

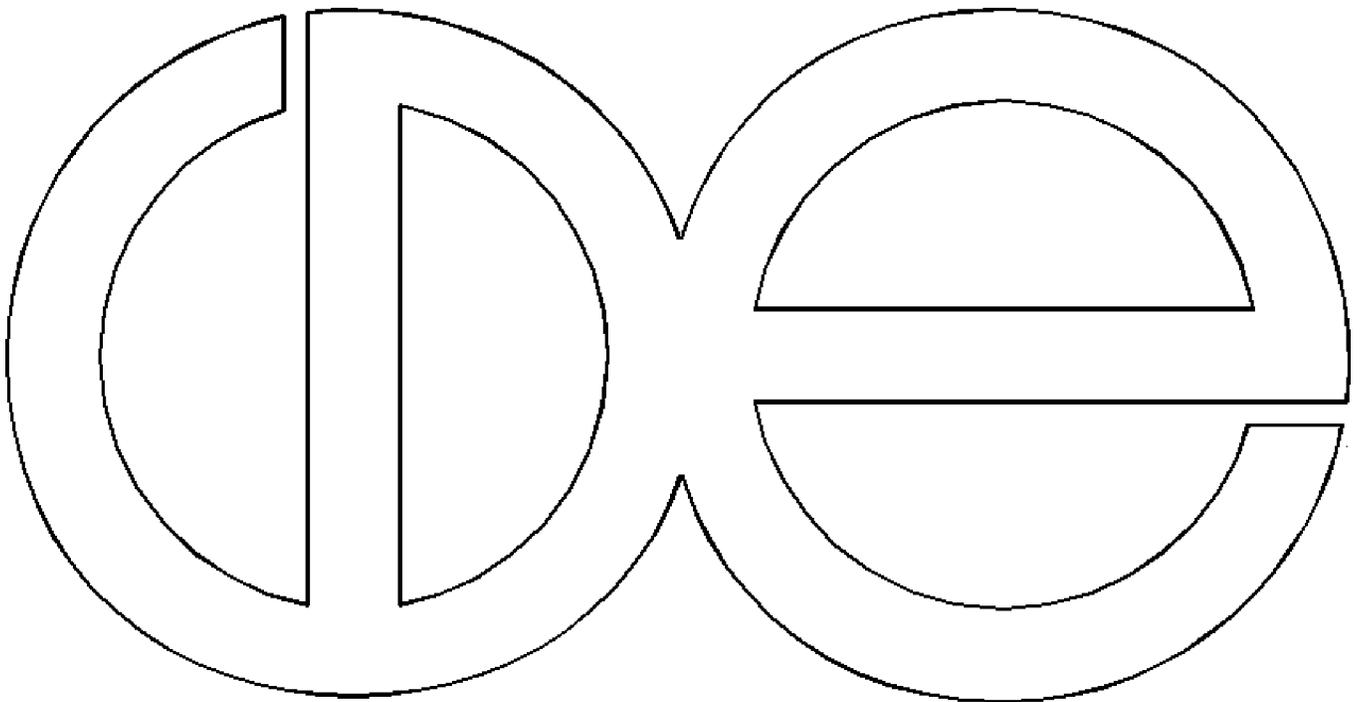
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**Flying Solo at Midlife:
Gender, Marital Status, and Psychological Well-Being**

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Abstract

Data from Wisconsin Longitudinal Study 1992-93 respondents (N=6,876) aged 53-54 were used to examine gender and marital status differences across several measures of psychological well-being. Evidence for whether selection and/or social causation might account for differences was also evaluated. Multivariate analyses revealed several gender interactions--usually indicating a greater disadvantage for unmarried men than unmarried women. Separate analyses by gender revealed a complex picture of both positive and negative effects of being single. Contrary to what the selection argument hypothesizes, single women were found to have higher scores on relatively enduring personality characteristics associated with better psychological well-being than married women. Single men did not compare so favorably with married men. Overall, selection did not explain marital status differences. Household income and intimacy accounted for somewhat more of the remaining effects.

Flying Solo at Midlife: An Expanded Investigation of Gender, Marital Status, and Psychological Well-Being

Historically, married men and women have been found to report better psychological well-being than their unmarried peers (e.g., Gove, Hughes, and Style, 1983; Gove and Shin, 1989; Gove, Style, and Hughes, 1990; Lee, Seccombe, and Shehan, 1991). Yet despite a significant lengthening of life expectancy during this century for both men and women, younger birth cohorts of American adults are spending proportionately less of their adult lives married due to historical trends toward a later age at marriage, a higher rate of nonmarriage, a higher rate of divorce, and a lower rate of remarriage (Schoen, Woodrow, and Baj, 1985). Larger proportions of younger birth cohorts are now more likely to be single (never married, divorced, or widowed) during their midlife and older years; Uhlenberg, Cooney, and Boyd (1990) project that for White women in the 1955 to 1959 birth cohort, almost one-third will be unmarried at midlife ages 50-54, and one-half will be unmarried entering young old ages 65-69.

If marriage is associated with better mental health, do these demographic trends portend a proliferation of mental health problems in our future aging society? Or is there any additional evidence that might indicate that as adult single life is becoming more common it is also becoming less disadvantaged, or at least not unequivocally problematic? Glenn and Weaver (1988), using data from separate national surveys conducted from 1977 through 1986, reported that the relation between being married and self-reported happiness declined during this time period. Most of this decline appeared to be related to increases in the happiness of never-married males and a decrease in the reported happiness of married females. The decline in differences between the married and the nonmarried in happiness was most obvious for younger adults (ages 19-24). Recent qualitative studies of single (both never-married and formerly married) midlife women (Anderson and Stewart 1994; Gordon, 1994) have also suggested that mature single women are beginning to report

advantages to single status in terms of personal autonomy and growth that have made “flying solo” a psychologically rewarding experience.

Previous work evaluating gender, marital status, and psychological well-being has been limited by a narrow set of outcome measures. Measures of depression are most commonly employed, followed by one-item measures of life satisfaction or overall “happiness.” However, it has become increasingly well established that psychological well-being is multidimensional, and that scoring high on positive outcome measures and scoring high on negative outcome measures might well be expected to occur since positive and negative psychological states are correlated but by no means a bipolar continuum (Bradburn, 1969; Bryant and Veroff, 1982; Ryff, 1989, 1995; Ryff and Essex, 1991; Ryff and Keyes, 1995).

Additionally, previous analyses of marital status effects on psychological well-being have been plagued with questions of whether a selection effect is causing the relationship (Gove, Style, and Hughes, 1990; White, 1992)--i.e., are persons with poorer psychological profiles finding themselves left never married or divorced, making the apparent association between marriage and positive well-being a spurious relationship? Also, differentiations are often not made between separated, divorced, widowed, and never-married unmarried persons when making contrasts to those who are married.

This study sought to go beyond previous research in this area by investigating further 1) whether a more differentiated picture of gender and marital status differences in psychological well-being would emerge if more extensive measures of both negative and positive outcomes were examined; 2) whether middle-aged women were making more progress in learning to successfully “fly solo” in midlife than men; 3) whether the hypothesis is true that enduring personality characteristics are causing both marital status and psychological well-being at midlife; and 4) whether marital status affects psychological well-being through the differences it tends to produce in household income and intimate social support.

THEORETICAL AND EMPIRICAL FOUNDATION

The Structure of Mental Health

Research studying the antecedents, correlates, and consequences of psychological well-being usually follows one of two traditions, both in evidence in the literature evaluating the relationship between marital status and psychological well-being. The first is the study of psychological dysfunction, which includes measures of depression, anxiety, hostility, phobias, alcohol and drug abuse, and the several other clinical classifications of psychological disorder. The second is the study of positive psychological *wellness*--emphasizing more positive aspects of mental health--e.g., positive affect, happiness, life satisfaction, self-esteem, self-efficacy, etc. Measures and studies of psychological dysfunction greatly outnumber measures and studies of psychological wellness (Ryff, 1995).

Ever since Bradburn's (1969) important analyses gave evidence that positive and negative affect were related, yet distinct, components of psychological well-being, there has been a general, although not universal, acknowledgment that psychological dysfunction was related to but not on a bipolar continuum with psychological wellness (see Mirowsky and Ross, 1989, for a contrasting view). The differentiation of factors for positive aspects of psychological well-being and psychological distress was further supported by factor analytic work done pooling national survey items by Bryant and Veroff (1982). The latter analysis came to the conclusion that psychological well-being had three components: positive affect, psychological distress, and self-evaluation.

However, any factor analysis can yield only results based on the items entered into the analysis. Ryff (1989, 1995) has questioned the adequacy of measures like one-item assessments of happiness and life satisfaction, which have no solid developmental or theoretical basis to cover the range of positive mental health and wellness. Using theories of human development from Erikson, Buhler, Neugarten, Maslow, Allport, Rogers, and Jung, as well as ideas regarding positive mental

health from Jahoda and Birren and Renner she has developed and validated (Ryff, 1989; Ryff and Keyes, 1995) six new measures of distinct components of psychological wellness: positive evaluation of oneself and one's past life (Self-Acceptance), a sense of continued growth and development as a person (Personal Growth), the belief that one's life is purposeful and meaningful (Purpose in Life), the possession of quality relations with others (Positive Relations with Others), the capacity to manage effectively one's life and surrounding world (Environmental Mastery), and a sense of self-determination (Autonomy).

The Ryff measures of psychological well-being are distinct from measures of psychological dysfunction (i.e., correlations between measures have been established to be only small to moderate; see Ryff, 1989). A more complete array of measurement of psychological wellness as well as psychological distress offers the potential to reveal a richer, more comprehensive, and more enlightening understanding of the complex psychological effects stemming from involvement in significant and often conflictory social roles, including marriage and parenting. Therefore, the six Ryff well-being scales as well as depression and hostility were chosen for examination in these analyses.

Marital Status and Psychological Well-Being

There has been lively discussion in the family and mental health literature about the role of marriage in supporting and/or undermining mental health in 20th century America. Jessie Bernard lit fire to the debate in 1972 with the publication of *The Future of Marriage*, in which she proposed the idea that there were actually two marriages going on for every couple: his and hers. *His* marriage included traditional rhetoric about how marriage was a sacrifice of much-prized male freedom although a great thing for wives, but the empirical reality was that married men (when compared to single men) benefited greatly from marriage physically, socially, and psychologically. *Her* marriage

included traditional belief that all women want to marry and become mothers so marriage is their most natural and desired adult status, but the paradoxical empirical reality (supported by selected sources cited by Bernard) was that married women were often more likely to exhibit higher rates of mental distress and illness than single women. The traditional housewife role, with its frustrations and devaluation was part of what was “making women sick,” she suggested.

But Bernard (1972) went further and also asserted that a selection process might also be at work in producing these well-being differences. In short, since there is a social norm in American society that has assigned men “superior” status in the family, men tend to select women who they feel at least somewhat “superior” to, educationally, intellectually, and emotionally. This “marrying down” practice of men resulted in leaving women who were more intelligent, better educated, had a stronger sense of self, and more assertive--“the cream of the crop”--unmarried. By contrast, unmarried men, at the other end of this dynamic, were more likely to be “the bottom of the barrel.”

Studies by Gove (1972), Gove and Tudor (1973), and Radloff (1975) garnered additional evidence that marriage was more of a mental health benefit for men than women in terms of psychological distress. Yet, most studies and reviews done since the early 1970s have concluded that there is a mental health advantage for both married men and married women in contrast to their unmarried peers (Pearlin and Johnson, 1977; Gore and Mangione, 1983; Gove, Hughes, and Style, 1983; Gove, Style, and Hughes, 1990; Mirowsky and Ross, 1989). Unmarrieds are not, however, all equally distressed; formerly married persons show more distress than never-married persons (Pearlin and Johnson, 1977).

The most commonly examined measure of positive psychological well-being--global happiness--has also been consistently found to be related to marital status; married men and women exhibiting an advantage in comparison to their nonmarried peers (Glenn, 1975; Glenn and Weaver,

1979, 1988; Lee, Seccombe, and Shehan, 1991). However, national trend data from the General Social Survey (GSS) spanning the 1970s and the 1980s has revealed a “narrowing of the happiness gap” between the married and the never-married. This trend was noted particularly for men and for younger adults (ages 25-39). There was a significant increase in the proportion of never-married men indicating they were “very happy” between 1972 and 1982 as well as a significant decrease in the proportion of younger married women during this period who indicated such high levels of positive well-being (Glenn and Weaver, 1988). Lee, Seccombe and Shehan (1991) took this analysis further in time to 1989 and found that the gap increased again somewhat during 1987 and 1988, but then diminished again in 1989. Again, the changes found in happiness by marital status were most pronounced among young adults: younger never-married men and women reporting more happiness in the 1980s than in the 1970s and younger married women reporting less happiness in the 1980s than in the 1970s.

Explaining Marital Status Differences

Social selection. Explanations for marital status differences in well-being take the form of two main arguments--the “social selection hypothesis” and the “social causation hypothesis.” The social selection hypothesis suggests that there is a differential selection into marriage: psychologically and temperamentally more healthy persons are more likely to be desirable marriage partners and therefore get chosen into marriage than psychologically and temperamentally unhealthy people, and therefore show better psychological profiles than never married persons in community studies as a result. An extension of this same reasoning is used to explain why formerly married persons also show poorer mental health: those with more negative psychological and temperamental qualities are more likely to be unsuccessful at marital partnerships and therefore end up with dissolved marriages. These preexisting psychological and temperamental differences are then also the reason for research

findings that indicate poorer mental health exists among the formerly married. Except for Bernard (1972), who suggested a gender interaction effect for the way social selection might be operating (that is, psychologically superior women and psychologically inferior men being left out of marriage), the social selection argument is usually made positing a similar direction of effect for both men and women (that is, psychologically inferior women and men being left out or exiting from marriage).

The selection argument had been generally refuted as the main mechanism by which to explain marital status differences in psychological well-being by longitudinal evidence accumulated by Menaghan (1985), cohort and trend data evaluated by Glenn and Weaver (1988), and data analyses that included a measure of childhood problems by Gove, Hughes, and Style (1983). Still, it has been raised again recently as a potential mediator in the work of Mastekaasa (1992). Using data from approximately 9,700 Norwegians, Mastekaasa found that subjective well-being and overall life satisfaction helped predict the probability of marrying over a period varying between 22 and 47 months. The clearest evidence for selection effects of overall life satisfaction on entering into marriage were found for women age 20-25 and for men age 26-39. A less robust effect was also found for women age 26-39.

White (1992) also recently examined evidence for selection effects in the marital status and well-being relationship using data from a national sample of over 11,000 Canadians age 15 and older interviewed in 1985. His analyses revealed little relationship between marital status and subjective health, absence of health problems, and visits to physicians, but did reveal some relationship between life satisfaction and marriage in the expected direction. Because marital status differences were observed more frequently at middle range of the age range (25-59 for women; 20-70 for men), White asserted that selection processes might, in fact, be at work in this association.

Although the selection argument has been raised again in recent research, it should be noted that usually it has been “tested” in indirect ways--that is, making inferences from cross-sectional age

comparisons (Glenn and Weaver, 1988; White, 1992) including a questionably adequate “proxy” measure like childhood problems (Gove, Hughes, and Style, 1983), and using a potentially unstable measure of psychological well-being from a slightly earlier time of measurement (Mastekaasa, 1992, 1994).

Nevertheless, the social selection hypothesis is hardly buried as a potential explanation for the marital status and well-being relationship. This study sought to conduct an additional examination of the social selection hypothesis utilizing measures of relatively enduring personal characteristics--specifically, mental ability as measured in high school and measures of five personality dimensions that have been extensively documented to have high stability across adulthood (John, 1990, 1991; McCrae and Costa, 1990)--neuroticism, extraversion, openness to new experience, agreeableness, and conscientiousness.

Social causation. The social causation hypothesis suggests that there are aspects of being married that make it advantageous to mental health in comparison to single life. Much more support has been found for this hypothesis. For example, in the case of explaining differences between the married and the divorced, Pearlin and Johnson (1977) found evidence that three ongoing, structured life strains to which unmarried persons were more exposed and vulnerable--financial strain, social isolation, and increased parental responsibilities--helped explain why unmarried respondents in their study of a representative sample of 2,300 Chicago area residents scored significantly higher on a depression measure than married respondents.

Gove, Hughes, and Style (1983) found evidence that the social support marriage provides (including a foundation for a sense of meaningfulness) is one reason for the psychological advantage of marrieds. They established this by showing that it was happy marriages that were associated with better psychological well-being, but not unhappy marriages. Since the majority of marriages are happy, this, they suggest, accounts for the general finding that marriage is associated with well-being.

Since economic reasons and social support explanations for marital status differences are the most commonly offered mechanisms of social causation (Ross, Mirowsky, and Goldstein, 1990), this analysis evaluated the relative contribution of household income and the social support available through having an intimate kin confidant to explaining marital status differences in well-being.

The Possibility of Changing Patterns due to Historical Change

Trend analyses of marital status and happiness have led to several ideas about how the meaning of marriage may be changing in the late twentieth century. Glenn and Weaver (1988) suggest that marriage may be less necessary for happiness now since unmarried persons can now more readily engage in sexual relationships without social stigma and the financial security of marriage has been undermined due to high rates of dissolution. With higher rates of single living, it is possible that the social stigma of singleness is lessening. As women become better educated and make progress establishing independent occupational and economic lives, the prospect of financial strain due to singleness may become less of an issue affecting psychological well-being. If those who proclaim that individualism is now overshadowing collectivism as a shared social ideology, even regarding family life, are correct (e.g., Bellah, Madsen, Sullivan, Swidler, and Tipton, 1985; Glenn, 1987; Schwartz, 1987), it may be that we could expect that the well-being gap between marrieds and singles will continue to diminish, and perhaps even turn in the other direction.

Recent qualitative studies of single (both never-married and formerly married) midlife women (Anderson and Stewart 1994; Gordon, 1994) have provided some suggestive evidence that mature single women are beginning to report advantages to single status in terms of personal autonomy and growth that have made “flying solo” a rich and exhilarating experience.

Research Questions

In short, the state of research and theory surrounding the relationship of marital status and psychological well-being motivated this attempt to address four research questions:

- 1) Are midlife single adults always at a disadvantage in comparison to married adults in psychological well-being when an expanded array of psychological well-being measures are investigated?
- 2) Are marital status effects different for women in contrast to men at midlife?
- 3) If marital status effects are found, do selection factors--specifically mental ability and enduring personality characteristics--account for the relationships at midlife?
- 4) Are differences in household income and in the likelihood of having a confidant relationship in the family accounting for these effects among midlife adults?

METHODS

Data

Longitudinal data from the Wisconsin Longitudinal Study (WLS) were used for these analyses. The WLS is a long-term study of a random sample of 10,317 men and women who graduated from Wisconsin high schools in 1957. Survey data were collected from the original respondents or their parents in 1957, 1964, and 1975. A measure of mental ability from high school records is included in the data from 1957. Most respondents were 53 or 54 years old when interviewed in 1992-93. Telephone interviews were completed with 89.9% of living respondents (N=8496); mailback surveys were received from 82.3% of telephone respondents (N=6,877). Mailback questionnaire data in 1992-93 included extensive information about relatively enduring personality characteristics as well as psychological distress and psychological well-being. Data from the 1992-93 mailback survey were used for these analyses; the response rate for these data, therefore,

is about 72.7% of living original sample (1957) respondents (for additional survey design details see Hauser et al., 1994).

Only a few WLS respondents are not non-Hispanic white given the population composition of Wisconsin in 1957 and the fact that minority residents during that era were much less likely to complete high school. (The overall high school completion rate in Wisconsin in 1957 was approximately 75%.) Because WLS respondents are all high school graduates they represent a somewhat advantaged population group. However, they are still fairly representative of the approximately 66% of the U.S. population now in their early 50s who are non-Hispanic white and high school graduates (Kominski and Adams, 1992).

Measures

Outcomes. *Psychological distress* was measured with the 20-item Center for Epidemiological Studies Depression (CES-D) index (Radloff, 1977). Respondents were asked to rate how many days in the last week (0-7) they experienced each of 20 symptoms (see Appendix for list of items). Cronbach's alpha for this scale is .88.

Hostility was measured with a three-item index that asked respondents to indicate how many days in the last week they felt irritable, or likely to fight or argue, felt like telling someone off, and felt angry or hostile for several hours at a time. Cronbach's alpha for this index is .79.

Positive psychological wellness was measured using six self-administered scales developed and validated by Ryff (1989; Ryff and Keyes, 1995). Each scale included 7 items for which respondents were asked to "decide the extent to which each statement describes you" and given a six-point response scale ranging from agree strongly to disagree strongly. Evaluations of internal consistency (Cronbach's alpha) for these scales yielded the following results: *Self-acceptance* (.79), *Environmental mastery* (.72), *Positive relations with others*

(.78), *Purpose in life* (.79), *Autonomy* (.70), and *Personal growth* (.77). For a complete list of scale items see the Appendix.

Predictors. *Marital status* was differentiated into categories that included married, separated and divorced (combined), widowed, and never married.

Enduring personal characteristics included a measure of *Mental ability* taken from the Henmon Nelson test of intelligence that was administered to all Wisconsin high school students during their high school years and added to the WLS files from school records. Additionally, self-administered scale measures of five relatively enduring personality characteristics (John, 1991) were included in the WLS 1992-93 mailback survey. Respondents were asked to rate items on a six-point scale ranging from agree strongly to disagree strongly with the stem being “I see myself as someone who...” Reliability assessments for these scales yielded the following indications of internal consistency (Cronbach’s alpha): *Neuroticism* (.77), *Extraversion* (.76), *Openness to new experience* (.60), *Agreeableness* (.68), and *Conscientiousness* (.63). For a complete listing of scale items see the Appendix.

Household income was measured adding up responses to several questions asked by telephone of all respondents regarding earnings, dividend and interest, alimony, social welfare, and any other income that was received by them and every other person in their household during the previous year. With so many questions asked about income, there was a high rate of missing data for at least one question (31% overall). Respondents who were missing any part of this information were coded 1 on an indicator variable for *missing on income* that was included in the regression models so they would not be eliminated from the analysis, but their income scores would not be included in calculating the estimate for household income.

Whether respondents had an *intimate kin relationship* was measured with a self-administered item that asked respondents to respond yes (coded 1) or no (coded 0) to the question: “Is there a person in your family with whom you can really share your very private feelings and concerns?”

Measures to control for additional social demographics that might be expected to be related to psychological well-being included (a) a dichotomous measure that indicated whether the respondent was *employed* for pay (coded 1) or not (coded 0) at the time of the survey in 1992-93; (b) a dichotomous measure that indicated whether the respondent had at least one child age 18 or younger living with them; and (c) the amount of *education* (in years) the respondent completed as of 1992-93. Descriptives for all variables used in the analyses can be found in Table 1.

[Table 1 about here.]

RESULTS

Gender, Marital Status and Psychological Well-Being

Table 2 displays the results of analyses that evaluated OLS regression models that regressed the eight psychological well-being outcomes on the entire sample of men and women, examining evidence for effects of gender, marital status, and gender interaction effects. Models also controlled for whether respondents were employed, whether they had children under age 19 at home, and their years of education. Because this sample is a birth cohort sample almost all age 53-54 in 1992-93 and because it also is almost exclusively non-Hispanic white, age and race/ethnicity are also always held constant by design.

[Table 2 about here.]

Examining the results in Table 2 reveals that except in the case of hostility, gender interaction effects were in evidence for all of the outcomes. This result suggested that main effects for gender and marital status in these models needed to be interpreted carefully. The significant effects for

gender might only truly indicate significant differences in psychological well-being between married men and married women. Given this limited interpretation, though, there is evidence that at least among married men and women, women report more psychological distress, but also more environmental mastery, more self acceptance, more purpose in life, better personal relations with others, and more personal growth. Married men reported more autonomy than married women. Although it appeared important to evaluate separate models for men and women given the results of the combined-gender models, it was still evident from these analyses that several marital status differences were in evidence across outcomes. In every outcome there was at least one significant marital status main effect.

Gender, Marital Status, and Personality

Knowing that significant differences were in evidence between marital status groups, an examination of the variables chosen to evaluate selection effects was undertaken. In preliminary analyses (not shown), men and women were combined and OLS regression models regressing mental ability, neuroticism, extraversion, openness to new experience, agreeableness, and conscientiousness on gender, marital status, and Gender x Marital Status interaction effects were estimated. For each outcome there was at least one significant interaction effect. Therefore, it was deemed appropriate to estimate separate models for men and women. The results of these analyses are displayed in Table 3.

[Table 3 about here.]

The selection argument posed to explain why marrieds generally are found to do poorer on psychological well-being outcomes would predict that single men and women would look worse on selection of measures such as mental ability and personality. What do these results reveal?

In the case of women, overall, there was little evidence that women with less intelligence and more problematic personalities either don't get married or end up separated/divorced. In fact, separated/divorced and never married women were (a) significantly more intelligent, and (b) significantly more open to new experience than married women. Separated/divorced women were also significantly lower in neuroticism than married women. Never married women did score lower on extraversion than married women, and all single women rated lower on agreeableness. But the positive value of "agreeableness" might also be questioned--since it might be considered evidence of an undesirable degree of gullibility and lack of discrimination in social relations.

It is hard to come up with a good argument for why selection would be operating in the case of widows/widowers. The effects that show widows/widowers to be different in personality than marrieds--e.g., less extraversion for widowed men and women; less agreeableness among widowed women, and less conscientiousness among widowed women--if anything suggest, in fact, that even these putatively stable personality characteristics may have some situational volatility inherent in them as well. But, overall, the lack of significant differences for widowed respondents compared to married respondents and the evidence of more differences between separated/divorced/never-married respondents and married respondents conforms to what would be expected from characteristics that were generally stable across time.

On the other hand, single men do not have such favorable personality profiles in comparison to married men. Separated/divorced men were found to be significantly less intelligent, more neurotic, less extraverted, and less conscientious than married men. Never married men exhibited more neurotic and less extraverted traits than married men.

Significant Gender x Marital Status interaction effects found in the combined-gender models were confirmed in the case of (a) mental ability for separated/divorced respondents, (b) neuroticism for the never married, (c) extraversion for the separated/divorced, (d) openness for the

separated/divorced, (e) agreeableness for the never married, and (f) conscientiousness for the widowed. In the case of mental ability, neuroticism, extraversion, and openness, all of the effects favored single women.

*Marital Status Differences in Household Income and
Having an Intimate Kin Relationship*

Since it was hypothesized that differences in household income and also having the social support obtained through an intimate relation might be social causation factors that would help to explain marital status differences in well-being, a sequence of analyses designed to satisfy the requirements of mediator variables (cf. Baron and Kenny, 1986) were carried out. First, household income and having an intimate kin relationship were each regressed on marital status, gender, and Gender x Marital Status interaction effects to see if there were significant associations between them and marital status.

[Table 4 about here.]

The results of these analyses displayed in Table 4 indicate that, indeed, significant differences by marital status were found for each of these outcomes. In the case of household income, there was evidence of an interaction effect for widowhood--with widowed men significantly advantaged in comparison to widowed women. Separated/divorced men and women as well as never married men and women reported significantly less household income in comparison to married men and women. The largest negative effect was in evidence for the never married--a decrement of over \$53,000 in contrast to the married.

No gender interaction effects were in evidence in the case of reporting having someone in one's family with whom one could discuss one's own most private feelings and thoughts. Women were about 40% more likely than men to report having such a relationship. All singles were less

likely to report such a relationship; never married singles were only a quarter as likely as married persons to report this quality of family relationship.

Marital Status Differences in Well-Being Across Women and Men

Table 5 describes the results of three models estimated for men and women across the eight psychological well-being outcomes. The first model evaluates marital status differences net of also employment status, having a young child in residence, and education. If single life were uniformly problematic for mental health, negative effects for all three nonmarried groups across all of the outcomes would be expected. What, in fact, was found?

[Table 5 about here.]

Separated/divorced and widowed women, and all single men were indeed, significantly more distressed than their married counterparts. However, contrary to the hypothesis of worse mental health among singles, midlife never married women were *not* significantly different from married women on ratings of psychological distress. In the case of hostility/irritability, widowed women, never married women (marginally), and separated/divorced men evidence more of this negative characteristic; however, separated/divorced women, widowed men, and never married men are no different again than marrieds.

In terms of positive well-being outcomes, all groups of single women did more poorly than their married counterparts in terms of self-acceptance, environmental mastery, and purpose in life. Separated/divorced women were no different than married women in their ratings of positive relations, however other single women reported poorer positive relations than married women. Separated/divorced and never married men exhibited uniformly less self-acceptance, environmental mastery, positive relations with others, and purpose in life. The small minority of widowed men were no different in this sample than married men on any of the outcomes of positive well-being.

A somewhat different pattern emerged in the case of autonomy and personal growth, however. In the case of autonomy--a characteristic that is considered an important criteria of adult development (Erikson, 1950)--there is evidence that separated/divorced women and men actually score *more favorably* than their married peers. This squares with some of the qualitative reports of the benefits of singleness reported also by the women Anderson and Stewart (1994) and Gordon (1994) interviewed.

Similarly, divorced/separated women reported significantly more *personal growth* than their married counterparts. Unfortunately, widowed women and never married women and men were again significantly disadvantaged in comparison to the married on this outcome.

Evidence for the Selection Hypothesis

Model 2 on Table 5 shows the results of adding the selection variables to the regression models. In every case it was evident that overall, enduring personality characteristics had a significant impact on psychological well-being. But it was also evident that these characteristics were mostly independently associated with psychological well-being and that the covariance between personality and marital status did *not* explain the bulk of marital status effects. In fact, in the case of separated/divorced women, since there were positive selection effects into singleness, there was evidence that better personality profiles helped *suppress* negative effects of singleness in the case of psychological distress, self-acceptance and purpose in life. For never married women and men, personality did help explain some, but, again, not all, of the negative effects of marital status.

Positive selection for personality qualities, especially openness to new experience which is relatively highly correlated with personal growth as a measure (see Schmutte and Ryff, 1994, for a discussion of the issues of the association between personality and psychological well-being), seems

to account for the positive advantage that separated/divorced women had previously on this outcome.

Evidence for the Social Causation Hypothesis

Finally, a third model was estimated that also included household income and the availability of an intimate kin relationship to examine the relative importance of these factors in explaining marital status effects. Income was a significant predictor in the expected positive direction in the case of five of the eight psychological outcomes for women, but only three out of eight cases for men. The social support of an intimate kin relationship, however, was a very strong significant positive predictor of well-being in *every case* for women and in all but the interesting case of autonomy for men.

Together, these two factors explained a sizable proportion of several of the negative marital status effects, although still not all of them.

CONCLUSIONS

These results suggest that overall, singles at midlife in the early 1990s continued to fare more poorly on a wide array of measures of psychological well-being than marrieds. However, contrary to the traditional story told on this issue, in many cases there were no differences in psychological well-being between marrieds and singles. Also, both separated/divorced and never married men and women scored higher than their married peers on autonomy. Separated/divorced women also indicated higher levels of personal growth.

Separated/divorced men and never married men appeared to be doing somewhat more poorly than their women counterparts. Widowed women, however, in a few cases were found to be doing somewhat more poorly than widowed men (a very small group at midlife).

Contrary to the negative selection hypothesis, single women were generally found to be advantaged in mental ability and personality in comparison to married women. Therefore, selection

factors were not accounting very largely for negative effects in the case of women. The negative selection hypothesis fit better in the case of men. Still, controlling for mental ability and personality did not eliminate the bulk of negative effects of nonmarried status for men.

Household income and the likelihood of having a kin confidant were both positively associated with being married. These factors accounted for some of the remaining marital status effects, but by no means all of the negative effects evident for singles in contrast to marrieds.

Thus, flying solo does not appear to be monolithically negative for women at midlife, however, it does not yet appear to be a benign social status either. Flying solo at midlife for men appears to be even somewhat more problematic than for women. We may have come some way toward the social acceptance of single life during the last few decades, but for this cohort of men and women still socialized during an era of traditionally gendered roles and family values, and living in a culture still generally considering marriage the norm for adult living, there still appears to be a fair degree of mental health “risk” associated with going it alone.

It remains to be established from additional comparative analyses of different birth cohorts of adults whether this analysis represents only the story of one of the last relatively traditional birth cohorts, or whether this psychological well-being profile by marital status will be repeated for the larger proportion of single midlife men and women expected to come from the baby boom cohorts now reaching their late 40s and early 50s. The generalizability of these results to race/ethnic minority groups will also require further analysis. Nonetheless, given the prospect of more single midlifers and golden-agers on the national horizon, doing what is possible to help equalize income and social support across disadvantaged demographic groups (including singles) in the population are obvious societal steps that can be taken to reduce the likelihood of an increase in future mental health morbidity and to help more solos fly high.

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TABLE 1. DESCRIPTIVES FOR ANALYSIS VARIABLES

	Total Sample	Women	Men
	Mean (s.d.)	Mean (s.d.)	Mean (s.d.)
	N=6,877	N=3,684	N=3,193
Female	.54		
Depression	19.75 (14.52)	20.64 (15.57)	18.38 (13.13)
Hostility	1.77 (2.66)	1.79 (2.72)	1.75 (2.59)
Self-acceptance	33.22 (5.97)	33.30 (6.18)	33.14 (5.72)
Environmental mastery	33.90 (5.06)	34.05 (5.19)	33.72 (4.90)
Positive relations with others	34.18 (5.46)	35.28 (5.22)	32.91 (5.72)
Purpose in life	34.04 (5.65)	34.14 (5.88)	33.93 (5.38)
Autonomy	31.57 (5.39)	31.12 (5.72)	32.08 (4.94)
Personal Growth	33.27 (5.53)	33.80 (5.58)	32.65 (5.41)
Married	.83	.81	.86
Separated/divorced	.11	.11	.09
Widowed	.02	.04	.01
Never married	.04	.04	.04

TABLE 1 (continued)

Neuroticism	16.05 (4.83)	16.58 (4.89)	15.44 (4.67)
Extraversion	22.99 (5.24)	23.24 (5.31)	22.71 (5.14)
Openness to new experience	21.87 (4.68)	21.90 (4.80)	21.83 (4.54)
Agreeableness	28.48 (4.34)	29.26 (4.16)	27.59 (4.38)
Conscientiousness	29.19 (4.03)	29.19 (4.04)	29.19 (4.03)
Employed	.87	.81	.94
Child \leq 18 in household	.15	.11	.20
Years of education	13.69 (2.29)	13.35 (2.01)	14.07 (2.52)
Household income (in thousands)	83.28 (193.74)	67.76 (69.42)	96.66 (255.68)
Missing on income data	.31	.41	.21
Has intimate kin relationship	.86	.88	.83

Source: Wisconsin Longitudinal Study, 1992-93.

Note: Means for categorical variables are proportions.

**TABLE 2. UNSTANDARDIZED OLS REGRESSION ESTIMATES OF
THE EFFECTS OF GENDER AND MARITAL STATUS ON
PSYCHOLOGICAL WELL-BEING**

<u>PREDICTORS</u>	<u>OUTCOMES</u>							
	<u>Psych Distress</u>	<u>Hostility</u>	<u>Envir Mastery</u>	<u>Self Accept</u>	<u>Purpose in Life</u>	<u>Autonomy</u>	<u>Personal Relations</u>	<u>Personal Growth</u>
Female	1.52***	-.02	.42**	.41*	.71***	-1.00***	2.34***	1.45***
Married (omitted)								
Separated/divorced	5.37***	.40*	-1.08***	-2.26***	-1.39***	.73*	-1.37***	-.20
Widowed	8.51*	.03	.26	-.29	-.28	-.25	-.71	.70
Never married	5.06***	.09	-1.50***	-3.13***	-2.62***	-.05	-1.90***	-2.71***
Fem X Separated/divorced	-1.64	-.24	.50	.58	.33	.84+	1.29**	1.10**
Fem X Widowed	3.67	.73	-2.16+	-1.89	-2.32+	.36	-.47	-1.58
Fem X Never married	-3.61*	.25	1.43*	.52	.42	-.35	1.07	
Employed	-1.35**	-.07	-.07	.74***	1.25***	-.21	.04	.66***
Child ≤ age 18 in home	.87+	.19*	-.87***	-.79***	-.57**	-.27	-.27	-.60***
Education (yrs)	-.41***	-.03*	.16***	.27***	.40***	.24***	.06*	.54***
Constant	24.38***	2.13***	31.94***	29.11***	27.55***	28.91***	32.25***	24.74***
Adjusted R ²	.03	.002	.01	.03	.04	.02	.06	.07

Source: Wisconsin Longitudinal Study 1992-93, mailback respondents.

NOTE: Sample respondents are almost all age 53-54 and non-Hispanic white.

+ $p \leq .10$ * $p \leq .05$ ** $p \leq .01$ *** $p \leq .001$ (two-tailed test)

TABLE 3. UNSTANDARDIZED OLS REGRESSION ESTIMATES OF THE ASSOCIATION BETWEEN MARITAL STATUS AND RELATIVELY ENDURING PERSONALITY CHARACTERISTICS

<u>PREDICTORS</u>	<u>OUTCOMES</u>					
	<u>Mental Ability</u>	<u>Neuroticism</u>	<u>Extra-version</u>	<u>Open-ness</u>	<u>Agree-ability</u>	<u>Conscien-tiousness</u>
<u>WOMEN</u>						
Married (omitted)	--	--	--	--	--	--
Separated/divorced	5.98*** ^a	-1.12*** ^a	.39 ^a	1.95*** ^a	-.61**	.11
Widowed	.47	-.60	-.90*	-.04	-.87*	-.94*** ^a
Never married	4.20 ⁺	-.55 ^a	-2.09***	.94* ^a	-1.38*** ^c	-.06
Constant	52.46*** ^b	16.75*** ^b	23.31*** ^b	21.64***	29.42***	29.21***
Adj. R ²	.01	.01	.01	.02	.01	.001
<u>MEN</u>						
Married (omitted)	--	--	--	--	--	--
Separated/divorced	-3.38* ^a	.38 ^a	-.74* ^a	.81*** ^a	-.25	-.55*
Widowed	-4.22	.51	-2.59*	1.00	-1.05	-.12 ^a
Never married	.09	1.37*** ^a	-2.75***	-.16 ^a	-.42 ^c	-.37
Constant	54.17*** ^b	15.34*** ^b	22.91*** ^b	21.76***	27.64*** ^a	29.26***
Adjusted R ²	.001	.003	.01	.002	.00001	.001

Source: Wisconsin Longitudinal Study 1992-93, mailback respondents.

Note: Sample respondents are almost all age 53-54 and non-Hispanic white.

^a Significant gender interaction effect ($p < .05$) was revealed in model where men and women were combined.

^b Significant gender difference for married respondents ($p < .05$) was revealed in model where men and women were combined.

^c Marginally significant gender interaction effect ($p < .07$) was revealed in model where men and women were combined.

+ $p \leq .10$ * $p \leq .05$ ** $p \leq .01$ *** $p \leq .001$ (two-tailed test)

TABLE 4. UNSTANDARDIZED OLS REGRESSION ESTIMATES OF THE ASSOCIATION BETWEEN MARITAL STATUS AND HOUSEHOLD INCOME; ODDS RATIOS OF THE ASSOCIATION BETWEEN MARITAL STATUS AND HAVING AN INTIMATE KIN RELATIONSHIP

	OUTCOME	
	<u>Household Income</u>	<u>Has Intimate Kin Relationship</u>
	b	Odds ratio
Female	- 18.80**	1.39***
Separated/divorced	- 36.38**	.42***
Widowed	119.84**	.30***
Never married	- 53.31**	.23***
Female*separated/divorced	- 5.17	1.17
Female*widowed	-147.70**	1.12
Female*never married	11.08	1.55
Employed	5.86	1.00
Child ≤ 18 in household	- 10.61	.96
Years of education	9.42***	1.00
Constant	- 35.06+	
Adjusted R ²	.02	
-2 Log likelihood		5254.68
df		6590

Source: Wisconsin Longitudinal Study, 1992-93, mailback respondents.

+ $p \leq .10$ * $p \leq .05$ ** $p \leq .01$ *** $p \leq .001$ (two-tailed test)

TABLE 5. UNSTANDARDIZED OLS REGRESSION ESTIMATES OF THE EFFECTS OF MARITAL STATUS AND PERSONALITY ON PSYCHOLOGICAL DYSFUNCTION AND WELL-BEING OUTCOMES

PREDICTORS	Psychological Distress			Hostility/Irritability			Self-acceptance			Environmental Mastery		
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3 ^a	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3 ^a	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3 ^a	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
WOMEN												
Married (omitted)	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Separated/divorced	3.75***	4.54***	3.47***	.17	.19	.07	-1.69***	-1.99***	-1.56***	-.52+	-.70**	-.44*
Widowed	12.25***	11.20***	9.88***	.79***	.69**	.54*	-2.18***	-1.56***	-1.05*	-1.83***	-1.20***	-.87*
Never married	2.07	.15	-1.02	.42+	.22	.09	-1.88***	-.78+	-.28	-1.54***	-.80*	-.49
Mental ability		-.04***	-.04***		-.00**	-.00**		.00	.00		.00	.00
Neuroticism		.92***	.92***		.13***	.13***		-.31***	-.28***		-.25***	-.25***
Extraversion		-.38***	-.34***		-.00	-.00		.23***	.21***		.14***	.13***
Openness		-.01	.00		.01	.02		.11***	.10***		.05***	.04***
Agreeableness		-.33***	-.29***		-.13***	-.12***		.23***	.22***		.15***	.14***
Conscientiousness		-.39***	-.34***		-.02+	-.02		.25***	.24***		.42***	.41***
Employed	-.66	.15	-.09	.04	.13	.10	.58*	.25	.35	-.28	-.64***	-.59***
Child ≤ 18 yrs home	1.76*	1.32+	1.33+	.55***	.55***	.55***	-.52	-.26	-.27	-1.15***	-.82***	-.82***
Education (yrs)	-.78***	-.16	-.15	-.06**	-.01	-.01	.42***	.17***	.16**	.20***	.03	.02
Household income			-.01**			-.00+			.01***			.00*
Has intimate kin			-7.75***			-.83***			2.93***			1.91***
Constant	30.18***	38.33***	43.03***	2.40***	3.84***	4.37***	27.72***	14.66***	16.96***	31.93***	17.60***	16.39***
Adjusted R ²	.04	.24	.26	.01	.14	.15	.03	.31	.34	.02	.36	.38
MEN												
Married (omitted)	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Separated/divorced	5.12***	4.03***	3.40***	.37*	.25	.17	-2.25***	-1.85***	-1.54***	-1.01***	-.53*	-.36
Widowed	8.44**	6.03*	5.52+	.01	-.19	-.26	-.29	.57	.85	.29	1.03	1.16
Never married	4.79***	2.19*	.98	.01	-.22	-.37	-3.10***	-1.69***	-1.09*	-1.39**	-.34	-.04
Mental ability		-.02+	-.02*		-.00	-.00		.00	.00		.00	.00
Neuroticism		.99***	.98***		.14***	.14***		-.36***	-.36***		-.26***	-.26***
Extraversion		-.30***	-.26***		.01	.01		.25***	.23***		.18**	.16**
Openness		-.07	-.07		-.01	-.01		.08***	.08***		.01	-.01
Agreeableness		-.19***	-.17***		-.12***	-.12***		.06***	.05***		.06***	.06***
Conscientiousness		-.27***	-.25***		-.01	-.01		.25***	.24***		.43***	.43***
Employed	-3.00**	-2.39**	-2.18**	-.39*	-.31+	-.28	1.24**	.92**	.80*	.49	.24	.16
Child ≤ 18 yrs home	.28	.04	-.00	-.04	-.05	-.05	-1.02***	-.80***	-.79***	-.72**	-.49**	-.48**
Education (yrs)	-.14	.09	.11	-.01	.02	.02	.18***	.05	.04	.12***	.07*	.06+
Household income			-.00			-.00*			.00*			.00**
Has intimate kin			-4.40***			-.54***			2.26***			1.20***
Constant	22.37***	22.91***	24.48***	2.17***	3.65***	5.04***	30.08***	21.11***	20.34***	31.83***	18.46***	18.13*
R ²	.02	.22	.23	.00	.15	.16	.03	.31	.33	.01	.35	.36

+ p ≤ .10 * p ≤ .05 ** p ≤ .01 *** p ≤ .001 (two-tailed test)

^a Model also included a indicator variable for those missing on income.

**TABLE 5. UNSTANDARDIZED OLS REGRESSION ESTIMATES OF
THE EFFECTS OF MARITAL STATUS AND PERSONALITY ON
PSYCHOLOGICAL DYSFUNCTION AND WELL-BEING OUTCOMES (continued)**

<u>PREDICTORS</u>	<u>Positive Relations With Others</u>			<u>Purpose in Life</u>			<u>Autonomy</u>			<u>Personal Growth</u>		
	<u>Model 1</u>	<u>Model 2</u>	<u>Model 3^a</u>	<u>Model 1</u>	<u>Model 2</u>	<u>Model 3^a</u>	<u>Model 1</u>	<u>Model 2</u>	<u>Model 3^a</u>	<u>Model 1</u>	<u>Model 2</u>	<u>Model 3</u>
<u>WOMEN</u>												
Married (omitted)	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Separated/divorced	-.17	-.10	.23	-1.01***	-1.32***	-.95***	1.53***	.78**	.80***	.83**	.17	.33
Widowed	-1.14*	-.34	.11	-2.62***	-1.91***	-1.52***	.16	.56	.63	-.95*	-.44	-.27
Never married	-2.43***	-1.08**	-.68+	-2.33***	-1.31**	-.93*	.16	.91*	.96*	-1.89***	-1.01**	-.85*
Mental ability		-.01**	-.01**		.00	.00		.01***	.01***		.01***	.01***
Neuroticism		-.14***	-.10***		-.17***	-.16***		-.25***	-.25***		-.17***	-.17***
Extraversion		.31***	.29***		.17***	.16***		.18***	.18***		.13***	.13***
Openness		.08***	.08***		.22***	.22***		.30***	.30***		.43***	.43***
Agreeableness		.36***	.35***		.21***	.20***		-.06**	.06*		.14***	.14***
Conscientiousness		.15***	.14***		.35***	.34***		.26***	.26***		.17***	.17***
Employed	-.29	-.49**	-.40*	1.05***	.71***	.80***	-.06	-.42*	-.40+	.54*	.28***	.32***
Child ≤ 18 yrs home	-.27	-.14	-.14	-.66*	-.31	-.31	-.33	.05	.05	-.65*	-.34***	-.34
Education (yrs)	.19***	.08+	.08*	.52***	.20***	.19***	.36***	-.12**	-.11*	.73***	.19***	.18***
Household income			.00			.01***			-.00			.00+
Has intimate kin			2.76***			1.99***			.67**			.75***
Constant	33.21***	13.07***	11.30***	26.79***	8.74***	7.44***	26.25***	19.57***	19.17***	23.70***	11.52***	11.02***
Adjusted R ²	.01	.35	.38	.05	.33	.35	.02	.30	.30	.08	.39	.39
<u>MEN</u>												
Married (omitted)	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Separated/divorced	-1.34***	-1.00***	-.66*	-1.34***	-1.00***	-.82***	.72*	.95***	.96***	-.16	-.28	-.20
Widowed	-.69	.54	1.05	-.28	.33	.53	-.30	-.08	.02	.68	.79	.91
Never married	-1.73***	-.39	.21	-2.52***	-1.31***	-.97*	-.12	.91*	.95*	-2.63***	-1.53***	-1.39***
Mental ability		-.01**	-.01**		.00	.00		.02***	.02***		.01+	.01*
Neuroticism		-.16***	-.15***		-.19***	-.19***		-.28***	-.26***		-.13***	-.13***
Extraversion		.32***	.30***		.20***	.19***		.17***	.16***		.15***	.15***
Openness		.09***	.09***		.19***	.29***		.17***	.15***		.47***	.47***
Agreeableness		.41***	.40***		.15***	.14***		-.09**	-.09***		.18***	.18***
Conscientiousness		.11***	.10***		.37***	.37***		.22***	.22***		.17***	.17***
Employed	.99*	.62+	.48	1.67***	1.39***	1.31***	-.76*	-1.02**	-1.03**	.84*	.55+	.52+
Child ≤ 18 yrs home	-.32	-.08	-.07	-.55*	-.24	-.23	-.23	-.04	-.04	-.54*	-.25	-.25
Education (yrs)	-.03	-.05	-.06+	.31***	.16***	.15***	.15***	-.10**	-.10**	.40***	.09**	.09**
Household income			-.00			.00			-.00			-.00
Has intimate kin			2.64***			1.36***			.18			.62**
Constant	32.74***	12.24***	11.35***	28.39***	9.82***	9.41***	30.61***	26.22***	26.10***	26.54***	8.95***	8.75***
R ²	.01	.38	.41	.04	.36	.37	.01	.22	.22	.04	.39	.39

+ p ≤ .10 * p ≤ .05 ** p ≤ .01 *** p ≤ .001 (two-tailed test)

^a Model also included a indicator variable for those missing on income.

APPENDIX

I. RYFF PSYCHOLOGICAL WELL-BEING SCALES

Rated: Strongly agree--Strongly disagree (6 point scale)

Autonomy

My decisions are not usually influenced by what everyone else is doing.
I have confidence in my opinions even if they are contrary to the general consensus.
I tend to worry about what other people think of me.*
I often change my mind about decisions if my friends or family disagree.*
I am not afraid to voice my opinions, even when they are in opposition to the opinions of most people.
Being happy with myself is more important to me than having others approve of me.
It's difficult for me to voice my opinions on controversial matters.*

Positive Relations with Others

I don't have many people who want to listen when I need to talk.*
I enjoy personal and mutual conversations with family members and friends.
I often feel lonely because I have few close friends with whom to share my concerns.*
It seems to me that most other people have more friends than I do.*
People would describe me as a giving person, willing to share my time with others.
Most people see me as loving and affectionate.
I know I can trust my friends, and they know they can trust me.

Purpose in Life

I enjoy making plans for the future and working to make them a reality.
My daily activities often seem trivial and unimportant to me.*
I am an active person in carrying out the plans I set for myself.
I tend to focus on the present, because the future nearly always brings me problems.*
I don't have a good sense of what it is I am trying to accomplish in life.*
I sometimes feel as if I've done all there is to do in life.*
I used to set goals for myself, but that now seems like a waste of time.*

Self-Acceptance

I feel like many of the people I know have gotten more out of life than I have.*
In general, I feel confident and positive about myself.
When I compare myself to friends and acquaintances, it makes me feel good about who I am.
My attitude about myself is probably not as positive as most people feel about themselves.*
I made some mistakes in the past, but I feel that all in all everything has worked out for the best.
The past had its ups and downs, but in general, I wouldn't want to change it.
In many ways, I feel disappointed about my achievements in life.*

Environmental Mastery

I am good at juggling my time so that I can fit everything in that needs to get done.
I often feel overwhelmed by my responsibilities.*
I am quite good at managing the many responsibilities of my daily life.
I do not fit very well with the people and community around me.*
I have difficulty arranging my life in a way that is satisfying to me.*
I have been able to create a lifestyle for myself that is much to my liking.
I generally do a good job of taking care of my personal finances and affairs.

APPENDIX (continued)

Personal Growth

I am not interested in activities that will expand my horizons.*

I have the sense that I have developed a lot as a person over time.

When I think about it, I haven't really improved much as a person over the years.*

I think it is important to have new experiences that challenge how I think about myself and the world.

I don't want to try new ways of doing things--my life is fine the way it is.*

I do not enjoy being in new situations that require me to change my old familiar way of doing things.*

There is truth to the saying you can't teach an old dog new tricks.*

II. CENTER FOR EPIDEMIOLOGICAL STUDIES DEPRESSION SCALE (CES-D)

On how many days during the past week did you....

Feel you could not shake of the blues even with help from your family and friends?

Feel bothered by things that usually don't bother you?

Think your life had been a failure?

Feel happy?*

Feel that people were unfriendly?

Feel lonely?

Enjoy life?*

Have crying spells?

Feel that people disliked you?

Feel sad?

Feel depressed?

Have trouble keeping your mind on what you were doing?

Not feel like eating, your appetite was poor?

Feel you were just as good as other people?*

Feel everything you did was an effort?

Feel hopeful about the future?

Feel fearful?

Sleep restlessly?

Talk less than usual?

Feel you could not "get going"?

III. HOSTILITY INDEX

On how many days in the last week did you...

feel irritable, or likely to fight or argue?

feel like telling someone off?

feel angry or hostile for several hours at a time?

III. JOHN BIG 5 PERSONALITY FACTOR SCALES

Rated: Strongly agree--Strongly disagree (6 point scale)

Decide the extent to which each statement describes you. I see myself as someone who...

Neuroticism

can be tense.

is emotionally stable, not easily upset. *

worries a lot.

remains calm in tense situations. *

gets nervous easily.

APPENDIX (continued)

Extraversion

is talkative.
is reserved. *
is full of energy.
tends to be quiet. *
is sometimes shy, inhibited. *
generates a lot of enthusiasm.

Openness to New Experience

prefers the conventional, traditional. *
prefers work that is routine and simple. *
values artistic, aesthetic experiences.
has an active imagination.
wants things to be simple and clear-cut. *
is sophisticated in art, music, or literature.

Agreeableness

tends to find fault with others. *
is sometimes rude to others. *
is generally trusting.
can be cold and aloof. *
is considerate to almost everyone.
likes to cooperate with others.

Conscientiousness

does a thorough job.
is a reliable worker.
tends to be disorganized.
is lazy at times. *
does things efficiently.
is easily distracted.

* Item reverse-coded.

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