FACTORS IN LIFESTYLE OF COUPLES MARRIED FIFTY YEARS OR MORE

IN TUCSON, ARIZONA

by

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STATEMENT BY AUTHOR

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The challenge and excitement of this research project was doubled for me by the participation of my husband, Bill, as co-researcher.

Bill (William L. Roberts), MSW, ACSW, is presently Director of the Family Practice Center at the University of Arizona College of Medicine. His years of experience in working with people has given him a sensitivity and insight which proved invaluable in our interviewing. I feel that our 26-year marriage has been enriched by the experiences we shared in this study.

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sincerity. Without them, this project would have been impossible. Although these couples are living out their later years in various degrees of adjustment and happiness in both their marital relationship and their individual morale, I feel privileged to affirm what I have seen as "successful aging." I feel that growing old can indeed be beautiful, especially with a partner at one's side.

"Grow old along with me!
The best is yet to be,
The last of life,
For which the first was made . . . ."

Robert Browning "Grow Old Along With Me"
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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LIST OF TABLES</td>
<td>vii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABSTRACT</td>
<td>ix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTRODUCTION</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBJECTIVE</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>METHOD OF PROCEDURE</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sample Selection and Interviewing</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Interview Process</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Analysis of Data</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FINDINGS</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Characteristics of the Sample</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Race</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Characteristics of the Marriage</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of Birth</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tucson: A Place to Live</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housing</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Income</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupation--Present or Past</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retirement</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children and Other Relatives</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attitudes on Death and Dying</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transportation</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Politics</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Activities</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summary of the Study Sample</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TABLE OF CONTENTS--Continued</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Findings on Three Measures</strong></td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-Perception of Marital Happiness</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locke-Wallace Marital Adjustment Test (Short Form)</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Life-Satisfaction Index-Z Scale (Morale)</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Examination of Hypotheses</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RECOMMENDATIONS</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONCLUSION</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX A: REQUEST FOR SUBJECTS</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX B: WHAT MAKES &quot;OLD&quot; MARRIAGES TICK?</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX C: FOLLOW-UP &quot;THANK YOU&quot;</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX D: LIFE-SATISFACTION INDEX-Z</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX E: LOCKE-WALLACE MARITAL ADJUSTMENT TEST (SHORT FORM)</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## LIST OF TABLES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Age of Subjects</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Race of Subjects</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Length of Couple's Marriages</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Origin of Subjects</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Types of Housing</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Education by Sex</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Annual Income of Couples</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Income Sources of the Study Sample</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Past or Present Occupation</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Family Composition of Study Sample</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Geographical Closeness of Couples to Children in Tucson</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Religious Preference of the Study Sample</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Registration by Party Affiliation</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Number of Subjects Involved in Named Activities</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Husband-Wife Consensus on Decision-Making</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Locke-Wallace Marital Adjustment Test</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Similarity and Dissimilarity in Marital Adjustment Scores of Couples</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Life-Satisfaction Index-Z</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Marital Adjustment by Income</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table</td>
<td>Title</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Life-Satisfaction by Sex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Perception of Marital Happiness and Marital Adjustment by Sex</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ABSTRACT

This research describes the factors in lifestyles of 50 couples married more than 50 years and living in Tucson, Arizona. The focus on older married couples is related to the developmental life cycle theory. A structured interview with the subjects in their homes included: the Locke-Wallace Marital Adjustment Test; the Life-Satisfaction Index-Z Scale; demographic data; attitudes about sex, death and retirement.

The subjects ranged in age from 71 to 89 and had been married an average of 55.48 years. The husbands' and wives' mean ages were 80.40 and 77.94 years, respectively. They were a heterogeneous group in respect to their race, religion, birthplace, education, income, occupation and attitudes.

Findings in this non-random sample included a high correlation between the sexes on the scores of the Marital Adjustment Test, a significant difference in the morale scores by sex, a significant difference in the Marital Adjustment Test according to income, and a highly significant distribution of scores between the perception of happiness and the Marital Adjustment Test for both sexes.
INTRODUCTION

In recent years, there has been an increased focus on older people as the population of persons over 65 in the United States continues to grow in both numbers and proportion. In 1973, there were 21,300,000 million people over 65 (Social Security Bulletin 1973). That figure was more than double the older population in 1940. By the year 2005, when the World War II "baby boom" begins reaching retirement age, it has been projected that there would be almost 40 million people above the age of 65 (Brotman 1968). Revised estimates of the United States Bureau of Census for 1970 (in Birren, Woodruff and Bergman 1972, p. 50) which

. . . take into account a decreasing birth rate now indicate that persons 65 years of age and older may constitute 16 percent of the total population in the next century, based on zero population growth. This change in proportion would occur even in the absence of changes in life expectancy at birth, which in 1965 was 70.2 years for the total population.

The impact of these figures dramatizes the need to recognize the existence and problems of our older people. This growing number of older persons is a new phenomenon in our society.

Unfortunately there are many myths about ageism which stereotype and discriminate against older people in the United States just because they are old. There is a negativism which tends to equate "old" with senility or unproductiveness or being old-fashioned. These uncomplementary attributes tend to alienate younger people. They promote a
feeling of difference between the age groups and this leaves out the human elements with which all people can identify. Each person, as he grows, goes through a developmental process which is unique to him in his family setting. There are certain developmental tasks which each person must perform before he goes on to the next stage which are universal to mankind. The "cycle of life" theory attempts to define and give perspective to the many kinds of changes which affect all people as they move through birth, childhood, adolescence, adulthood, middle age, later maturity and old age to death. As a frame of reference the developmental life cycle theory is a way of taking a long look at family life.

The developmental theory is a multi-disciplinary approach which considers the social, biological, psychological and behavioral changes in man. While different schema are used for defining the developmental life-cycle, it must be recognized that, in reality, life is a continuous flow from one stage to another. Erik Erikson (in Duvall 1971), developmental psychologist, has identified eight stages of life as critical in human psychosocial development.

In the stage of senescence, Erikson (in Duvall 1971, p. 135) believes that

... the person who has achieved a satisfying intimacy with other human beings and who has adapted to the triumphs and disappointments of his generative activities as parent and co-worker reaches the end of life with a certain ego-integrity --an acceptance of his own responsibility for what his life is and was and of its place in the flow of history. Without this " accrued ego integration" there is despair, usually marked by a display of displeasure and disgust.
The satisfactions which come in the later stages of life are typified by the need to accept one's life as inevitable, appropriate and meaningful.

Duvall (1971, pp. 450-451) discusses the developmental tasks of the aging husband through the later years as being primarily two-fold: "... (1) finding life meaningful after he retires, and (2) adjusting to decreasing physical health and strength. All other developmental tasks tend to stem from this primary pair."

Duvall (1971, pp. 450-451) believes... the married woman faces certain developmental tasks in common with her aging husband and others that are more peculiarly hers as wife. She has already adjusted to being stripped of her main lifework in her middle years as she released her grown children. She personally is affected by her husband's retirement, and she vicariously carries her husband's struggles to work out his retirement problems, but the task remains primarily his. She, too, faces the challenges of adjusting to decreasing physical attractiveness, strength, and health. She, too, must continue to find life meaningful, and to feel that she belongs to others in satisfying ways. She faces the task of meeting the loss of her spouse more often than does her husband, because statistically wives tend to outlive their husbands by several years.

There has been limited research on older people who have remained married to one spouse over the longest part of their life-spans. Social scientists have studied families through the stage of middle age when children have been launched from the home, but they have generally neglected the older couple in their later years. There will likely be greater interest in the future as the potential life-span of the parents could last two generations instead of the former one. Married couples have a longer time together after their children have been raised than ever before in history. This factor presents a difficulty which may be...
encountered in terms of the expectations society has required of mar­riages in the past, that of "staying together 'til death us do part."

The prevalence of divorce in our society today is disturbing to many people. Statistics of failures in marriage are more readily available to the public than statistics of marriages which are succeeding. In the forecast of the American family life-cycle of the future Parke and Glick (in Duvall 1971, p. 124) predicted that more married couples will survive jointly to retirement and beyond. They believe that as economic conditions improve, further declines in divorce and separation may be expected.

Even though that prediction may prove to be false, there is a need to understand more about the durable marital relationship that continues past the middle years into later maturity and old age. Studies on second marriages and retirement marriages have contributed information about relationships during the later stages of the life-cycle. What about those couples who have been married for half a century or more? What do we know about them?

Mace and Mace (1974, p. 56), authorities on marriage and family life, have said that there are many successful and happy companionship-type marriages today and yet, these marriages get no publicity. Perhaps this opportunity to study marriages which have lasted over 50 years will bring to light some happily married couples who have built up patterns of mutual encouragement and appreciation over the years. The long-range view of marriage may be useful as a tool to educate people about the potential for greater life-satisfaction through maintaining a long-term
relationship providing that relationship is a loving and growing one. It is possible also that the study will reveal dissatisfactions with the monogamous relationship over long periods of time, especially in a rapidly changing society. Marriage, like other human institutions, is fallible.
OBJECTIVE

The purpose of this study was to investigate and to describe factors in the lifestyle of couples living in Tucson, Arizona, who had been married 50 years or longer.

There were two reasons for the choice of this subject material for a research project. First, there has been relatively little research on marriages which have lasted for so many years. Therefore, knowledge about marital relationships in the later stages of life was incomplete. Second, relevant questions were being asked in our society about the apparent lack of capacity for marriages to endure. Lay and professional people alike wonder what it takes to sustain a marriage over a period of time. What are the characteristics of a lasting marriage? How do people make a marriage last? Just because a marriage lasts, does that imply a happy or healthy relationship? Who are the people who have succeeded in staying married long enough to celebrate their golden anniversaries? Do they have anything to teach us? These questions, among others, motivated the investigator to review the literature in family sociology and social gerontology to prepare for the challenge of this pilot project.

Society usually assesses marriages by two norms—those of stability and happiness. There was little question that the 50-year marriages in this study would qualify as stable marriages since stability
implies constancy, endurance and durability. The opposite of stability in marriage would be the separation of a married couple or the legal statistics of a divorce.

The happiness norm was more difficult if not impossible to define. It was an extremely personal and subjective phenomenon. In the literature the term "happiness" was often used interchangeably with marital "success" or marital "adjustment." The problem in defining "happiness" involved the value judgments which different people with different values had. Therefore, success in marriage could mean many things to different people. Because of the difficulty in defining "happiness" in objective terms, it became useful to look at the self-perceptions of persons concerning their own estimate of happiness in marriage.

In Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary (1973, p. 664), lifestyle is defined as an "individual's typical way of life." As an individual grows older, he may gradually withdraw or disinvolve himself from his various positions and roles. This process has been labeled "disengagement" by Cumming and Henry (in Atchley 1972, p. 200) who see the older person becoming increasingly concerned with self. Other theorists see the older person rejecting his approaching age, thereby remaining very active and emphasizing the present and the future. A third group falls mid-way between these polarities and would be considered a moderately active group.

Birren et al. (1972, p. 65) states that from the sociological perspective "lifestyles" ... are an individual's characteristic way of performing the various social roles he is allocated by, or which are
related to his position in society." They go on to say that there are knowledge gaps concerning lifestyles of specific groups and there is insufficient knowledge concerning the development of lifestyles over time. Knowledge of the characteristics of a sample or group which has been investigated enables researchers to form hypotheses concerning the relationship between certain normative aspects and the lifestyle described.

Factors to be examined in the lifestyle of long-married couples in this study included variables such as age, education, religion, family of orientation, courtship, family of procreation, housing, occupation—past or present, retirement, income, means of transportation, regular activities, social clubs, voting participation, and other variables. Further data pertaining to the subjects' attitudes about sex, death, the concept of old age, role expectations and retirement along with self-perceptions of health and marital happiness were sought by the investigator in an attempt to get an over-all picture of older persons who had the experience of a long-term marital relationship.

Age in itself is an unreliable concept in describing over-all functioning of older individuals. The objective in this study was to look at multiple factors which influence the lifestyle of older married couples. This fulfills the purpose of a descriptive study. The collected data could be considered baseline information for any further research with older people. It is possible that more questions may be raised than answered. In this respect, the study would be considered "more hypothesis-producing than hypothesis-testing" (Blood and Wolfe 1960, p. 6).
Some specific hypotheses to be tested are the following.

1. There is no significant difference in the scores of the subjects who fell in the low, medium and high categories on the Locke-Wallace Marital Adjustment Test with regard to the following:
   a. Sex of subject.
   b. Level of education completed.
   d. Type of housing.
   e. Perception of marital happiness.
   f. Importance of religion.
   g. Perception of health.
   h. Present annual income.
   i. Life-Satisfaction Index-Z scores.

2. There is no significant difference in the scores of subjects who fell in the low, medium and high categories on the Life-Satisfaction Index-Z (morale) Scale with regard to the following:
   a. Sex of subject.
   b. Level of education completed.
   d. Type of housing.
   e. Perception of marital happiness.
   f. Importance of religion.
   g. Perception of health.
   h. Present annual income.
3. There is no significant difference between the perceptions of older husbands and wives, controlling for sex, with regard to the following:
   a. Marital happiness.
   b. Health.
   c. Importance of religion.

4. There is no significant difference between the cumulative scores on the Locke-Wallace Marital Adjustment Test and on the subtest on perception of marital happiness with regard to the sex of the older husbands and wives.
REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

Marital success and marital adjustment have been widely studied and written about in the last 40 years, beginning with Terman's study in 1938 on the psychological factors in marital happiness. The kinds of data which have been gathered have varied considerably. The Burgess-Wallin studies which took 17 years to complete used the longitudinal method to demonstrate that quantitative techniques could be applied to the study of marital adjustment. They focused attention on predictive variables. Criticism of the marital-prediction approach revolved around the difficulty of finding criteria for measuring happiness.

Jessie Bernard, as cited by Kephart (1972, p. 473), writes that marital happiness is a relative matter.

From this relativistic point of view, two criteria may be set up: (a) a marital relationship is successful if the satisfaction is positive, that is, if the rewards to both partners are greater than the cost; and (b) a marital relationship is successful if it is preferable to any other alternative . . . .

The more recent approach to marital adjustment no longer stresses static background factors and isolated personality factors. Successful marriage is looked at as a complex and dynamic relationship which changes throughout the developmental stages of the lifecycle.

Widely separated studies have found that marital happiness, marital adjustment and marital satisfaction decline throughout the years of marriage. Pineo first reported the theme in his 1961 report, "Disenchantment in the Later Years of Marriage." He followed up on couples
in middle-age, and found that more loneliness and greater personal needs at this time suggested increased dependency, yet there was less intimacy between the husbands and wives.

Deutscher (1959) took a different point of view. He found that the complementarity of roles played by middle-aged husbands and wives during the postparental years related directly to their satisfaction with this time of life.

In their studies of marriage satisfaction over the life-cycle, Rollins and Feldman (1970) and Burr (1970) found that when specific aspects of marriage such as companionship, sexual satisfaction, and finances were rated, there were fluctuations rather than declines.

Cuber and Harroff (1965, pp. 43-60) reported on their sample of upper, middle-class, successful Americans. They observed and described five types of marriages as: conflict-habituated, devitalized, passive-congenial, vital and total. They came to the conclusion that there were very few good husband-wife relationships in middle-age, at least in the middle class.

Evidence that some older people feel their married life is as satisfactory if not more so than it was in previous years, can be found in Bossard and Boll (1955) and Lipman (1961).

Marriages perceived as satisfactory in the later years have usually been satisfactory from the beginning, just as those which were seen as unsatisfactory had usually been regarded as unsatisfactory from the beginning (Goldfarb 1968).

Marriage appears to contribute to the morale of older persons. Kutner et al. (1956, p. 60) reported that stability of the marriage in
the later years contributed greatly to good adjustment. He found this
more true among persons of higher position and greater means. In this
group, their greater resources and in general, their higher attainments
possibly provided them with a firm base to deal with changing life condi-
tions. Other social scientists who confirmed the relationship between
marriage and higher morale were Neugarten, Havighurst and Tobin (1961),
Goldfarb (1968), Stinnett, Collins and Montgomery (1970), and Butler and
Lewis (1973).

Problems which are common to older persons, whether they are
living with a spouse or not, include housing arrangements, mental health,
physical health, lack of social participation and lowered incomes
(Atchley 1972).

One of the frustrations in reviewing literature on marital
success of older persons was that most of the studies identified their
subjects only in terms of the life-cycle stage, such as "the middle
years," or "older persons," or "aging families." More specific informa-
tion would seem to provide for a better understanding.

One exception was McKain (1969, p. 44) who studied retirement
marriages. His subjects had been married a minimum of five years. Al-
though McKain did not measure the factor of predictability as such, he
found that it was very important in the relationships of older couples to
know what to expect and to have matters settled in their minds.

McKain (1969, pp. 41-43) used assessment data in classifying
retirement marriages as successful or unsuccessful that included criteria
which by themselves would not be conclusive. However, the criteria
seemed useful. They included ratings which would be assigned to the couple by trained interviewers. Ratings of the following behaviors included:

1. If the couple showed affection and respect for each other during the interview.
2. If the couple obviously enjoyed each other's company.
3. If the couple made no serious complaints about each other.
4. If the husband and wife were genuinely proud of each other.
5. If the couple were considerate of each other.

The marriage then appeared to be successful.

Feldman's (1964) research indicated that older couples valued being in love less than younger couples. Stinnett, Collins and Montgomery (1970) found that love was the area of greatest marital need-satisfaction for both older husbands and wives. They also found that respect was the area in which the older husbands received the least satisfaction and that communication was the area of least satisfaction for the wives.

The older person may increasingly depend upon his spouse to fulfill his basic emotional needs due to his gradually decreasing interaction with other people, other institutions and his children (Stinnett, Collins and Montgomery 1970).

Duvall (1971, p. 464) writes that when joint homemaking responsibilities develop through the various stages of the family life-cycle, the aging married couple

... continue in the double harness to which they have become accustomed. Responsibilities are assumed on the basis of interest, ability and strength ... As illness strikes or one of the partners is out of the home for a time, the other then can take over, because he or she is already familiar with the
processes involved. Decisions are jointly made; authority is assumed by the couple as a unit; and each is accountable to the other, and to the realities of the situation . . . .

Butler and Lewis (1973, p. 30) have said that the mutual support and interdependence of some elderly couples is such "... that the remaining member may die shortly after the death of the other, even though he has been seemingly healthy. In other cases, severe depression may ensue."

Fried and Stern, as cited by Tibbitts (1960, p. 472) offer evidence which suggests that an increase in marital satisfaction may result even when retirement or serious illness occurs. Their data show that in terms of role expectations the older person who is afflicted expects special attention and is gratified by the increased protection and attention. The other person also finds fulfillment in the new expectation because of increased feelings of usefulness.

Lipman (1960) found that one of the major adjustments in the later years, especially for the male, was that of changing from an instrumental role to an expressive role. Hicks and Platt (1970, p. 569) stated that this factor may be "... more crucial to marital happiness than social scientists have previously believed."

In another study, Lipman (1961, p. 271) reported that companionship and "being able to express true feelings to each other" (understanding) were the qualities seen by older couples as the most important things to give to each other.

Over-all findings on marriage research conducted in the 1960's were reported by Hicks and Platt (1970, p. 569). Confirmation of what
was already known about marital happiness and stability included that the variables of higher occupational statuses, incomes and educational levels for husbands; husband-wife similarities such as socio-economic status, age and religion; affectional rewards, such as esteem for spouse; sexual enjoyment, companionship and age at marriage all correlated positively with marital happiness and durability. The reviewers believed that stability or durability in marriage was a function of a variety of factors. Only one of these factors was marital happiness. One of the more provocative findings in their report was the factor of low happiness which may be associated with marital stability.

Kutner et al. (1956, p. 18) related directly to the present study when he posed the question of what happens to the emotional basis of a marriage after it has lasted 50 years. In the "ideal" marriage, he felt that there might have been a gradual transformation from a marriage based upon romantic love, including physical attraction and affectional interaction, to one in which security and ease with each other became the main theme. At the other extreme, Kutner et al. warned that many years of bitter antagonisms and frictions could accumulate and leave the marriage "... vulnerable in the face of strain brought on by illness or some other problem."

Various methods have been used by investigators to understand marital relationships. The results are often confusing. A possible improvement for measuring complex human relationships may be in comprehensive longitudinal research. There are many difficulties to finance and engineer studies of families throughout the developmental life-cycle.
There are patterns of growth which are universal to people; yet each person is unique. Each family is unique. Each environment is unique. This creates the need for more specialized instruments to measure and interpret the relationship of persons to each other and to his environment. This is particularly true for the older persons who have a lifetime of thinking, feeling, and behaving to comprehend.
METHOD OF PROCEDURE

This chapter describes the methodology used in this study. The sampling procedure, instruments used for measurement, treatment of data and methods of analysis will be discussed. These will be related to the purpose of the study, that of describing couples who have been married more than 50 years.

Sample Selection and Interviewing

The subjects used in this study sample provided information on the factors in the lifestyle of older married couples who were living in Tucson, Arizona. It was not known how many couples who had been married 50 years lived in this community. Finding the sample population was accomplished in several ways. Initially anniversary announcements were clipped from the local newspapers for several months. These were saved for future use. In talking about the study, friends would often know about neighbors or acquaintances who qualified for the study. The names of these people were also kept on a reserve list. Together this information provided some indication that there were subjects of an undetermined number available.

The national ratio of persons over 65 in the United States to the total population is one to ten; the ratio in Tucson was known to be closer to one to five or six (Arizona Daily Star, February 19, 1973). The increased number of older people in Tucson has been explained by the
immigration of individuals for health reasons and also for the amenities associated with the climate. These factors increased the potential for locating subjects for the sample.

The next step was to contact the local office of the Pima Council on Aging. The staff were interested in the research. They suggested that a notice be placed in the monthly newsletter Never Too Late which is sent to older residents in the community and to members of the Council. The request for volunteers for the study was placed in the January 1974 issue (see Appendix A). The headline on the article added by the editor "IT'S BEEN A LONG AND WONDERFUL TIME!" suggests the reality of society's norm: that is, a lasting marriage is a successful one.

Eight couples volunteered on the day that the newsletter was delivered. This was encouraging since four of the couples had been married over 60 years, a much longer time than the study required. The other four couples had been married between 50 and 60 years.

A local reporter also responded to the notice and requested to write a story. Since this was an opportunity to secure more subjects for the study, permission was granted. The Arizona Daily Citizen wanted a photograph of a couple being interviewed along with the story. For purposes of local interest, it seemed appropriate to locate a couple who had been married in Tucson for the photograph. Although Tucson had been a small community 50 years ago, such a couple volunteered for the study and they agreed to be photographed (see Appendix B).

A follow-up article in the February 1974 issue of Never Too Late thanked volunteers and repeated the information for qualified couples who wished to participate in the study (see Appendix C).
In general, social gerontologists have found it difficult to find or select older persons for study who are truly representative. In this study, 48 percent of the couples volunteered to be interviewed. Birren et al. (1972, p. 66) states that aged volunteers are typically those individuals who know their competence and want to prove it while those individuals who are less capable or less fortunate often refuse to be interviewed. It has been found that the rate of refusal to participate in research is, in part a function of chronological age. Nevertheless, the original goal of 25 couples to be interviewed was doubled when it became apparent that there were qualified couples who were available and willing to participate in the study. Possible reasons for this favorable response may be the recognition that comes from achieving a golden wedding anniversary, the loneliness and social isolation that comes with lessened mobility, and/or the personal sense of participation in research that interested some of the older persons.

Other sampling problems mentioned by Birren et al. (1972, pp. 66-67) refer to the natural selectiveness which is found in the survival of older persons. This bias seems to operate in the direction of positive sample selection. Survival, both in years of life and in years of marriage to one spouse identify the present sample as a select group. The factor of high volunteer rate results in a better than average group in terms of most variables. It was interesting to note that couples who were referred by relatives and couples identified in anniversary announcements in the newspapers often refused to be interviewed. However couples who were referred by their older friends who had already participated in the interviews were likely to cooperate.
In addition to the qualification of living in Tucson and being married continuously to the same spouse for 50 or more years, other factors soon became evident. All of the couples were living independently in housing of their own choice, and not with their children or in institutions. All of the couples were capable of communicating with the interviewers although there were varying degrees of mental alertness. All of the couples were financially responsible for themselves. They were not presently receiving relief funds or regular assistance from their children.

In order to secure as wide a representation as possible in terms of race, religion, occupation and income, the investigator was aware of these variables in the careful selection of subjects in the final stages of the study.

The Interview Process

The interview schedule was developed during the winter of 1973-1974. Parts of other interview schedules were borrowed, evaluated and revised. Demographic data were added to provide further information about the sample. Two specific instruments were included. They were:

1. The Locke-Wallace Marital Adjustment Test (short form; Locke and Wallace 1959). The 15 questions included inquiry into the couple's common interests, demonstrations of affection, adaptability, sense of consensus, permanence, general satisfaction and sex satisfaction (see Appendix E). A part of the Locke-Wallace Marital Adjustment Test (later referred to as a subtest) is a measure of self-perception of marital happiness.
2. The Life Satisfaction Index-Z (LSI-Z) developed by Neugarten et al. (1961) and reported by Wylie and Twente (1968). This instrument measured the subject's perception of his well-being. It can be referred to as a morale scale. It was designed to be used with an older population. There were 13 points which measured five components of positive life satisfaction. They included (1) zest--showing zest in several areas of life, liking to do things, and being enthusiastic; (2) resolution and fortitude--not giving up, taking good with bad and making the most of it, and accepting responsibility for one's own personal life; (3) agreement between desired and achieved goals--the feeling of having accomplished what one wanted to; (4) positive self-concept--thinking of oneself as a person of worth; and (5) mood tone--showing happiness, optimism and pleasure with life (see Appendix D).

The interviewers left a 12-page health questionnaire with each subject which was to be returned by mail to the Department of Family and Community Medicine at the University of Arizona College of Medicine. When these data are coded and scored, they will give additional information relating to physical problems, medical attention, diet and nutrition and attitudes toward health care of the study sample. The information will not be used in this report, however. Ninety-eight percent of those questionnaires were returned by mail. One couple was reinterviewed to complete the health questionnaire, and to assure 100 percent return. There were three questions in the interview schedule
which related to the subject's self-perception of his or her health. The results of these data will be included in the study.

Several specialists in the fields of family and gerontology acted as consultants in the preparation of the interview schedule. The final form of the schedule used in the study is the result of those consultations and many revisions.

The investigator had a limited number of subjects when the interviewing began. Therefore, it seemed unwise to lose potential subjects for the sample when the number of available subjects was unknown. Therefore no pre-test was done. However, one consultant who had been married for over 45 years checked through the interview schedule with the investigator to evaluate its comprehensiveness and to look for lack of clarity in the questions.

All interviews were conducted by the same two interviewers within a two-month period, February and March of 1974. Both interviewers were trained in social work and were familiar with procedures of interviewing. The interviews averaged an hour and a half in length.

After the subjects had phoned or written to volunteer for the study or were referred, an appointment was made by telephone or letter. Usually only a few days' notice was required. The interviews were all held in the subjects' homes. The interview began with a get-acquainted period during which the purpose and method of the study was explained. The subjects were assured that the information they gave would be confidential and that data collected would be grouped for statistical purposes. Several of the couples expressed concern that the interviewers were
trying to sell something. Many of the subjects volunteered that they had nothing to hide about their lives. Still others had adult children visiting in their home at the time of the interview. Since the interviewers recognized this as a possible protectiveness of the parents by the younger persons reassurance seemed appropriate and full explanations of the plan of the interview were given them. The older persons were cooperative and interested in the interview most of the time.

The usual procedure after the get-acquainted period was for the male interviewer and the male subject to go to a different room from the investigator and the female subject to begin the questioning. The validity of the interview was assured as there was no exchange of information between spouses while the questionnaire was being used. In two of the homes the couples were unhappy about this arrangement until the attempt to combine the interviews resulted in so much noise and confusion that the persons consented to be interviewed separately. These couples had both been immigrants to the United States. Understanding their ethnic background was useful in helping allay their fears.

After the completion of the separate interviews the couple and the interviewers came together and tape-recorded a conversation which grew out of matters of interest from the interview. These sessions focused on the subjects' marriage, their anniversaries, their feelings about spending such a long time together, their advice for young people getting married today (if they wished to give any), and a brief game which involved decision making. The game was interesting to the interviewers because it provided an opportunity to assess some of the dynamics in the relationship of the couple.
The older couple were asked to evaluate the interview. Most of them said that the questions were about what they had expected. Some of them expressed enthusiasm for having the opportunity to review their lives. In some respects, the interviewers were performing a service to the older persons while collecting data for this research. Gerontologists report that older persons often find meaning when they look back over their lives. When they find it acceptable they are able to face the kind of changes, including the discussion of their feelings about death, which are important to individual security (Butler and Lewis 1973, p. 124).

**Analysis of Data**

When the interviewing was completed, the interview schedules were examined and coded and the data transferred to computer cards. There were some open-ended questions in the interview. It was possible to quantify these responses to some degree. These questions were:

1. What does old age mean to you?
2. What were the particularly difficult times you can remember in your years of marriage?
3. What were the particularly happy years or events you recall?

The question Lipman (1961) used in his study on role expectations, related to what the subject thought was the most important quality of a husband or wife at this time of life, was also used. When similar answers appeared they were listed in the response category. Although this was not completely adequate, numeric codes were assigned. Since
this was a sample of 100 subjects, it would not be difficult to list all the responses at a later date for complete accuracy.

Following coding and keypunching of quantitative and open-ended questions, the computer summarized the data. Frequency distributions were calculated on all variables to describe the composition and orientation of the sample. The data were checked for important differences by sex, age, education, occupation, income, religion and other similar variables. Responses to the Locke-Wallace Marital Adjustment Test and the Life-Satisfaction Index-Z Scale were weighted and then summed to give a cumulative score for each subject on each of these measures. The means were calculated and the "well-adjusted" group and the "high-morale" subjects were distinguished from the "maladjusted" group and the "low-morale" subjects. The standard deviation scores were used to examine the similarity of husband and wife scores in relation to the level of marital adjustment and morale into which each couple was classified.

For purposes of studying relationships both the Locke-Wallace Marital Adjustment scores and the Life-Satisfaction Index-Z scores were divided into categories of high, medium and low. The self-perceptions of marital happiness were divided into high and low groups.

The chi square measure of independence was applied. The .05 level was selected as the level of significance. Only where the value of chi square equaled or exceeded this level is the chi square finding reported. Tables will be presented for further description in these instances.
Nonparametric measures of correlation used were the Spearman Rank correlation coefficient and the Kendall Rank correlation coefficient.
FINDINGS

This chapter will present the characteristics of the sample and the results of the following three measures: the Locke-Wallace Marital Adjustment Test, the subjects' self-perception of marital happiness, and the Life-Satisfaction Index-Z Scale. Reports of the hypotheses tested will be presented.

Characteristics of the Sample

The following material summarizes characteristics of the non-random sample. It is not expected to describe the population of long-married couples as a whole.

Age

At the time of the interview the men ranged in age from 71 to 89 with a mean of 80.40 years. The women in the sample ranged from the age of 71 to 89 years also, but the mean was lower, as was to be expected. On the average, American husbands are two or three years older than their wives (Kephart 1972, p. 295). The mean was 77.94 for the women in the sample which gave the men about two and one-half years' seniority.

Fifty of the subjects were between 70 and 80 years of age. The other 50 were between 80 and 90 years of age (see Table 1).
Table 1. Age of Subjects.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Range of Years</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>70-74</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75-79</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80-84</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85-90</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Race

The study sample was predominantly white, Anglo-Saxon heritage.
The minority races which were represented in the Tucson population were
not fully represented in the sample (see Table 2).

Table 2. Race of Subjects.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race</th>
<th>Number of Subjects</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Anglo</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mexican-American</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Characteristics of the Marriage

The 50 couples studied had been married from 50 to 65 years with a mean of 55.49 years. Fourteen couples, slightly less than one-third of the subjects, were married over 60 years (see Table 3).

Table 3. Length of Couple's Marriages.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Number of Subjects</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>50-54</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55-59</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60-65</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The age at marriage for the males varied from 19 to 31 years with the mean at 24.08 years. The females had a wider range, from age 16 to 32. The mean for the women at the time of marriage was 21.64 years. Several of the five women who married at 16 and 17 commented that their fathers felt they were "too young." One woman volunteered that she was "immature" and "my husband had to shape me up." Another woman who was older confided that she knew nothing about sex until about ten days after her marriage.

Only ten of the subjects met their spouses outside their own communities. The others had met in school, church, on the job, at
parties or in the homes of relatives and friends. These courtships pre­ceeded marriages between the years 1908 and 1923 when the automobile was not available to many of these couples. The factor of propinquity which sociologists refer to as "nearness in place or proximity" was not formally studied until Bossard and Boll's research in 1955. The findings of this study sample would agree with his that "Cupid may have wings, but apparently they are not adapted for long flights" (Kephart 1972, p. 294).

Four of the couples had courtships of less than half a year. The majority of the couples dated between one and four years.

Forty-three of the couples had religious ceremonies which also suggests the preference concerning types of wedding for Americans of the older generation (Kephart 1972, p. 311). The wedding itself was seldom held in a church or temple, but rather in the family home or the parsonage. A few couples were married in courthouses. Even then, they were sometimes asked if they preferred a religious person to officiate rather than a public official. Three couples were married in both state and religious ceremonies. This was part of a European tradition. Also the Mormon couples desired a Temple marriage "to seal their marriage for eternity."

Two of the men who were in the sample had been married previously. One had been divorced; the second man lost his wife in childbirth. Both of them had since lived over 50 years with their second wives.

When the subject was asked if he would marry the same person, if he could live his life over, 93 percent answered "yes." Four persons said they would marry someone else and three persons said they would not marry at all.
When asked if they had ever considered divorce, two persons answered positively. Several subjects laughed at the question and responded with the oft-quoted remark, "divorce--no, but murder--yes!"

One wife told how her husband left her for several weeks, but he did not give any indication of this desertion to the interviewer.

Place of Birth

Five of the 100 subjects were foreign-born. They came from Germany, Poland, Russia and Mexico. A larger number of the subjects had parents who were born overseas. Seventeen had mothers who were born in nine different countries and 21 subjects had fathers born in twelve different countries. The latter half of the 19th century was a time of heavy migration. In addition to the immigrants and the first-generation Americans, there were subjects in the study sample who could trace their heritage back to the early days of colonization in the United States (see Table 4).

Table 4. Origin of Subjects.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Home Region</th>
<th>Number of Subjects</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Midwest</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New England and Middle Atlantic States</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southwest and Mountain States</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign-born</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The largest number of subjects born in any of the states were the 15 persons born in Illinois. Other states of birth which ranked high in the study sample were Kansas, Missouri, Iowa, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, Colorado, New York, Kentucky and Nebraska. The study sample was similar to the general population in Arizona, according to the 1970 Bureau of the Census Report in which the largest number of immigrants came from Illinois (Arizona Statistical Review, September 1973).

Of the 100 subjects, only eight were born in Arizona territory. Since all the subjects were born before 1905, they were living at the time that Arizona became a state in 1912. In the study sample, 18 couples or 36 percent had lived over one-half of their married lives in Arizona.

Several couples lived most of their married lives in Illinois and Washington. Only one or two couples came from each of 16 other states. The majority of the couples had lived in medium to large cities before moving to Tucson. Only 12 percent came from the farm and another 14 percent came from towns under 10,000 population.

Tucson: A Place to Live

The major reason given by 28 couples for coming to Tucson was their personal health or the health of some member of the family. Three couples indicated that they came to Tucson for the climate. Four couples came for job opportunities and nine of the couples came because they had other family members who lived in Tucson.

Three of the married couples had lived in Tucson since their marriage. Two of these couples were Mexican-American and one of them
was Anglo. Tucson was reported by them to have been a small community then. They were disappointed by the continued growth of the city.

Other than the complaint about the increasing size, there were 81 subjects who expressed great pleasure about living in Tucson. Several couples had spent months and years traveling around the United States to find the "perfect" place to retire. One couple said the programming for older persons in Tucson was superior to most places. Many of the couples had spent winters in Tucson previous to their final move. The couple who had been in Tucson for the shortest time, just five months, had come to Arizona for the last 14 winters. Only eight of the 50 couples had been in Tucson less than four years.

Housing

In the United States, about three-fourths of older people live in detached houses (Atchley 1972, p. 271). Table 5 shows the types of housing chosen by the couples in the study sample.

Table 5. Types of Housing.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Number of Couples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Detached, single</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apartment</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mobile home</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The older couples who lived in the single, detached homes and the mobile homes all owned them. Those couples who lived in apartments rented them. The seven couples who rented lived on the first floor of the buildings where there was easy access.

The mobile homes required two or three steps to the entrance. Some approaches were sturdy while others were not. Since a fear of falling is common to the elderly, it was not surprising that a number of couples had gone to considerable expense to provide safe approaches.

When asked if they were satisfied with their housing arrangements, the subjects expressed a general satisfaction. The most legitimate dissatisfaction seemed to be the inability of one couple to finance cooling for their home.

The homes were generally neat and well-furnished. In many of the homes there were treasured antiques.

All 50 couples in the study sample were living independently, in housing either rented or owned. None of them were living with their children. Four of the older couples were making future plans for changed living arrangements since they recognized that they could not continue to care for all their needs. One couple planned to move closer to a married son. Three couples were exploring the congregate-housing type of facility in which they could remain self-contained but need not be entirely self-sufficient.

Although none of the couples were living with their children, there were four adult children living with their parents. In one situation, the couple continued to care for an older handicapped child.
In the other three situations, divorced sons had come home to live temporarily. Two of these persons were receiving treatment for emotional disorders. The older couples accepted their sons back, but nonetheless wished for them to be independent.

One couple with a son at home had also taken in a family of three children who were in need of a home on a temporary basis, but the time had extended to four months. They were feeling pressure from lack of physical energy to care for the children more than the financial burden.

**Education**

There was an extremely wide range of education completed by the subjects, from only a few months of school to seven years post-graduate work. All the subjects had learned to read. Fourteen of the subjects had less than an eighth grade education while 73 of them graduated from high school (see Table 6).

Examination of the table shows that 29 or nearly two-thirds of the males left school in the 8-11 grades. The females tended to remain in school longer. More women began college, but they tended to drop out before they finished four year degrees. Twice as many men as women graduated from college or went on to post-graduate work.

Butler and Lewis (1973, p. 12) report that nationally, only six percent of older people are college graduates. The study sample doubled that figure to 12 percent. Nationally no more than one-half of our older people have finished elementary school. In the study sample, 92 percent went beyond elementary school. About one-seventh or three
Table 6. Education by Sex.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Completed Level of Education</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1-4 years</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-6 years</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 years</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 years</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9-11 years</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 years</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-3 years college</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 or more years college</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Million of older people in the United States are functionally illiterate with either no schooling or less than five years. Although the study sample had subjects with less than five years of schooling, none of them were "functionally illiterate."

Education differences and the desire for more education were brought up voluntarily by the subjects two places during the interview. Several women and one man felt that if they could choose the person they were to marry again, they would choose someone with more education. They said that they felt their spouses were inferior and did not meet their standards. When the morale scale was given, the interviewer asked...
the subject to respond to whether he felt he got all the things he wanted in his life. A number of the men expressed the disappointment they felt about their lack of schooling. They had left school early to go to work. Some had been self-taught. They had seen the changes in job requirements and qualifications over the years. Many of their children and grandchildren had gained far more formal education than they had received. Yet many of these men held responsible jobs and earned "good money" during their working years.

Income

In the study sample, 30 percent of the couples were living on less than $5,000 in 1973. According to 1972 U. S. Department of Labor reports, updated to the fall (National Observer 1973), a proposed budget for retired urban couples on an intermediate level would be $4,967. This was based on home ownership, reasonably good health and ability to take care of themselves. It was not meant to be a minimum or subsistence level budget.

Annual incomes for the study sample varied widely, as seen in Table 7. The couple with the lowest income lived entirely on Social Security, which was a monthly payment of $208 in 1973. They expressed the feeling that one of the benefits of old age was to know a check would come every month to provide for them. The majority (35) of the older couples have incomes over $5,000 annually. Eight couples have incomes over $10,000. Three couples live on less than $3,000 annually. Altogether, 15 couples are living on less than the recommended
Table 7. Annual Income of Couples.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Income</th>
<th>Number of Couples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Less than $3,000</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$3,000-4,999</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$5,000-9,999</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$10,000-24,999</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More than $25,000</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

intermediate budget standard of over one year ago. Since then, consumer costs have risen sharply.

Most of the subjects related that they had learned to live conservatively in the past. While they were able to have more material benefits now, they felt their needs were less. Financial concern for the future was evident due to rising inflation. Although they were able to manage now they wondered about tomorrow with fear of potential sickness or disability which requires hospitalization or care in nursing homes and every-day concern because of rising costs of food and utilities.

In Table 8, there are listed the sources from which the subjects in the study sample receive their present income.
Table 8. Income Sources of the Study Sample.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Social Security</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Savings</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government, union or private pension</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bonds or investments</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Income from property</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Husband's or wife's earnings</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Insurance annuities</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children or relatives (estates)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supplementary security income</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Occupation--Present or Past

In this sample, six of the women had never worked outside the home either before or after marriage. Of the remaining 94 subjects, there were nine persons still working, either full or part-time. Recalling that 50 of the subjects were between the ages of 70 and 80 and the other 50 subjects were between the ages of 80 and 90, this is worth noting. In the United States, it is very difficult for some persons to separate themselves from the work ethic. Reasons for these nine subjects to work did not seem to be based on the need for income, but appeared to fulfill some other need.
Two of the men in their mid-eighties were working full-time while another man of the same age was working part-time. All three men enjoyed their work very much. One was a manager of a small industry, another a craftsman, and the third a public relations employee. Two former university professors had completely retired but another was continuing his work on a part-time basis. One woman worked a 40-hour week in a sales position. Another woman held a responsible job but only worked "on call" during weekends and holidays, etc. The other part-time workers of both sexes were either in business or crafts. The latter might be considered a hobby but in this instance, the work was of such high quality that it was exhibited in museums throughout the United States, and was considered a work-related activity by the creator.

One woman had just completed working long enough as a sales person to qualify for Social Security. She was pleased to have retired and was looking forward to receiving a monthly income.

Thirty-two of the 50 women had worked full-time outside the home sometime since their marriages.

Fifty-nine of the subjects had worked in the same occupation all of their lives. An example was the man who had worked 46 years for the railroad. Thirty-five of the subjects had changed their occupations during their lifetime.

Measuring socio-economic position in this later stage of life is difficult due to variables of retirement, such as possible or likely changes in housing, geographic location and community status. Lacking more sophisticated techniques of measurement, the subjects were asked
what they considered their main occupation to be, either presently or in the past. The index used was Edwards' Social Economic Grouping of Occupations which is the present U. S. Census Classification of Occupational Groups (see Table 9).

Table 9. Past or Present Occupation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Professional, technical, and kindred workers</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business managers, officials, and proprietors</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical and sales workers</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Craftsmen, foremen, and kindred workers</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Operatives and kindred workers</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unskilled, service and domestic workers</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Never worked</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The study sample was a distinctly heterogeneous group according to occupations. The subjects differed from their fathers' main occupation in that they became more diversified. One-half of the subjects' fathers had owned or rented farms while a few fathers had been farm laborers. Eleven of the fathers had been unskilled and 23 of them had been in the operative class. Only five of the fathers had been in the professional, or as Neugarten et al. (1961) would say, the "ego-involved" occupations.
Retirement

The concept of retirement in our society is a complex one. It can be defined as the legal separation of an individual from a work role. Problems are created because our technological society does not require or even desire persons to work beyond the age of 65; yet many older persons want or need to work. Other people are retiring earlier now to enjoy their work-free later years, which they feel they have earned.

Many adjustments are necessary at retirement, such as the ability to adapt to a lesser income, the changing of roles and status, finding a meaningful way of life, keeping well and taking care of one's self, maintaining social contacts and responsibilities, growing emotionally through satisfying relationships with spouse and close family members, and facing death in constructive ways.

Atchley (1972, p. 173) feels that retirement appears attractive to most people regardless of income, education or occupation if there is some assurance of adequate income for a person's later years.

In the study, sample, 91 subjects were presently retired or had never worked.

When the subjects were asked whether they thought retirement was good for a person, 60 answered affirmatively while 24 disagreed. The other 16 persons qualified their responses by specifying the importance for the retirees to have an activity or interest to substitute for the work role, "something to keep busy."

Thirty-three subjects had been retired for 20 years or more. Seventeen subjects had retired in the last ten years.
Reasons for retirement varied considerably. In the past, poor health was a prime reason for retirement. This was true for 18 of the sample subjects. Another 18 retired because they reached mandatory retirement age. However, 22 stopped working so they could enjoy leisure. This relatively large number of people in the older population who retired to enjoy leisure is a recent trend in our society. There were a lesser number of other reasons for retiring, with only one person who said he retired because others expected him to retire.

The majority of the sample subjects looked forward to retirement. Nineteen men and eight women disliked the idea. Others were unsure how they felt about it. This type of response indicates that the role of retirement has not been institutionalized as yet. Persons do not know what is expected of them in the new role and therefore, there is some uncertainty and ambiguity about retiring.

When the subjects were asked by the interviewers how their retirement had turned out, 42 said it was about the same as they had expected while 39 said retirement had been better than they expected. Another ten said it had been worse. The nine persons who still work part or full-time did not respond to that question. It appeared obvious that they may have some concern about retirement if they are still working at the age of 85.

Children and Other Relatives

Each of the subjects in the sample has two families integrated into his developmental life cycle. The family of orientation was the family into which he was born and from whom he (or she) received most of
his basic socialization. The "second" family was the one of procreation. This was the family which was established through marriage and reproduction.

The family of orientation for the subjects averaged five siblings, closely divided between brothers and sisters. This compares to the national statistic in which the average completed family in 1910 had produced 4.5 children (Atchley 1972, p. 309). The family size had a strong influence on the structure of the family.

Fifty years later, the average number of children per family was 2.5 (Atchley 1972, p. 309). The 50 couples in the sample had a mean of 3.33 children. This would be close to the average for couples whose marriages took place between 1908 and 1923. Table 10 shows the wide range in the size of the family of procreation of the study sample.

Table 10. Family Composition of Study Sample.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Children</th>
<th>Number of Couples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Three of the couples had borne no children, but one of these couples adopted several children. The other two couples remained childless.

The present age of the children ranged from 62 years as the oldest child to 29 years as the youngest. Two couples who had only a single child lost that child, one through a childhood death and the other through a recent death. Altogether 19 of the total number of 167 children born to the subjects have died. Interestingly, in the two largest families, none of the children are deceased.

When the subjects were asked to recall the difficult times in the past, many reported the deaths of young children and the loss of sons in the second World War. They could recall with detail the sudden illnesses followed by death which modern-day medicine perhaps could have prevented. The contagious-type diseases were often mentioned as the cause of deaths of siblings when the subjects spoke of their first awareness of death.

Social scientists have reported a close relationship of most older people with at least one of their children in terms of geographical distance from their homes. Table 11 indicates how many of the subjects in the study sample had one or more children who lived in Tucson.

Twenty-six of the couples in the study sample did not have any children who lived in Tucson. Eighteen couples had only one child in Tucson and only six couples had more than one child who lived in the same community. Studies such as Riley and Foner, as cited by Atchley (1972, p. 314) found that in the United States about 90 percent of older people
Table 11. Geographical Closeness of Couples to Children in Tucson.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Couples</th>
<th>Number of Children Who Live in Tucson</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With living children resided less than an hour's trip from at least one of their children. In fact, 60 percent were living in the same household or within a ten-minute journey or less. In the study sample, only 24 percent had a child within ten minutes or less by car from their home. Another 22 percent had a child between 11 and 30 minutes distance by car. It appears that the older married couples in the study, one-half of whom have no children geographically close to them, have a fair amount of independence and autonomy from their family at present.

A trend in the family cycle which shows the length of time between generations declining from 30 to about 20 years is confirmed by the study sample. The trend can be seen in the large number of four generation families. Atchley (1972, p. 307) reported that about 40 percent of the older population have great-grandchildren. In the study
sample, 60 percent had great-grandchildren, 20 percent higher than the (national) average. There may not be an active involvement with the great-grandchildren, but it does, nevertheless, add another role to the older person in the later stages of life.

Forty-four of the couples had grandchildren. The largest number of grandchildren for any couple in the sample was 68. The mean number of grandchildren was nine.

The largest number of great-grandchildren for any one of the couples interviewed was 72. Seven couples had over ten great-grandchildren each. There were 20 couples with no great-grandchildren. The average number of great-grandchildren in the sample was five.

Although the grandparent role is basically an inactive one for most older couples in the United States, according to Atchley (1972, p. 303) partly due to the strong peer orientation of the adolescent and the strong need for independence and autonomy between children and their parents in this society, the sample subjects volunteered many expressions of pleasure which had come to them in various ways from their grandchildren.

Photographs, gifts and letters from the grandchildren were shared with the interviewers. The older couples talked about the reunions at anniversary time or vacation time which were so meaningful to them. They were concerned about many of the complex problems encountered by the younger generation, including the high costs of higher education, the new sexual morality and the prevalence of drugs and crime.
The subjects spoke proudly of achievements of their children and grandchildren. Some were in top management positions and earned high salaries. Others gave service to their churches and communities. There was no hiding the disappointment with the children whose marriages had failed. One child was labeled the "black sheep" of the family as the whereabouts of that person was unknown.

For those couples, such as the four in the study sample who are living out their later years without the major role of parent, there often is an increased interest in other kin. Siblings or cousins are a source of emotional closeness for some older persons. Only one of the four couples in the sample who have no living children had any relatives in Tucson. The one family has always lived in the community and thus benefits from an extended-type kinship network. One of the couples whose only son recently died have a daughter-in-law in Tucson.

The isolation of the two couples without family may not be typical of older couples in general, but it does point to the importance of the relationship between husband and wife for emotional need-satisfactions. Small families in this society, regardless of age, acknowledge the strain on married relationships when there is no family support available, especially in times of crises. Friends, neighbors and community can be substitutes for relatives.

Twelve of the subjects had a brother or sister in Tucson, while four had nieces or nephews and four other persons had cousins nearby. The majority of the relatives lived within a ten-minute drive of the couple. Several lived next door to each other. Those relatives who lived close visited each other often and exchanged services.
The investigator was interested in the age of the subjects' parents at the time of their death. One mother was still living, and the father of another subject had been out of touch with his family for so long that nothing was known about him. In general, the longevity of the parents was significant. Forty-three of the fathers had lived longer than 80 years. The mean age of the fathers at death was 74.5 years while the range of age at time of death was from 33 to 95 years. For the mothers the range of age at time of death was even greater, from 28 to 97 years. Thirty-nine of the mothers lived to be over 80 years of age with a mean of 71.23 years at death. Some of the women mentioned that they always remembered their mothers as old. The mothers had worked hard and often had large families. They did not have the advantages of cosmetics and they looked old. Other subjects told about the "live spirits" of parents. Many had remained active until their deaths. One subject proudly recalled her mother-in-law who had played cards until two o'clock in the morning the night before she died.

Many of the parents had been cared for in the subjects' homes in their old age. Feelings of both gratitude and anger were expressed about these experiences. These emotions undoubtedly influenced the subjects in their personal attitudes about living out "useless" years. They did not want to become dependent. They expressed a desire to stay out of nursing homes and homes of their children.

Added years of life were not universally desired by the subjects. What tended to be a very difficult question to answer in the interview related to how many years the subject thought he had left to live.
The mean number of years given was seven. One woman expressed the wish to live to be 100 although she would have many years of continued pain with arthritis. Several women and men hoped to die relatively soon. One did not want to "see another birthday."

Financial assistance from the children was relatively unexpected by the subjects in the study sample. If money gifts came, they were usually designated for trips or special purposes. They were not sources for daily requirements of living. A small number of couples in the study sample had inherited money from relatives.

One subject believed it was more realistic to expect financial help in one's old age from the state than from one's own children. This has not been a prevalent attitude in the past history of the American family. The idea may reflect a new trend. Social Security now is often supplemented by private pensions, both of which the individual feels entitled to because it reflects earned income. There will continue to be a period of uncertainty for many older persons who need financial assistance and are caught in the changing climate where the responsibility of the children to provide for their parents is met by their inability or unwillingness to do so.

The kinship network varied with each subject's family, their mobility, their religious moorings as well as the personalities of the persons themselves. The study sample represented a variety of family types, including the small nuclear family, the extended family and the modified extended family. Evidence from other studies of the older population has not conclusively found the extended family system typical in the United States. The study sample may be a forecast of the future,
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with more older persons living away from all members of the family. Geographical distance however does not diminish emotional bonds but does emphasize the necessity for older people to substitute friends and neighbors for far-away families to meet everyday needs for contact and services.

Health

Health is a complex term and not easily defined. It refers to positive things like mental, physical and social well-being and not merely to the absence of disease or disability.

Busse (1966) points out that self-evaluations show congruity of 65 to 70 percent with the results of medical examinations, but that people over 70 years of age tend to be health optimists, rating their health much better than those under 70. Duke University studies (Maddox and Douglass 1973, p. 87) on self-assessment of health with elderly subjects and physicians' assessments of general health status demonstrated that

(1) There is a persistent, positive congruence of the two types of health ratings. (2) Whenever there is incongruity the tendency is for the individual to overestimate his health. (3) There is a substantial stability of both types of ratings through time. (4) The self-health rating tends to be a better predictor of future physicians' ratings than the reverse. (5) Self-ratings of health have utility as a measure of health in survey research when objective measures are not feasible.

In the study sample, 61 of the 100 subjects perceived their own health at the present time as good or excellent. Many of these persons had had serious health problems in the past. Some had undergone major surgery a number of times. However, not a single subject rated his or
her health as very poor. Thirty-nine persons rated their health as poor or fair.

Other studies have shown that most older people consider themselves to be in reasonably good health, and most are not limited in their activities by illness or injury. After the age of 75 the biological declines become more marked, according to Atchley (1972, p. 132). The study sample included only four men and 14 women under the age of 75 so there are more than 80 percent over the age of 75. The study sample is marked by the large number of persons in the "advanced old age" as compared to "early old age" category that is used by gerontologists (Butler and Lewis 1973, p. 4).

Researchers have been interested in how older people see their own health in relation to the past. In the study sample, 41 subjects viewed it the same as it had been in past years while 30 persons felt their health was better. Twenty-nine persons responded negatively; they felt their health was getting worse.

Compared to other people their age, 75 of the subjects felt their health was better, 16 subjects felt their health was the same, six subjects felt it was worse and three subjects did not know. The oldest woman in the study said she could not compare her health with others her age as "I don't know anyone my age."

Religion

There are many variables in the meaning of the term "religion" as it applies to the older person. Church attendance or religious identification as well as personal and religious beliefs and morality can
change with age as participation often changes with physical limitations in hearing or mobility.

Table 12 shows the religious preference of the subjects in the study sample.

Table 12. Religious Preference of the Study Sample.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Religious Preference</th>
<th>Number of Subjects</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Protestant</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roman Catholic</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mormon</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jewish</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some of the individuals in the study sample declined to be specific about denominational preferences. One couple claimed only to be Christian. One person born to Jewish parents objected to his heritage so much that he disclaimed any present relationship to it. Two retired ministers did not have membership in any church presently. Other subjects had spent years in one denomination and then changed to a church nearer to their home in later years because they could get there more easily. Still others listened to church programs on the radio because
they could hear the services better. Fourteen of the 100 subjects did not belong to any church or synagogue.

The largest denominational group represented was the Methodist church, followed by Baptist, Presbyterian, Congregational, Lutheran and Seventh-day Adventists. There were two marriages in the study sample in which the husbands and wives belonged to different religious groups. These were Catholic-Protestant marriages.

Some of the subjects came from very strict religious backgrounds. They were asked how important religion was to their fathers and their mothers. Generally religion was more important to the mothers than the fathers. It appeared that the adult children defined the importance of religion by the amount of participation of their parents in formal religious activity.

Sixty-one percent of the subjects said that religion was very important or the most important thing in their lives. Only two persons said it had no importance while 13 said that religion was not very important to them. The other 24 subjects rated religion as important.

Attendance at religious services varied more than the above figures might indicate. Twenty-five percent of the subjects rarely or never attended services. Eleven percent attended a few times a year while another 11 percent attended one or more times a month. Fifty-three percent remained very active and participated at least once a week, health permitting. One woman with arthritis related that it took her about two hours every morning before she could move around, but she "just told the devil to get away on Sunday mornings." She felt that
she had to attend church if she were going to allow herself to play cards and get out to do other things during the week.

Many of the subjects had been active laymen in the past. Several persons said they raised thousands of dollars for building churches and missions. They had participated in many kinds of religious activities. Some were still active in social service type programs, evangelism, women's activities, choir, Bible study and Sunday School. Some of the subjects shared all their social life with church friends.

Not all of the couples started their marriage with similar religious backgrounds. For some, it took years to work out satisfactory plans. Some men who had resisted being "confirmed" or "converted" were persuaded to do so either when their children were born or when they became older, according to their wives. There was apparent satisfaction and pleasure among some of the couples that their children had "followed in our footsteps" and taken on their parents' responsibilities as church workers.

Attitudes on Death and Dying

Many subjects said that they could face death more easily because of their religious faith. Fifty-six of the subjects strongly believed in life after death. Another 14 subjects tended to believe it while 14 were uncertain. Six tended to doubt it and eight were convinced that life after death does not exist. The oldest subject claimed to be an "honest agnostic." Two subjects declined to answer.

Eight of the 100 subjects had made plans to donate their bodies to a medical school. Twenty-four preferred to have their bodies cremated.
Other persons appeared to be interested in cremation but their loyalty to church teaching as well as the wishes of their children had influenced them to accept burial. The majority choice for disposal of bodies after death was burial. For those persons who wanted burial, there was a definiteness about their responses to indicate strong feelings. There were five subjects who were indifferent as to what happened to their bodies after death.

Many of the subjects volunteered the information that they had made wills, completed arrangements for burial services and other final arrangements. Only one subject was unable to deal with the questions on death. Although this person was 74 years of age and had an older spouse, there obviously had been no real attempt to deal with "closure." That person's responses to the death questions were "how silly."

This study supported other studies which found that older people were not unwilling or displeased to talk about death. If there was a problem, it often was in the bias of the interviewer. The one example in the study sample of a person who was unprepared for the transition into "older maturity" and/or death proved helpful because it recognized that there are older persons who need help in this developmental task.

The interviewers anticipated difficulty when they asked about attitudes toward outliving one's spouse. However, here again this potentially sensitive question proved to be fairly easy. Proceeding on the basis that there would be a choice, 44 of the subjects preferred to outlive their spouse and gave a variety of explanations. One spouse often seemed to feel protective of the other and believed that his or
her care of the spouse was superior to the quality of care anyone else would give. In the case of the 34 subjects who hoped to die first, it appeared that the reason for that response was usually a fear of grief or loneliness or the recognition of their dependence on the spouse. Some persons apologized for "selfishness" at this point. Although the choice was not given to "die together," 11 subjects stated that preference. More persons might have given that response if it had been offered to them. Eleven persons were undecided or did not respond to the question.

Transportation

Atchley (1972, p. 269) reported that about 46 percent of those persons over 65 years of age move about by their own automobile. The study sample was above this average in the number of persons in their age group who owned and operated their own cars. Thirty-eight of the couples owned their own cars. In a number of cases, only one of the spouses was able to operate the car due to impaired eyesight, cataracts, arthritis or other disability of the partner.

Mobility is a great asset to older persons. Ten couples in the study sample relied on friends or relatives to take them places. Two of the couples used the bus as their primary means of transportation. This was relatively difficult in Tucson where public transportation was poor in many areas. The cost factor was not a problem because older persons can ride free with special tokens for a pre-determined number of trips. The city provides a transportation program for older persons who need assistance getting to a physician or day-care program. In general, the
study sample was relatively self-sufficient but as the years pass and the subjects continue to live, they, too, will become more dependent on relatives and friends for their mobility.

Politics

Butler and Lewis (1973, p. 12) reported that almost 90 percent of the older population was registered to vote and that about two-thirds of them voted regularly. This age group has the best voting record of any age group in the country. Exercising the franchise is a way for older people to feel they are making a contribution. This gives them a feeling of social and political worth.

Ninety-three of the 100 subjects in the study sample voted in the last presidential election. They were registered in political parties as shown in Table 13.

Table 13. Registration by Party Affiliation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Political Party</th>
<th>Number Registered</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Republicans</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democrats</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independents</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not registered</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Four of the five subjects who were not registered were women and two of the five were black. Several subjects said they would not vote again. There was obvious disillusion with present governmental leaders. The interviewers found the subjects well-informed regarding public affairs.

Activities

For many of the subjects, the routine activities of housework, cooking and grocery shopping took up much of their time. Other activities which the subjects engaged in fairly regularly and the number of subjects participating in them is shown in Table 14.

Table 14. Number of Subjects Involved in Named Activities.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Named Activity</th>
<th>Number of Subjects</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Listening to radio or watching television</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reading books, magazines or newspapers</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visiting with friends</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shopping</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taking rides or walks</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Writing letters</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Playing cards</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working on hobbies</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engaging in church work or religious activity</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sewing, knitting or crocheting</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Just sitting and thinking about things</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attending classes at school or center</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Going to a park</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Playing piano or musical instrument</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spending time at a library</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Going to movies</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Going to a bar for a drink</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
This activity list was taken from a study entitled *Five Hundred Over Sixty: A Community Survey on Aging* (Kutner et al. 1956). Some of the subjects in the study sample were active in community projects, but there was no place on the inventory to indicate involvement in this kind of activity. This may imply that in 1956, the year of Kutner's study, the expectations for older, retired people did not include activity in volunteer organizations such as the Veterans Hospital, Pima Council on Aging, Great Books, and the American Association of Retired Persons.

Many subjects found the question on "just sitting and thinking" very irritating as though they could not accept that concept as valuable or positive. Other persons responded easily with "yes, I do" or "I have quiet times." These differences also seemed to reflect the heterogeneous group which made up the study sample.

The category "hobbies" was not well defined. Specific activities which subjects spoke of were gardening, photography, keeping family scrapbooks, compiling genealogies, and entertaining as part of a musical troupe. These were in addition to the more traditional hobbies of collecting, woodworking, leathercrafts, etc.

Activities outside the home which centered around a club for older people were enjoyed by 32 couples. Many of these were among the 20 couples who lived in mobile home parks. Social events which included cards and food were the most popular. The subjects participated in a variety of physical activities, both singly and with groups. They included daily exercise, walking, bicycling, dancing, swimming, shuffleboard and golf. The subjects were aware of the benefits of exercise.
One couple who could walk only with the use of canes still made every
effort to walk around the block every day. Another couple who complained
of pain and occasional sleeplessness said they got out of bed on occa-
sion to play a game of pool.

Some couples reacted negatively to the idea of senior citizen
groups. One reason may be that some people resist the idea that they
are senior citizens. Others prefer to be with younger people or people
of all ages. Still others have a long-time pattern of non-participation
in social groups. One woman explained that both she and her husband
were so busy "earning a living" when they were younger that they had to
re-learn how to be social beings in their later years.

Those persons who lived in close association, such as in a
mobile home park, often had a positive attitude which included neighbor-
liness and concern for others. Frequent get-togethers reinforced this
friendly feeling. In the same close situation there were also the
hostilities which can arise between any two neighbors. One subject said
that he did not speak to his neighbor on one side of his home. Con-
flicting personalities and lack of knowledge to cope with interpersonal
relationships in effective ways is as apparent in the later stages of
life as earlier. If successful living is learning developmental tasks
as one goes through life, this would include learning how to use one's
time to grow as a person, and as a married couple, with no limits set
because of one's advancing age.

Generally the older couples enjoyed being active. There were
some limitations because of disabilities and illness. The daily schedules
varied widely. Some couples liked to rise early and other couples were up late every night. Most couples preferred daytime activities but one couple planned to be out about four nights a week. Schedules varied between husband and wife also. Many of the subjects took a rest or nap during the day. Others seemed to have ample physical energy.

Summary of the Study Sample

The characteristics of the study sample reflect the wide variety which is found generally in older persons in the United States. This group is older and longer-married than any known study sample. It is primarily a Protestant, white, middle and upper-middle class, married sample. The heterogeneous elements include the annual income spread from less than $3,000 to over $25,000; schooling completed from only a few months to seven years post-graduate; birthplaces from four countries overseas to all regions of this country; children born to the couples from none to thirteen; early retirement for health reasons to subjects still working at age 85; and occupations through the classification list which included 32 percent as craftsmen, 35 percent as professional, technical or business managers, to eight percent who were unskilled or domestic workers and another six percent who never worked. Lifestyles of the subjects varied according to their interests, health and income. The later stages in the lifestyle classification of this study deal with the older couple as they face the developmental tasks relevant to their age.
Findings on Three Measures

Self-Perception of Marital Happiness

In the Locke-Wallace Marital Adjustment instrument, there was a line scale used to measure subjective "marital happiness." Each subject looked at a card on which the words "very unhappy" and "perfectly happy" were at opposite ends of the line with labeled intervals in-between. This type of scale has been considered a powerful indicator in almost all marital adjustment scales in spite of its high subjectivity. One of the problems is that it may lend itself to social desirability distortion. This was evident with its clustering on the "happy" end of the line. If it can be assumed, as Peterson, Hadwen and Arson (1966, p. 67) did in their study of retirement communities, that there is some uniformity in the degree to which social desirability affects choice on this scale, it is valid to use this measure. For purposes of scoring this scale, a person with high marital adjustment is considered to be one who chooses a position on the line scale above the midpoint. This included 79 of the 100 subjects in the study sample. All those who chose the midpoint or below were regarded as belonging to a low marital adjustment group. In the study sample, no person placed his or herself below the midpoint. Twenty-one subjects indicated that their marriage was "happy" which was at the midpoint.

Locke-Wallace Marital Adjustment Test (Short Form)

There are 15 questions in this measure. The first one is the question of self-perception as reported above. Eight questions follow
which indicate the polarity for familistic-democratic family attitudes. Peterson et al. (1966, p. 40) described familism as being . . . associated with the extended, traditional-type family in which the role of the male tends in the direction of authority with the female typed as a submissive, giving person. The democratic, companionship family is characterized by more independent attitudes on the part of both husband and wife who then tend to make decisions together and by consensus.

The questions related specifically to decision-making and roles. Responses were in the direction of the companionship family as evidenced by the following figures. When the subjects were asked how the couple handled disagreements, 63 percent said that matters were handled by "give and take," 19 percent said that the husband more generally gave in and 18 percent said that the wives gave in. Eighty-five percent indicated that they participated as a team in outside activities, and 99 percent reported that they confided in their spouses in most everything. These findings tend to indicate that there is little "struggle for dominance" and points in the direction of a companionship relationship between husband and wife.

This conclusion was further tested in terms of agreement about important decisions (see Table 15).

All of these high percentages of agreement between husband and wife point to a companionship relationship. Later in the interview, the process of decision-making was observed when the couples were asked to fantasize what they would do with an unexpected gift of $1,000. The answers were varied. Many couples agreed it would be used for a trip or something special. Others said they would give part or all of it away, sometimes to their church or a charity and other times to grandchildren.
Table 15. Husband-Wife Consensus on Decision-Making.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Decisions</th>
<th>Percent of Agreement or Near-Agreement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Matters relating to affection</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family finances</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Choice of friends</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recreation</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basic belief in proper conduct</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philosophy of life</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ways of handling in-laws</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

to use for their education. Men, more than women, seemed to want to put it in the bank to add to their "cushion" for later years. A few couples insisted that each of them should have the right to determine separately what they would do with one-half of the gift. There was no conclusive pattern of male dominance or female aggressiveness.

The cumulative score on the Locke-Wallace Marital Adjustment Test for each subject was tabulated after the items were weighted. The range of scores for the husbands was considerably greater than for the wives. Male scores ranged from a low of 33 to a high of 156 out of a possible score of 158. The female scores ranged from 74 to 151. The median score for each sex was within .5 point of each other. Together the median score was 132 and the mean was 128.
For purposes of cross-tabulation, the Locke-Wallace Marital Adjustment Test was divided into three categories, as shown in Table 16.

Table 16. Locke-Wallace Marital Adjustment Test.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Degree of Adjustment</th>
<th>Scores</th>
<th>Percentages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>139-156</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>123-138</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>&lt; 122</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Nonparametric measures were used for statistical purposes in examining the data from the study sample on the Locke-Wallace test. The measures of association and tests of significance used were the Kendall rank correlation coefficient and the Spearman rank correlation coefficient. Using the scores of the 50 wives and the scores of the 50 husbands a correlation was found of .2056 at the .036 level on the Kendall rank correlation coefficient measure. On the Spearman measure, there was a .3033 correlation at the .033 significance level.

When Locke and Wallace developed the short form of the marital-adjustment test in 1959, they tested 48 persons who were known to be maladjusted. This group of 48 was matched for age and sex with 48 persons judged to be exceptionally well-adjusted. The mean adjustment score for the well-adjusted group was 135.9 and the mean score for the
maladjusted group was 71.7. This difference was very significant for the critical ratio was 17.5. The test indicated that it had validity since it seemed to measure marital adjustment. This was seen in the fact that only 17 percent of the maladjusted group achieved adjustment scores of 100 or higher, whereas 96 percent of the well-adjusted group achieved scores of 100 or more (Locke and Wallace 1959, pp. 254-255).

The reliability coefficient of the adjustment test computed by the split-half technique and corrected by the Spearman-Brown formula was .90 giving the short Locke-Wallace adjustment test a high reliability.

Using the mean of 128 as the cutting point, the individual scores of the husbands and wives were examined in order to classify each couple as to similarity or dissimilarity in their level of marital adjustment. The standard deviation was 18 points. When both husband and wife scored above 128 and were less than one standard deviation apart, they were placed in the high, similar category. If the husband and wife both scored above 128 but were more than one standard deviation apart, they were placed in the high marital adjustment level but in the dissimilar category. Couples who scored above and below the mean were classified in the high-low level of marital adjustment according to the difference in scores (see Table 17).

These figures show that the majority of couples (33) have similar scores (that is, the husband and wife are less than one standard deviation apart) in their marital adjustment regardless of the category they fell into. The table should be interpreted with caution since the 20-point difference in the self-perception rating between "happy" and
Table 17. Similarity and Dissimilarity in Marital Adjustment Scores of Couples.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Marital Adjustment</th>
<th>Number of Couples</th>
<th>Row Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Similar Scores</td>
<td>Dissimilar Scores</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(&lt; 1 SD apart)</td>
<td>(&gt; 1 SD apart)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High-Low</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Column Total</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

"perfectly happy" on the Locke-Wallace Marital Adjustment subtest is more than one standard deviation (18 points). This factor highly influences the cumulative score of each person. In Hypothesis 4, there is further examination of the subjects' self-perception of marital happiness and his or her marital adjustment.

Previous studies have used the Locke-Wallace Marital Adjustment Test with older persons, but the measure was not designed to be used with that age group and it has not been validated to an entire older population to the investigator's knowledge. In the present study, the use of this measure resulted in an unusual dispersion of marital adjustment scores clustering on the very high adjustment levels. This may be an accurate description of the marital adjustment of the study sample.

There were only five persons who scored below 100 on this test. The individuals who ranked in the low end of the maladjusted category
were those persons who visibly showed their unhappiness or dissatisfaction during the interview. One couple in which both the husband and wife scored in the low maladjusted group had experienced a long history of unhappiness. Conflict between themselves and the in-laws was a pattern that continues now with poor relationships between them and the younger members of the family. The wife's words of love for her husband were tempered with statements about how difficult it was to live with "this man." The husband in turn repeated in front of his wife that she was not his equal intellectually and that they should not have married. The hostilities were open. The couple did not enjoy each other's company. He was reported to be silent during meals and he read constantly when at home. The husband continued his employment and the wife spent long hours volunteering in a social agency where she received some emotional satisfactions. This interview was the longest one held in the study, lasting about two and one-half hours.

The other two women in the low maladjusted group may be characterized by their separate needs: one was continually crusading for causes and the other believed her husband's intellectual nature had deprived her of the love and warmth she needed. The other man in this group in addition to the husband of the couple described above was basically unhappy. He appeared to feel rejection from his wife for several reasons.

Life-Satisfaction Index-Z Scale (Morale)

The 13 questions in this scale were weighted with two points given for each "right" answer, and one point for "don't know" or no response. The total scores for the subject sample ranged from 3 to 26;
the 26 score represented the maximum possible points on the scale. Using the mean of 20 as the cutting point between high and low morale, there were 26 older married couples in which both the husband and the wife scored high satisfaction with life. In eight couples, both the husband and wife scored below the mean, rating low satisfaction with life.

This was a negatively skewed distribution with a high concentration of positive scores at the top. Sixteen of the subjects scored one standard deviation (4.5) or more below the mean which indicates that only a small number of the subjects have low individual morale.

There were 14 husband and wife combinations out of the 50 couples in the study sample who were unlike each other one or more standard deviations in their morale scores.

In "An Analysis of a Short Self-Report Measure of Life-Satisfaction: Correlator with Rater Judgments," Wood, Wylie and Sheafor (1969) reported that the Kuder-Richardson Formula 20 "Coefficient Alpha" which computes on the average of all conceivable split halves, was applied to 100 Life Satisfaction Index-Z scores in their sample. The validity and reliability coefficients of correlations were, respectively, .57 and .79 between the 13 item Life-Satisfaction Index-Z test used in their sample and the LSR, an earlier, more extensive morale scale.

The general picture of high satisfaction with life in older married persons which has been reported in many previous studies was substantiated by the study sample.

For purposes of cross-tabulation, the Life-Satisfaction Index-Z Scale was divided into three categories, as shown in Table 18.
Table 18. Life-Satisfaction Index-Z.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Morale Categories</th>
<th>Scores</th>
<th>Percentages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High morale</td>
<td>23-26</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium morale</td>
<td>20-22</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low morale</td>
<td>&lt; 19</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examination of Hypotheses

As stated in the Method of Procedure, under Analysis of Data, when the hypotheses are tested it is only where the value of chi square equals or exceeds the .05 level of significance that the chi square finding will be reported. A table will describe these findings.

1. There is no significant difference in the scores of the subjects who fell in the low, medium and high categories on the Locke-Wallace Marital Adjustment Test with regard to the following:
   a. Sex of subject.
   b. Level of education completed.
   d. Type of housing.
   e. Perception of marital happiness.
   f. Importance of religion.
   g. Perception of health.
h. Present annual income.

i. Life-Satisfaction Index-Z scores.

There were no significant differences in any of the variables other than the variable of present annual income (see Table 19).

Table 19. Marital Adjustment by Income.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Marital Adjustment</th>
<th>Income</th>
<th>Row Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$3,000</td>
<td>$3,000-4,999</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Column Total</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* NOTE: Raw chi square = 22.16 with 8 degrees of freedom. Significance = .005.

The high chi square score of 22.16 with 8 degrees of freedom is influenced by the large number (24) of persons in the middle income bracket of $5,000-$9,999 who fell in the high marital adjustment category and by the low number of persons in other income brackets also scoring high. Persons with both lower and higher incomes tended to fall into the medium and low marital adjustment categories. There were 16 persons who receive annual incomes over $10,000. Nine of them fell into the low marital adjustment category. It is interesting that four persons with
incomes of less than $3,000 fell in the category of high marital adjustment while no persons receiving over $25,000 annual income fell in the category of high marital adjustment. Although this is a small, non-random sample, it would appear from these figures that the higher income received by older persons does not reflect marital happiness. This finding would concur with Cuber and Harnoff's (1965) study of The Significant Americans, in which financial success and status were no guarantees of marital adjustment.

The hypothesis was accepted with the exception of number 8, the variable of present annual income.

2. There is no significant difference in the scores of subjects who fell in the low, medium and high categories on the Life-Satisfaction Index-Z (morale) Scale with regard to the following:
   a. Sex of subject.
   b. Level of education completed.
   d. Type of housing.
   e. Perception of marital happiness.
   f. Importance of religion.
   g. Perception of health.
   h. Present annual income.

The chi square test revealed that there was a difference between the sexes in relation to the Life-Satisfaction Index-Z scores. The difference was found to be significant at the .04 level (see Table 20).
Table 20. Life-Satisfaction by Sex.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Morale (LSI-Z) Categories</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Row Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Column Total</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* NOTE: Raw chi square = 6.419 with 2 degrees of freedom. Significance = .04.

The number of females who fell in the high morale category is more than double that of the males. Also, there are a larger number of males than females in the low morale category. It is suggested that further examination be made with the variables of age, work and retirement before drawing any conclusions from these data. The changing roles in later-life from "instrumental to expressive" as found by Lipman (1960, 1961) may help to account for the more positive appraisals by the older wives.

There were no significant differences in any of the variables other than sex of subjects. Therefore, the hypothesis is accepted with the exception of number 1, sex of subjects.

3. There is no significant difference between the perceptions of older husbands and wives, controlling for sex, with regard to the following:
a. Marital happiness.
b. Health.
c. Importance of religion.

The chi square test revealed that there was no significant difference in the above variables. Therefore, the hypothesis was accepted.

4. There is no significant difference between the cumulative scores on the Locke-Wallace Marital Adjustment Test and on the subtest on perception of marital happiness with regard to the sex of the older husbands and wives.

The chi square test score of 17.39 with 2 degrees of freedom was found to be significant at the .0002 level for the males. The corresponding value for the females was 16.98, also significant at the .0002 level. These values indicate that for those males and females falling into the low and high categories on the "perception" subtest of the Locke-Wallace Marital Adjustment Test, the distribution of their cumulative scores on the Locke-Wallace test was real and not the result of chance factors. The differences between the scores for the males and females were not significant, and the hypothesis was accepted (see Table 21).

Results of the subtest dealing with perception of marital happiness by husbands and wives and the cumulative scores on the Locke-Wallace Marital Adjustment Test show that 82 percent classified themselves correctly, that is, in the low, medium and high categories of the
Locke-Wallace test, these subjects were either in the low marital adjustment and low perception of happiness categories or they were in the medium and high categories of both their perceptions of marital happiness and their marital adjustment. Of the 18 percent who classified themselves incorrectly, there were 15 persons who perceived their marital happiness as high but who scored low on their marital adjustment and three persons who perceived their marital happiness as low but who fell in the medium category of marital adjustment.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Marital Adjustment (Locke-Wallace)</th>
<th>Perception of Marital Happiness</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Males</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Row Total</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>19</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>17</td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Column Total</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>50</td>
<td></td>
<td>11</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
RECOMMENDATIONS

This was a descriptive study of a non-random group of 100 subjects who were married more than 50 years and who lived in Tucson, Arizona. Because it was not a random sample, it is not possible to generalize the findings to the larger population. If possible, each of the findings in this study which show trends of significance should be tested with new samples which have an identifiable universe.

The investigator felt that subjects taken from a normal community rather than a retirement community was one advantage in the sampling. If this pilot study could be replicated in order to sample other geographical areas in the United States, both rural and urban, more information could be added to present knowledge about older married couples.

It would be interesting to attempt cross-cultural studies in other English-speaking countries, such as England and Australia. Each culture has differing rates of technological and economic growth from the United States, thus affecting the life experiences of older people. There has been a large growth in the immigrant population in Australia since the second World War. There would be new nationality groups from southern Europe and other countries to interview. This situation would be reminiscent of the time when the United States experienced heavy migrations. The comparison could be useful.

Considerable data gathered in the present study can be further tested. Such variables as the importance of religion to the parents of
the subjects in the study sample compared with the importance of religion to the subjects themselves; attitudes about sex, death, old age, retirement and role expectations; and findings from the health survey will provide additional material to investigate.

Conducting in-depth interviews with selected couples from the study sample who ranked either high or low in the marital-adjustment or the life-satisfaction measures might reveal more detail about the interpersonal relationships.

Follow-up studies with the same subjects, either all or part of them, in six months or a year's time could prove valuable as a short-term longitudinal effort. Undoubtedly there will be some deaths among these older subjects in the next few years. There has been little research with persons who have been married so long when bereavement comes to them.

A further recommendation for research includes a study of the children and grandchildren of these 50 couples. How are the new alternatives to monogamous marriage affecting the children and grandchildren in their choice of lifestyle?

Many of the subjects' parents had been married over 50 years. Although it was not reported earlier, some of the subjects said they had siblings who also had long marriages. Is there a pattern of both long life and long marriages in these families? There are many hypotheses within the generational framework.

There may be some significant differences in the minority culture groups within the study sample which could be studied in a larger population.
As a group, older people are unique. They have experienced more of life than younger persons. They have a personal sense of the entire life cycle. They are rich in knowledge. They differ from each other widely in most variables. They are truly heterogeneous. They represent models of older persons to their children, their grandchildren, and to their community. Unfortunately, there is much that is not known about the older married couple in the developmental context. In the future, social scientists may feel more confident to interpret findings which relate to the later stages of the life cycle. To gain the required expertise, they may need to conduct longitudinal research with broader sampling and more complex indices. The investigator is optimistic that this can be done. It would require continuous funding and supervision beyond the professional life-time of one individual and thus could best be conducted by an institute or foundation of research.
CONCLUSION

The purpose of this pilot study was to gain basic information regarding the lifestyle of 50 couples who had been married 50 years or more and were living in Tucson, Arizona.

The findings in this non-random sample included a high correlation between the sexes on the scores of the Marital Adjustment test, a significant difference in the amount of education completed by the subjects according to sex, a significant difference in the morale scores by sex with twice as many wives as husbands scoring high in their life-satisfaction, a significant difference in the Marital Adjustment test according to income with the middle income subjects showing the highest adjustment and a highly significant distribution of scores between the perception of happiness subtest and the Marital Adjustment test for both sexes.

In addition, the investigator learned that detailed information can be obtained directly from older persons, 70 to 90 years of age. The study has captured the interest of many people who desire to know more about marriages that last so long a time. The investigator has seen first hand, that there is a difference between successful aging and the not so successful. Because of these results and the interest created by the study, the investigator feels a responsibility to promote the positive features of growing old. This can be done without denying the realities of physical decline and stresses in the behavioral sense.
The majority of the older couples in the study sample are happily married and they have a favorable view of life, as seen in their morale scores. For them, marriage is a source of comfort and support. Their continuous relationship over the years has taught them to cope with crisis and change. Their early commitment to each other may have been tested many times over the years, but they had "staying power." This sense of commitment and mutual support throughout the marriage challenges the myth of progressive disenchantment in the later years of marriage. Many of the older couples are experiencing an increasing closeness as they depend less on their families and social institutions. The sharing and caring for each other in these later years give them a sense of purpose and usefulness. The data from this study presented a unique picture of factors in the life style of 50 couples who had been married an average of 55-1/2 years.
REQUEST FOR SUBJECTS

It's Been a Long and Wonderful Time

Have you been married fifty years or longer? Do you know of such a couple in Tucson? Mrs. Ann Roberts, who has been married 25 years and is a graduate student in the School of Home Economics at The University of Arizona is looking for long-married couples. She would like to find these couples and talk with them about their life experience for a study which examines the later part of the family life cycle. If you have reached your golden anniversary, please phone Mrs. Roberts at 795-1653, or write to her, c/o Home Economics Dept., University of Arizona, Tucson, 85721.

WHAT MAKES "OLD" MARRIAGES TICK?*

Ann and William Roberts, who have been married nearly 26 years themselves and reared five children, are collaborating professionally for the first time on a project aimed at finding out what makes long marriages work.

The Robertses, who are limiting their study to Tucson couples married 50 years or more, have spoken to about 20 elderly couples to find out what has made their marriages last so long.

The project is a first in more ways than one. Not only is this the first time the Robertses have worked as a team, but this also is the first study on the elderly, they believe, that focuses on marriage.

What the Robertses hope to discover is what keeps two people together half a century or more. Several of the couples they have interviewed have been married at least 60 years.

Mrs. Roberts, a graduate student in child development and family relations at The University of Arizona, is doing the study for her master's thesis.

Her husband, an assistant professor in the UA College of Medicine, teaches family and community medicine and is a social worker at the UA's Family Practice Center, a family clinic at 1450 N. Cherry Avenue.

Mrs. Roberts is also a vice president of the newly formed Family Life Council of Tucson. Her husband is a member of the council's board of directors.

The Robertses go to the couples' homes where she interviews the wives and Roberts interviews the husbands. They split it up this way, Mrs. Roberts said, to save time more than for any other reason.

Their questionnaire covers everything from straight family history to questions about courtship, how they perceive their own health and even whether they voted in the last presidential election.

They are asked to describe the happy as well as the difficult times they've had together.

Life hasn't been easy for all the couples interviewed so far, Mrs. Roberts said, but each has made some sort of adjustment that's helped make the marriage last.

They share similar values, understand their partner's needs and are committed to working out their problems.

In spite of crippling arthritis and other ailments, the couples persist in a variety of activities and make an effort to stay involved. They're definitely an elite group, the Robertses said.

Most of them are separated from their families. The majority came to Tucson to retire, so they fill their days with bike rides, hiking, square dancing, shuffleboard, cards, pot luck suppers, the Sunday Evening Forum, visits to friends, and traveling.

All couples said the gas shortage has limited their mobility but hasn't stopped them from planning future trips.
While some said they don't venture out at night, others keep an active schedule and go out as many as five nights a week.

All the couples keep up to date on world affairs by reading the newspaper, magazines and watching TV. Several go to the library a few times a week.

Response to their project has been enthusiastic, the Robertses said, but they still need about 30 couples to complete their study.

Couples who would like to participate may contact Mrs. Roberts at the UA home economics department.
APPENDIX C

FOLLOW-UP "THANK YOU"*

More than twenty couples who have been married over 50 years have expressed their willingness to be interviewed for a study about families in their later years, according to Mrs. Ann Roberts. The request which was published in the January issue of Never Too Late brought responses from 6 couples who have been married over 60 years. Mr. and Mrs. Roberts are now interviewing these couples and will be happy to hear from others of you who have reached your golden anniversary. Please phone Mrs. Roberts at 795-1653 or write to her, c/o Home Economics Department, University of Arizona, Tucson, 85721.

* Article published in Never Too Late, February 1974, Tucson, Arizona, p. 8, by Pima Council on Aging, Inc.
Here are some opinions that people have expressed about older people or about people in general. We would like you to say whether you agree, or disagree with the statements. If you are not sure one way or the other, you can say so.

1. agree  
2. disagree  
3. not sure

1. As I grow older, things seem better than I thought they would be.  
2. I have gotten more of the breaks in life than most of the people I know.  
3. This is the dreariest time of my life.  
4. I am just as happy as when I was younger.  
5. These are the best years of my life.  
6. Most of the things I do are boring or monotonous.  
7. The things I do are as interesting to me as they ever were.  
8. As I look back on my life, I am fairly well-satisfied.  
9. I have made plans for things I'll be doing a month or a year from now.  
10. When I think back over my life, I didn't get most of the important things I wanted.  
11. Compared to other people, I get down in the dumps too often.

* Developed by Neugarten, Havighurst and Tobin (1961).
12. I've gotten pretty much what I expected out of life.

13. In spite of what people say, the lot of the average man is getting worse, not better.
APPENDIX E

LOCKE-WALLACE MARITAL ADJUSTMENT TEST*
(SHORT FORM)

1. Would you look at this card please (show respondent Card A) and ask him/her to point to the dot on the scale line which best describes the degree of happiness, everything considered, of his present marriage. The middle point "happy" represents the degree of happiness which most people get from marriage, and the scale gradually ranges on one side to those few who are very unhappy in marriage, and on the other, to those few who experience extreme joy or felicity in marriage.

\[
\begin{array}{cccccccc}
0 & 2 & 7 & 15 & 20 & 25 & 35 \\
\text{VERY UNHAPPY} & . & . & . & . & . & . & \text{PERFECTLY HAPPY} \\
\end{array}
\]

Now will you turn the card over please? You will see some words listed. (Read through the list.) We would like you to state the approximate extent of agreement or disagreement between you and your (husband/wife) on the following issues.

1. always agree 4. frequently disagree
2. almost always agree 5. almost always disagree
3. occasionally disagree 6. always disagree

2. Handling family finances

3. Matters of recreation

4. Demonstrations of affections

5. Friends

6. Sex relations

7. Right, good or proper conduct

* Adapted from Locke and Wallace (1959, p. 252).
8. Philosophy of life 1 2 3 4 5 6

9. Ways of dealing with in-laws 1 2 3 4 5 6

10. Would you say that when disagreements arise, they most often result in:
   1. husband giving in
   2. wife giving in
   3. (do not read this alternative) agreement by mutual give and take

11. Do you and your (husband/wife) engage in outside interests together?
   1. all of them
   2. some of them
   3. very few of them
   4. none of them

12. In your spare time do you generally prefer:
   1. to be "on the go"
   2. to stay at home?
   3. don't know, it depends, both

13. In your spare time does your (husband/wife) generally prefer:
   1. to be "on the go"
   2. to stay at home?
   3. don't know, it depends, both

14. Do you ever wish you had not married?
   1. frequently
   2. occasionally
   3. rarely
   4. never

15. If you had your life to live over, do you think you would:
   1. marry the same person?
   2. marry a different person?
   3. not marry at all?

16. Do you confide in your (husband/wife)?
   1. almost never
   2. rarely
   3. in most things
   4. in everything
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