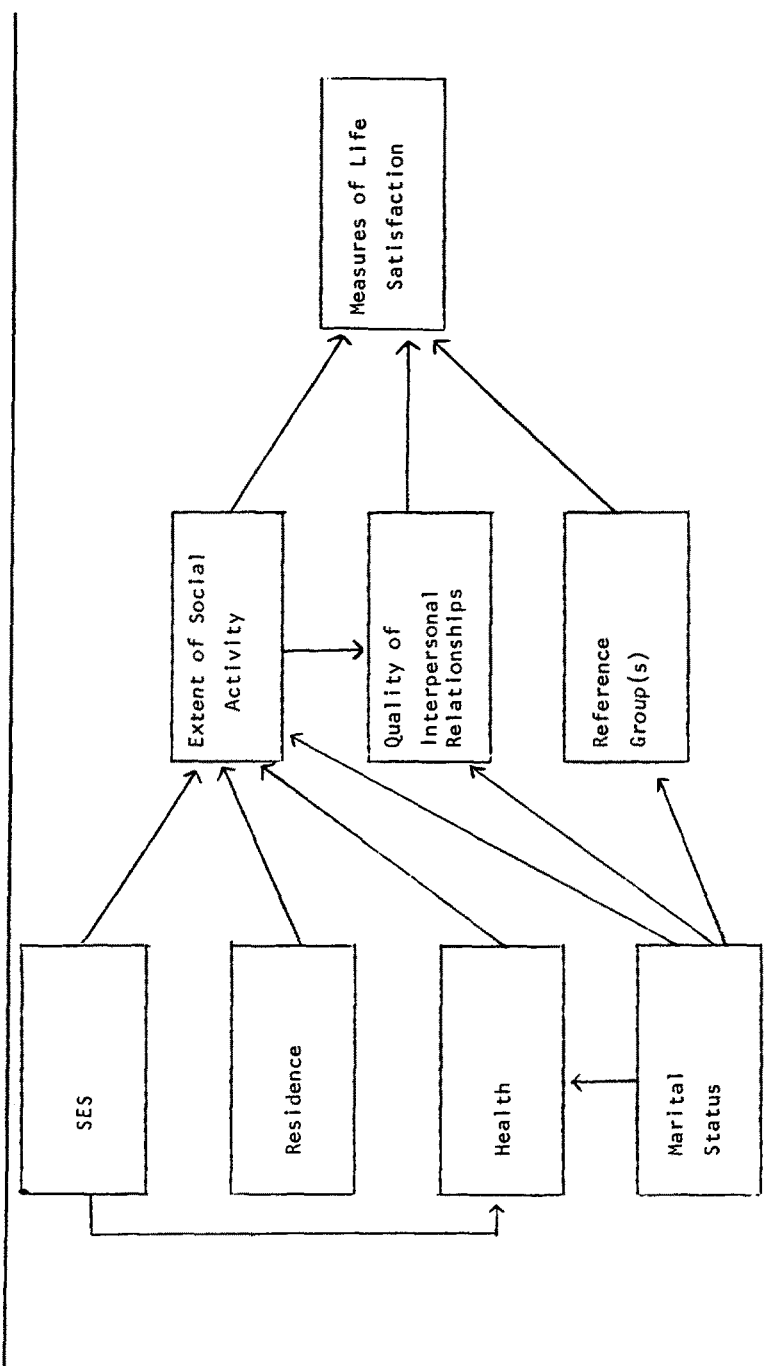


Figure 1: Variables Influencing Dimensions of Life Satisfaction of Older Adults

Singlehood is emerging as a popular option to traditional monogamy, as witnessed by the increasing number of years adults spend as singles (Libby, 1977). The findings of this study indicate that older singles compare favorably on situational indicators and general life satisfaction with married and widowed people in late life, but score less favorably on psychological dimensions. Single elders have had greater opportunity for educational pursuits, are less likely to have a confidant, and lead active social lives. Yet, lack of close relationships may have worked against singles, as suggested by a greater frequency of negative feelings (loneliness, unhappiness) in comparison with the married. This discrepancy between married and single psychological well-being needs further systematic investigation.

NOTES

1. North Carolina Agricultural Experiment Station Project 13240. *The Aged in North Carolina: Physical, Social, and Environmental Characteristics and Sources of Assistance (Revised)*, School of Home Economics, University of North Carolina at Greensboro.

2. See Mendenhall, Ott, and Scheaffer (1971). Compact refers to the method of sampling every household once the areas to be sampled have been selected.

3. Copies of the questionnaire may be obtained on request from the author at this address: Department of Child Development and Family Relations, University of North Carolina, Greensboro, 27412.

4. Life satisfaction correlated moderately with the Philadelphia Geriatric Morale Scale ($r_s = .52, p < .001$) and moderately with an index of extent of trouble that respondents experienced with 16 frequent problem areas ($r_s = -.52, p < .001$). Correlations among the dimensions of life satisfaction examined in this study ranged from .23 to .33, and all correlated .39 or better with the Philadelphia Geriatric Morale Scale (Lawton, 1972).

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