

IN PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS

A Pilot Study of Behavior Related to Mental Health

by

Norman M. Bradburn

With the assistance of

William Simon

NATIONAL OPINION RESEARCH CENTER

University of Chicago

Report No. 92

May, 1963

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
LIST OF TABLES	iii
 Chapter	
I. INTRODUCTION	1
Research Design	
Plan of Analysis	
II. CORRELATES OF WELL-BEING	9
Distribution of Happiness in the Social	
Structure	
Two Dimensions of Happiness: Positive	
and Negative Feelings	
Correlates of Positive and Negative	
Feelings	
Summary	
III. ECONOMIC DEPRESSION AND PSYCHOLOGICAL	
WELL-BEING	71
IV. CONCLUSIONS	91
Implications for Future Research	
APPENDIX A BIBLIOGRAPHY	97
APPENDIX B LONG-FORM PERSONAL INTERVIEW	
APPENDIX C SHORT-FORM QUESTIONNAIRE--STUDY OF MODERN	
LIVING.	

LIST OF TABLES

Table		Page
1.1	Selected Demographic Characteristics of Communities	5
1.2	Number of Respondents by Community, Age, Sex, and Method of Data Collection	7
2.1	Happiness and Selected Demographic Character- istics	11
2.2	Education, Income, and Happiness	12
2.3	Education, Income, Age and Happiness	14
2.4	Sex, Marital Status and Happiness	16
2.5	Sex, Employment Status and Happiness	18
2.6	Product-Moment Correlations of Items on Feelings Scale	21
2.7	Positive and Negative Feelings Indices and Happiness	23
2.8	Combined Positive and Negative Feelings Indices and Happiness	24
2.9	Balance of Positive and Negative Feelings Indices and Happiness	26
2.10	Combined Positive and Negative Feelings and Selected Demographic Characteristics	28
2.11	Product-Moment Correlations of Items on Symptom Check List	31
2.12	Anxiety and Selected Health Items	33
2.13	Anxiety and Happiness, Positive Feelings and Negative Feelings	36
2.14	Anxiety and Selected Demographic Characteristics	37

LIST OF TABLES--Continued

Table		Page
2.15	Q-Values for Items on Marital Tension Index . .	39
2.16	Marital Tension and Selected Items	40
2.17	Q-Values for Items on Job Satisfaction Index .	42
2.18	Job Satisfaction Index and Related Work Items .	43
2.19	Marital Tension and Job Satisfaction Indices .	45
2.20	Marital Tension and Job Satisfaction Indices and Measures of Well-Being	47
2.21	Combined Role Adjustment Indices and Happiness.	48
2.22	Marital Happiness, Marital Tension and SES . .	50
2.23	Positive Feelings and Social Interaction, , Controlling for SES	53
2.24	Organizational Membership and Measures of Well-Being	56
2.25	Positive Feelings and Selected Participation Items, Controlling for SES and Sex	59
2.26	SES, Age, and Worries	64
2.27	Happiness and Worries, Controlling for SES . .	66
2.28	Combined Positive and Negative Feelings Indices and Worries, Controlling for SES	68
3.1	Economic Climate and Happiness	72
3.2	Worry Intensity and Happiness Five Years Ago by Community	73
3.3	Happiness by Community, Controlling for SES and Age	75
3.4	Percentage Differences Between SES Groups in Happiness	76
3.5	Positive and Negative Feelings by Community . .	78

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This report presents data from a pilot study in a series of research projects designed to measure on a mass scale fluctuations over time in behavior related to mental health. This research, which is supported by the National Institute of Mental Health, will be a pioneering effort to develop for psychological and behavioral phenomena time-series studies comparable to those that are commonplace in economics and demography. Its long-range objective is to conduct periodic inventories of the psychological well-being of the nation's population. From such inventories it will be possible for the first time to determine the extent to which feeling states of the population are affected by major social trends, national and local crises, and changes in the economic and social structures as well as by patterned events in the life cycles of individuals.

The underlying assumption of this research is that there is a dimension called variously mental health, subjective adjustment, happiness, or psychological well-being and that individuals can be meaningfully described as being relatively high or low on such a dimension. At present there is neither a generally agreed-upon name for this dimension nor agreement as to the appropriate methods of deciding where a particular individual should be placed on such a dimension. From Jahoda's excellent review (1960) of the current status of theorizing about mental health, however, it is apparent that greater conceptual clarity can come only from further empirical studies rather than from more theorizing in the absence of good data.

The pilot study reported here was undertaken in the belief that much of the disagreement over conceptions of mental health stems from a basic lack of knowledge about the behavior of people leading normal lives. By systematically studying heterogeneous normal (i.e., non-clinical) populations, we will be better able to understand the patterning of psychological adjustment and the relationship of various aspects of a person's life to his adjustment. With more detailed knowledge of how people live their lives, what problems they encounter in their everyday activities and how they cope with these problems, how they view their relations with other people, and how they spend their time, we will be in a better position to determine the nature of mental health as well as to study the causes of mental illness.

As a first step toward this goal, NORC conducted a small-scale study in the Spring of 1962, interviewing a sample of people living in four small communities in Illinois. The interview schedule was designed to cover as wide a range as possible of feelings, behavior and attitudes generally considered to be closely related to or indicative of mental health. The interviews focused on six major topics: (1) social activities, (2) marriage and family life, (3) work experiences, (4) involvement in the community, (5) physical health, and (6) subjective states such as felt concerns, anxiety, worries, and life satisfactions and dissatisfactions. Where possible the questions were designed to yield data comparable to those collected in related studies so that our findings could be used to replicate and illuminate previous work.

Research Design

While we were concerned primarily with selecting a sample of persons who would be representative of a normal population, we also wished to study the effects of differing degrees of environmental stress on the lives of our respondents. Our research design was guided by the belief that a person's relative position

on a dimension of mental health or psychological well-being is determined by and reflected in his current life situation. Thus a person's mental health may depend not only on what happens directly to him, but also on what happens to those around him and how he compares himself with others similar to him. Whatever the effects of early developmental factors in setting the personality dispositions of the individual, an underlying assumption of this research is that a person's current life situation is a major determining factor of his mental health, such that major changes in life situations will have significant effects on mental health.

The research strategy selected was to study people living in communities that differed in the degree to which the environment might be considered stressful. The assumption here is that a cross-sectional analysis of persons living in communities that were undergoing different degrees of stress would reveal some of the major differences which might be expected in individuals over time as they undergo similar types of stressful or nonstressful situations. Selected were four communities in Illinois which differed along a dimension of economic prosperity. Two of the communities, East Parrish and Clyde,¹ are in a chronically depressed area of high unemployment, with few prospects for much improvement over the next few years. Both have suffered substantial decline in population due to the out-migration of young people looking for better job opportunities elsewhere. A third town, Spiresburg, is in the same chronically depressed area but has recently experienced considerable improvement with the opening of three new plants in the last four years. While Spiresburg appears to be doing fairly well economically at the moment, it too has suffered during the past ten years from the general population decline in the area, although to a lesser extent than East Parrish

¹All names of towns in this report are fictitious.

and Clyde. The fourth community, Brewer, is a booming town in an area of high employment which has grown rapidly during the past decade and which in 1962 saw its general prosperity augmented by the opening of a new plant paying high wages.

Differences among the four towns in population change, unemployment rate, income level, educational level and age structure are presented in Table 1.1. It can be seen that the differences between the communities do not form a uniform progression. Spiresburg in particular stands in a rather indeterminate position with regard to the economic and demographic variables. From a structural viewpoint it appears to be a depressed community with an unemployment rate higher than the six per cent used by the government to define depressed areas and a declining and aging population indicating out-migration of the younger workers. Because of substantial and successful local efforts to bring in new industry, however, it is experiencing an economic revival relative to the other two communities in the area, as can be seen from the median income figures. While Spiresburg's revival can be expected to produce some positive factors in the lives of its inhabitants, it is not likely to have such large or widespread effects as the really rapid growth taking place in Brewer.

The study was designed to yield a sample of 450 households in each of the four communities. Because of the small scale of the study, it was felt that the maximum benefit would be obtained from the interviews by restricting them to men between the ages of 25 and 49, thus controlling for the important variables of sex and age. Each household was screened to locate male respondents between the ages of 25 and 49 with whom to conduct a personal interview. In order to put to good use the time and effort spent in screening households for eligible respondents, however, an abbreviated self-administered version of the interview schedule was left to be filled out by the head of the household and by the nearest relative of opposite sex. If the head of the household was in

=====

Total

Per

Per

Per

Per

pc

Per

Per

m

Per

s

Per

h

Med

Per

u

Per

o

Gen

Fig

TABLE 1.1

SELECTED DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF COMMUNITIES

Item	East Parrish	Clyde	Spiresburg	Brewer
Total population 1960*	9,027	7,023	3,085	7,008
Per cent 20 - 24*	4	4	4	7
Per cent 25 - 49*	29	28	29	31
Per cent 50 and over*	37	37	36	24
Per cent change in total population 1950-1960*	-21	-11	- 6	+29
Per cent unemployed**	20	20	9	2
Per cent employed in manufacturing*	16	12	24	43
Persons 25 and over: Median school years completed*	8.7	8.9	8.9	11.2
Per cent completing 4 years high school or more*	26.5	30.1	33.9	45.8
Median family income*	\$4,528	\$4,482	\$5,043	\$6,493
Per cent with incomes under \$3,000*	31.0	35.3	23.5	11.4
Per cent with incomes over \$10,000*	6.5	6.9	11.4	16.9

* Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, U.S. Census of Population: 1960. General Social and Economic Characteristics, Illinois, Final Report PC (1)-15c.

** Source: Governor's Committee on Unemployment (Personal communication). Figures available only for counties. August, 1961.

the age group to receive a personal interview, a short form was left for his wife and one other adult relative, if there were one living in the household. The interviewers returned at a later date to collect the completed questionnaires and conduct the interview where necessary. By utilizing both self-administered questionnaires and personal interviews, we were able to obtain data from a relatively large sample. Total number of completed cases was 2,006, including 393 personal interviews and 1,613 self-administered questionnaires. The total number of respondents in each community by age, sex, and method of data collection is given in Table 1.2.

Plan of Analysis

The most fruitful starting point in developing an instrument to measure a dimension of mental health seemed to be people's own estimates of their level of psychological well-being or distress. While self-reports will yield different classifications of individuals from those provided by other types of measures such as psychological tests or experts' ratings of clinical interviews, there is no evidence that self-reports are any less (or for that matter more) valid than expert ratings or psychological tests for rating people on a mental health dimension. Furthermore, self-reports have the eminently practical virtues of face validity, directness, and ease of use. It is most likely that there would be a high degree of overlap, although by no means a perfect correlation, between self-reports and experts' ratings.

How then do we ask a person to rate himself in terms of his subjective feelings of well-being or distress? In the belief that the best first approach to the problem of measurement is a direct one, we asked the straightforward question: "Taking all things together, how would you say things are these days--would you say you are very happy, pretty happy, or not too happy?" Considering the answer to this question to be the respondent's best estimate of his present over-all sense of well-being or

TABLE 1.2

NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS BY COMMUNITY, AGE, SEX, AND METHOD OF DATA COLLECTION

Community	Long Form Personal Interview	Short Form--Self-Administered Questionnaire						Total	
		Males			Female				
		Under 50	50 or older	No answer on age	Under 50	50 or older	No answer on age		
East Parrish	108	19	123	2	123	160	10	545	
Clyde	90	20	88	3	129	112	9	451	
Spiresburg	89	22	74	2	135	101	5	428	
Brewer	106	65	95	3	198	95	20	582	
Total	393	126	380	10	585	468	44	2,006	
				Total Males = 909		Total Females = 1,097			

distress, we have taken the respondent's report of his level of happiness as the basic dependent variable in our study.

The analysis presented in this report will explore the correlates of different self-reports of level of happiness and develop a conceptual framework within which the effects of different events in his life on a person's psychological well-being may be better understood. In Chapter II we will relate the patterning of self-reports of happiness first to various demographic and social-status dimensions and then to other measures of psychological well-being or distress such as feeling states, anxiety, worries, work and marital adjustment, and social interaction. In Chapter III the conceptual framework developed from the analysis of the interrelations of indicators of happiness will be used to investigate the psychological effects of economic stress. Finally, Chapter IV will present some of the conclusions to be drawn from our study and their implications for our future research on mental health.

CHAPTER II

CORRELATES OF WELL-BEING

In this chapter we will investigate various social and psychological correlates of over-all well-being. Discussing first the distribution of happiness in the social structure, we shall see that to a large extent differences in happiness level can be attributed to differences in social status. When we come to examine psychological correlates, we shall see that happiness is not a simple phenomenon that can be understood in terms of a single dimension, but rather a complex resultant of the satisfactions and dissatisfactions, the gratifying and frustrating emotional experiences that a person experiences in his life situation.

Distribution of Happiness in the Social Structure

Education, Income, Age and Happiness

Of the 2,006 respondents in our sample, 24 per cent said they were "very happy," 59 per cent said "pretty happy," and 17 per cent said "not too happy." A slightly different distribution was reported in Americans View Their Mental Health by Gurin, Veroff and Feld (1960b), who found that in a national sample of residents of small towns, 35 per cent were "very happy," 54 per cent "pretty happy," and 10 per cent "not too happy." This difference is consistent with the fact that our sample is heavily concentrated in an economically depressed area, and is at least presumptive evidence that respondents' reports of their general sense of well-being mirror the objective situation.

Table 2.1 shows the relation of happiness to major demographic variables. The data confirm findings reported by Gurin, Veroff and Feld (1960a): there is a strong positive correlation between happiness and both education and income, a marked negative correlation between happiness and age, and no difference in reported happiness between men and women. While these findings are not exactly new, their importance needs to be emphasized because they contradict some generally held notions--that women, for example, tend to be unhappier than men or that money brings unhappiness.

Since education and income are themselves correlated, it is possible that the correlation of one or the other of them with happiness is spurious. When we study the joint effects of education and income on happiness (Table 2.2), we note an interesting and rather perplexing relationship. At every level of education making more money is associated with being happier, but having more education is not always related to being happier. Education and happiness are positively related for the majority of the sample, who earn less than \$7,000 a year, but negatively related among the wealthier people; among the relatively wealthy it is the well-educated who more often say that they are "not too happy." The extremely low incidence of unhappiness among the poorly educated people with incomes of over \$7,000 a year might be explained by their having achieved more than their expectations. On this basis one would expect the "underachievers," those who have at least some college education but make less than \$3,000 a year, to be the most unhappy group; but surprisingly, they are less unhappy than those who are both poorly educated and very poor. The combined negative effect of low income and little education is seen in the proportion of respondents in this latter group who report that they are "not too happy," a

Ma
FeUn
30
40
50
60
708
LH
P
CL
\$
\$
\$
\$
\$
\$
\$H
IP
C
S

TABLE 2.1

HAPPINESS AND SELECTED DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

Selected Demographic Characteristics	Very Happy	Pretty Happy	Not Too Happy	Total	
				Per cent	N-NA
<u>Sex</u>					
Male	25	59	16	100	901
Female	23	60	17	100	1,091
					1,992
					NA 14
					2,006
<u>Age</u>					
Under 30	30	58	11	99	297
30 - 39	24	66	10	100	385
40 - 49	25	62	13	100	417
50 - 59	23	59	18	100	338
60 - 69	21	54	24	99	280
70 and over	18	52	30	100	221
					1,938
					NA 68
					2,006
<u>Education</u>					
8th grade or less	19	56	25	100	644
Less than high school graduate	25	59	16	100	361
High school graduate	27	61	12	100	555
Part college	22	67	10	99	241
College graduate or more	29	60	10	99	154
					1,955
					NA 51
					2,006
<u>Income</u>					
Less than \$3,000	14	55	31	100	536
\$3,000 to 3,999	21	63	16	100	158
\$4,000 to 4,999	27	61	12	100	227
\$5,000 to 5,999	26	64	10	100	241
\$6,000 to 6,999	24	65	10	99	249
\$7,000 to 7,999	30	60	10	100	118
\$8,000 to 9,999	29	63	7	99	181
\$10,000 or more	38	54	8	100	152
					1,862
					NA 144
					2,006
<u>SES*</u>					
I	28	62	10	100	865
II	20	58	22	100	1,025
					1,890
					NA 116
					2,006

* Respondents were divided into two social classes. Class I consists of people who have at least two of the following attributes: Family income of \$5,000 or more, high school graduate or more, and white collar occupation. Class II consists of those with none or only one of the above attributes.

TABLE 2.2
 EDUCATION, INCOME AND HAPPINESS
 (Per cent "Not too happy")

Education	Less than \$3,000	\$3,000 - 4,999	\$5,000 - 6,999	\$7,000 or more
8th grade or less	33 (359)	33 (115)	13 (97)	3 (32)
High school or part high school	27 (142)	16 (213)	10 (284)	7 (227)
Part college or more	21 (29)	9 (53)	7 (107)	10 (188)
N : NA 1,846 NA on Happiness 14 NA on Education and/or Income <u>146</u> Total N. 2,006				

proportion which is nearly twice that for the sample as a whole.¹

Since age is also correlated negatively with education and income, let us look simultaneously at the relative contribution of each to the distribution of happiness in our sample. Table 2.3 presents the per cent of respondents in different education, income and age groups who report that they are "not too happy." The negative relationship between age and happiness appears strongest among the poor people. Looking across the first row of the table, we see that the least educated, lowest income, oldest group has the highest proportion of "not too happy" people (32 per cent). Among the better educated, low-income respondents (third row), age is also related to unhappiness. In this group those who are under 40 are happier than those who are 40 or over, although there appears to be little relation between age and happiness after 40.

The effects of income are shown in the columns of Table 2.3. Income makes little difference in reported happiness among younger respondents, but a considerable difference among respondents 40 or older. This finding suggests that present income has different meanings at different stages of the life cycle. For younger people, who presumably have not yet reached their full earning power, expectations of future income are more important than present income. The more serious effect of low income on people 40 or older, who have reached their full earning power, is apparent in the considerably higher proportion of respondents in this group who report that they are "not too happy." Among the poor it might be said that "life ends at 40."

¹These findings are at odds with the theory of status equilibration that has been developed by Lenski (1954) and his students. According to this theory, people whose statuses are not congruent should experience more stress and psychological malaise than those whose statuses are equilibrated. Our findings suggest that the level at which equilibration occurs is also important, and that it would be a mistake to treat as one those whose statuses are equilibrated at different levels of social ranking.

TABLE 2.3
 EDUCATION, INCOME, AGE AND HAPPINESS
 (Per cent "Not too happy")

Education	Income	Age		
		Under 40	40 - 59	60 or over
Less than High School Graduate	Less than \$5,000	18 (95)	25 (205)	32 (340)
	\$5,000 or more	11 (88)	9 (163)	4 (24)
High School Graduate or More	Less than \$5,000	9 (116)	20 (81)	20 (49)
	\$5,000 or more	8 (349)	9 (225)	12 (33)

N - NA	1,768
NA on Happiness	14
NA on Education, Income, and/or Age	<u>224</u>
Total N	2,006

The most interesting group, however, are the poorly educated, higher income respondents (row two) for whom there is a positive relationship between age and happiness. A possible interpretation of this finding is that while the younger poorly educated respondents making over \$5,000 a year perceive themselves to be doing better than others of similar age and educational background, they may feel that their relative success is only a temporary phenomenon, since many of those presently making low incomes can still achieve higher incomes later in life. By the age of 40, however, income differential is apt to remain relatively constant, enabling those with higher income to feel that they really are doing considerably better. Among the oldest group, those who have poor educations but incomes of over \$5,000 are a very small minority--notice, for example, the increasing difference between the number of cases in the low and high income groups as one moves from the younger to the older groups--and compared with others of similar educational background they are doing extremely well. Their position might be called one of "relative enrichment," as an analogue to the concept of relative deprivation.

Marital Status and Happiness

Table 2.4 presents the relationship of happiness to marital status. It can be seen that respondents who (for whatever reason) are not married are considerably less happy than those who are. It was pointed out earlier that in the aggregate men and women did not differ in degree of reported happiness. Important sex differences do emerge, however, when marital status is considered. The difference is particularly striking among single respondents, single men being twice as likely as single women to report being "not too happy." Indeed, single women differ only slightly from married women in their reported happiness, a surprising finding in view of the widespread impression that being unmarried is one of the worst things that can happen to a woman. Although these findings are based on a relatively small number of cases, they

TABLE 2.4
SEX, MARITAL STATUS AND HAPPINESS
(Per cent "Not too happy")

Marital Status	Male	Female
Married	14 (794)	11 (824)
Single	31 (42)	15 (33)
Divorced or separated . . .	38 (26)	26 (39)
Widowed	43 (23)	39 (176)
N - NA		1,957
NA on Happiness Index		14
NA on Marital Status		35
Total N		2,006

are consistent with those reported from a nation wide sample (Gurin, Veroff and Feld, 1960) and from an extensive sample in mid-town Manhattan (Srole et. al., 1962). We might note also that widowers and divorced or separated men are more likely to be unhappy than women in similar situations. Taken together, these findings suggest that being married is in fact more important for the happiness of men than of women. A somewhat similar conclusion was arrived at by Durkheim (1951) who suggested, on the basis of a study of suicide rates, that unmarried men live in a greater state of anomie than do unmarried women. While our data are not sufficient to permit an explanation of these differences, we hope to investigate the relation of marital status and happiness more fully in future research.

Employment Status and Happiness

We would also expect employment status to be related to happiness, at least among men; and there has also been considerable speculation recently about the relative happiness of women who are and are not working. Table 2.5 shows that a man's employment status does indeed make a considerable difference in his reported happiness, 33 per cent of those who are unemployed reporting that they are "not too happy" as against only 12 per cent for the currently employed and nine per cent for self-employed men. Men who are retired or otherwise not in the labor force (mainly those who have had disabling injuries) are nearly as likely to report being "not too happy" as are the unemployed men. This finding indicates that, as we shall discuss in greater detail later, work is of crucial importance to the happiness of men.

Among women, however, the situation is entirely different. Of the women who define themselves as being in the work force, those who are unemployed but looking for work or who are retired tend to report that they are "not too happy" about as frequently as do men; but there appears to be little difference in reported

TABLE 2.5
SEX, EMPLOYMENT STATUS AND HAPPINESS
(Per cent "Not too happy")

Employment Status	Male	Female
Self-employed	9 (128)	16 (55)
Employed	12 (520)	12 (200)
Part-time employed	* (14)	15 (93)
Unemployed	33 (73)	27 (30)
Retired	27 (139)	26 (80)
Not in labor force	28 (26)	17 (613)
N - NA		1,971
NA on Happiness		14
NA on Employment Status		<u>21</u>
Total N		2,006

* Too small case base to percentage.

happiness between women who are currently employed, whether full-time, part-time or unemployed, and women who say that they are neither working nor looking for work, i.e., the full-time housewives. Among the latter, then, for whom the work role is a most important part of life, being unemployed or not working for whatever reason increases the likelihood of being unhappy. Women, on the other hand, seem to be about equally happy whether or not they choose to take on a work role; but those women who do desire a work role but have been unable to find employment, or have been forced to retire, are more likely to be unhappy. In view of the increasing proportion of women in the labor force, the conclusion that whether or not a woman chooses to work is unrelated to her happiness is somewhat startling. A definite answer to the question of the relation of work to women's happiness may be found in further studies which will include samples of women from urban areas and investigate some of the reasons women have for entering the labor force.

Two Dimensions of Happiness: Positive
and Negative Feelings

Having considered some of the major patternings of self-reports of happiness, let us now turn to some other measures of well-being and see how they relate to happiness and to one another. The question, "How are you feeling?" is one which is heard often in everyday conversation, but one that has played very little role in the psychological study of behavior. In order to help the respondent go beyond what might be heavily conventional answers, we constructed a question describing 12 ways people feel at different times and asked each respondent to indicate how often he had felt that way during the past week.² The 12 items were chosen to

²This rather short time focus was chosen because, in accord with our emphasis on current life situation, we were interested in the respondent's particular experiences in the recent

represent a wide range of pleasurable and unpleasurable experiences apt to be common in a heterogeneous population. We expected that the items would cluster in two groups, one indicative of positive and the other of negative feelings, and that the two clusters would be negatively related to one another. Table 2.6 presents the product-moment intercorrelations of the 12 items based on the responses of the 393 men aged 25-49 who were given the long form of the interview.

The intercorrelations confirm one expectation, namely, that there is a strong tendency for most of the items to fall into one of two groups which can be described as two clusters of positive and negative feelings. Two items--"angry at something that usually wouldn't bother you" and "you couldn't do something because you just couldn't get going"--showed a somewhat lower correlation with the other items in a negative cluster and were dropped from the cluster. One item--"you had more things to do than you could get done"--had a low intercorrelation with all other items and appears to lie on another dimension entirely. On the basis of the cluster analysis two indices were constructed. Each respondent was scored on a zero-to-three scale for each feelings item and given a summary score on the positive feelings index equal to his score on the four items in the positive feelings cluster, and a summary score on the negative feelings index equal to his score on five items in the negative cluster. The scores were then combined to give three groups--high, medium and low--on each of the two indices.

One very surprising fact stands out in Table 2.6: while the items do fall into two clusters as expected, the items in one cluster are not negatively related to those in the other cluster in any consistent or strong fashion. Although 14 of the 20

past rather than in his experiences "in general" or "on the average." We also felt that respondents would have a reasonably accurate memory for different experiences if only a recent time period were considered.

Iter
(
Ple.
com
Pro
com
thi
Par
int
On
Ang
usu
you
The
to
dor
The
sor
ju
Vag
sor
ing
So
si
Bo
Ve
fr
De
unl

correlations between items in the two clusters are negative, the largest single correlation is only -.19 and that is between "depressed or very unhappy" and "on top of the world" which would be expected on a priori grounds to show a strong negative correlation. Respondents' total scores on the two indices are themselves uncorrelated ($R = .07$, $N = 393$).

If the positive and negative dimensions do not correlate with one another, how does each alone correlate with happiness? As we see in Table 2.7, each of the two indices does correlate in the expected direction with respondents' self-reports of happiness. Respondents high on the positive feelings index tend to consider themselves "very happy," while those low on the positive feelings index tend to report that they are "not too happy"; respondents reporting many negative feelings during the previous week tend to say that they are "not too happy," while those who report having few negative feelings are more likely to describe themselves as "very happy." Combining the two indices, as in Table 2.8, we find that of those who are high on the positive feelings index and low on the negative feelings index, nearly 50 per cent report that they are "very happy" as against only one per cent who are "not too happy." Of those who are low on the positive feelings index and high on the negative feelings index only eight per cent report being "very happy" while nearly 40 per cent report being "not too happy."

The fact that positive and negative feeling states correlate individually with happiness but not with each other has two major implications for the assessment of well-being. In the first place we must consider the balance of positive and negative feelings and the implications of different sorts of balances for the functioning of the individual. In this view, one's subjective assessment of his well-being is a function of the relative strengths of the forces contributing to the experience of positive and negative feelings, with the strong implication that

TABLE 2.7

POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE FEELINGS INDICES AND HAPPINESS

Indices	Very Happy	Pretty Happy	Not Too Happy	Total	
				Per cent	N-NA
<u>Positive Feelings Index</u>					
Low	15	58	28	100	590
Medium . . .	21	62	17	100	682
High	34	59	7	100	<u>720</u>
					1,992
					NA <u>14</u>
					2,006
<u>Negative Feelings Index</u>					
Low	35	59	6	100	757
Medium . . .	28	63	9	100	181
High	15	59	26	100	<u>1,054</u>
					1,992
					NA <u>14</u>
					2,006

TABLE 2.8

COMBINED POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE FEELINGS INDICES
AND HAPPINESS

Positive Feelings	Negative Feelings	Very Happy	Pretty Happy	Not Too Happy	Total	
					Per cent	N-NA
High	Low	47	51	1	99	279
High	High	24	64	12	100	360
	Medium	23	61	16	100	804
Low	Low	22	65	13	100	227
Low	High	8	52	40	100	322
						1,992
						NA 14
						2,006

experiences producing negative feelings do not necessarily at the same time diminish positive feelings nor do experiences producing positive feelings affect the amount of negative feelings. The independence of these two dimensions, if confirmed by our further studies,³ suggests a radical departure from usual notions about psychological well-being because it means that it is quite possible for a person to report being, for example, "very depressed" and still describe himself as "very happy." Such a report would be perfectly logical if the experience of the negative feelings were offset by the experience of several positive feelings.

The effect of this relative balance of positive and negative feelings at all levels of feelings can be seen in Table 2.9, a more detailed version of Table 2.8. Here respondents are divided into three groups according to relative balance of feelings, with each group then further divided into three groups according to the amount of feelings reported. We see that respondents with more positive than negative feelings are more likely to report being "very happy" even though they have some negative feelings, while those who report more negative than positive feelings are more likely to say that they are "not too happy" even though they may have some positive feelings. If there is a balance between the two feelings, at whatever level of feeling, respondents are apt to report being "pretty happy." This is striking evidence that happiness is a resultant of the relative strengths of positive and negative feelings rather than of the absolute amount of one or the other. Such a conception should help explain why some people who seem to have a very high amount of negative forces acting on them still are able to maintain a sense of well-being, while others who appear to be exposed to only a small amount of negative

³ Preliminary analysis of data from a follow-up study in two of our communities confirms the independence of the two dimensions. A complete report of this study will be published in the near future.

TABLE 2.9

BALANCE OF POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE FEELINGS INDICES AND HAPPINESS

Positive Feelings	Negative Feelings	Very Happy	Pretty Happy	Not Too Happy	Total	
					Per cent	N-NA
<u>A. Positive > Negative</u>						
High	Low	47	51	1	99	279
High	Medium	33	62	5	100	81
Medium	Low	34	61	5	100	251
<u>B. Positive = Negative</u>						
High	High	24	64	12	100	360
Medium	Medium	24	68	8	100	59
Low	Low	22	65	13	100	227
<u>C. Positive < Negative</u>						
Low	Medium	24	59	17	100	41
Medium	High	13	61	26	100	372
Low	High	8	52	40	100	322
						1,992
						NA 14
						2,006

experiences become extremely depressed.

A second implication of the independence of positive and negative feelings is that there may be a dimension of "feelingness" or affectivity cutting across the positive-negative feeling dimension. Thus some people may have many different feelings during a short period of time while others may be relatively "affectless" and be aware of (or at least report) having few or no feelings at all. Such an implication would be in line with distinctions in personality theory between "intraceptive" and "extraceptive" persons (Murray, 1938), or between those who are sensitive to inner states and those who are relatively unaware of feelings or are emotionally unresponsive to situational cues.

To explore further the meaning of the independence of positive and negative feelings, let us look at the patterning of feelings along some of the major dimensions of social structure. In doing so we will employ a five-fold typology characterizing people as being (1) high in positive but low in negative feelings, (2) low in positive but high in negative feelings, (3) low in both positive and negative feelings, (4) high in both positive and negative feelings, and (5) medium on both sets of feelings. This typology will enable us to see the effects of a predominance of one kind of feeling or the other by comparing the responses of those who are high only on one index with those who are high only on the other, and to see the correlates of high and low affectivity by comparing the responses of those who are high on both indices with those who are low on both. The relevant data are presented in Table 2.10. Comparisons between Columns A and B will indicate the differences between groups on a "pure" positive or negative dimension, while comparisons between Columns C and D will indicate differences between groups on the affectivity dimension.

First, Columns A and B show differences very similar to those reported in Table 2.1 for self-reports of happiness. There

is practically no difference in the percentage of men and women in our sample having either predominantly positive or predominantly negative feelings. As we move from the less educated to the more educated respondents, the percentage who have high negative and low positive feelings (i.e., are less happy) steadily declines and the percentage who have high positive and low negative feelings (i.e., are happier) steadily increases. Similar results are found as one moves from low to high income groups. In the case of age, however, the differences are not quite as marked as they were in the case of self-reports of happiness, although, as Table 2.1 showed, only after age 60 did the percentage of respondents reporting that they were "not too happy" begin to exceed the percentage reporting that they were "very happy." Here too it is only after 60 that a large difference in the balance of feelings begins to emerge on the side of negative feelings.

Looking down Columns C and D we notice different types of relationships. In contrast to the lack of difference in happiness between men and women, we notice that they do differ in the degree to which they report experiencing feelings of both sorts, with women being slightly more likely to report having had many feelings both positive and negative, and men somewhat more likely to report having had neither positive nor negative feelings. As we move from the less to the more educated and from the lower to the higher income groups, we see a decline in the proportion reporting no feelings and an increase in the proportion reporting many positive and negative feelings. With age we get the opposite result; as we move from younger to older, there is a steady increase in the percentage reporting no feelings and a corresponding decrease in the percentage reporting many feelings of both kinds. These findings of differences in affectivity suggest that one important characteristic of people with higher education and income is their increased emotional sensitivity and psychological responsiveness to their environment. Such heightened sensitivity may be one of

1,870
136
NA 2 000

20
27,000 01 MORE . . .

the reasons that the authors of Americans View Their Mental Health found that though happier, better educated, and higher income groups had greater feelings of social inadequacy and more problems.

Correlates of Positive and Negative Feelings

We have shown that positive and negative feelings are independent dimensions such that knowing a person's level of one type of feelings will not enable us to predict his level of the other. How can we explain this finding which so clearly contradicts our original expectation that a person who is experiencing many negative feelings would not at the same time be likely to have many positive feelings? The answer appears to be that negative feelings are produced by certain types of experiences the absence of which results not in positive feelings but merely in the absence of negative feelings. Similarly there are other types of experiences that produce positive feelings, but their absence results only in the absence of positive feelings and not in any increase in negative feelings. While the nature of the present study does not permit us to establish causal relationships between variables, we can attempt to clarify the reasons for the independent variation of the two types of feelings by examining factors that correlate with each. Our analysis will focus on four factors--anxiety, marital adjustment, job adjustment, and social interaction--which previous studies have shown to be significantly related to mental health.

Anxiety

Included in our questionnaire was a symptom check-list derived from earlier studies attempting to measure anxiety (Stouffer et al., 1948; MacMillan, 1957). The produce-moment intercorrelations of the items on the symptom check-list are found in Table 2.11. From this pool of intercorrelations there emerged one cluster of items which seemed indicative of anxiety--"dizziness," "general

TABLE 2.11

PRODUCT-MOMENT CORRELATIONS OF ITEMS ON SYMPTOM CHECK-LIST (ANXIETY INDEX)

(Males Age 25-49 Only, N = 393)

Items on Symptom Check-List	Aches and Pains	Dizziness	Headaches	Muscle Twitches	Rapid Heart Beat	Loss of Appetite	Upset Stomach	Cold Sweats	Fever	Constipation	Diarrhea	Common Cold	Back Pains	Skin Rashes
Nervousness . . . . .	.42	.34	.38	.37	.32	.29	.27	.23	.14	.16	.09	.09	.31	.11
Aches and Pains	-	.38	.29	.36	.29	.20	.30	.22	.21	.24	.12	.16	.44	.12
Dizziness	-	-	.28	.30	.32	.21	.29	.26	.24	.16	.12	.25	.27	.13
Headaches	-	-	-	.21	.21	.19	.27	.16	.17	.13	.09	.13	.24	.13
Muscle Twitches	-	-	-	-	.32	.18	.22	.18	.12	.15	.08	.09	.28	.12
Rapid Heart Beat	-	-	-	-	-	.21	.24	.24	.15	.20	.04	.09	.18	.09
Loss of Appetite	-	-	-	-	-	-	.27	.23	.22	.08	.07	.09	.16	.03
Upset Stomach	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.15	.22	.15	.20	.17	.21	.12
Cold Sweats	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.19	.09	.06	.15	.22	.09
Fever	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.08	.16	.13	.14	.11
Constipation	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.00	.09	.14	.02
Diarrhea	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.15	.08	.07
Common Cold	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.08	.06
Back Pains	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.06
Skin Rashes	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

aches and pains," "headaches," "muscle twitches," "nervousness," and "rapid heart beat." These or analogous items load fairly highly for both men and women on Factor One (Psychological Anxiety) from a factor analysis of a similar list of items by Gurin, Veroff, and Feld (1960a). Each respondent in our sample was given an anxiety score equal to the number of symptoms included in this cluster that he reported experiencing during the previous week. Respondents were then divided into three groups: low anxiety (zero symptoms), medium anxiety (one or two symptoms), and high anxiety (three or more of the six symptoms).

Although we have labeled this cluster of items an anxiety index, only one item—"nervousness"—is a direct report of feelings of anxiety. The other items we assume to be common somatic indicators of the presence of anxiety. In order, however, to investigate the construct validity of our index, that is, the degree to which it is meaningfully related to other behavioral indices of anxiety, let us look at its relationship to some other items from the long-form interview obtained only from men between the ages of 25 and 49 (See Table 2.12).

One of the first things we might expect, if an anxiety index is valid, is that people who are high on such an index would be more likely to have sought help in connection with a nervous or mental problem than would people who are low on the index. This is indeed the case, not only for our respondents themselves but also for members of their families. Thirty-six per cent of those who are high on the index, as against only 14 per cent of those low on it, report that either they or someone in their family had at some time consulted a doctor or other professional person about a nervous or mental problem. (In some cases, these figures represent both a respondent and his wife's having been to a doctor.) More strikingly, those who had themselves consulted doctors comprise 19 per cent of the respondents with high scores but only two per cent of the respondents with low scores on the

TABLE 2.12

ANXIETY AND SELECTED HEALTH ITEMS

(Males Age 25-49 Only, N = 393)

Selected Items	Anxiety Index		
	Low (N = 119)	Medium (N = 153)	High (N = 121)
Respondent or someone in family consulted doctor for nervous or mental problem	14	25*	36*
Self	2	10	19
Spouse	9	17	19
Other	3	3	5
Sleep Problems:			
Has trouble getting to sleep.	7	7	15
Has trouble getting up . . .	16	24	17
Has both trouble getting to sleep and getting up . . .	3	3	7
Neither	74	66	61
Total	100%	100%	100%
During past week took:			
Aspirin	21	56	64
Stomach medicine	3	16	26
Nerve medicine (tranquilizers)	1	3	12
Prescribed medicine	5	12	28
Respondent sick during week . . .	7	15	30
If sick, caused respondent to cut down on activities	8	22 (23)	44 (36)
Energy during week:			
More	19	20	16
Same	69	63	50
Less	12	18	33
Total	100%	101%	99%

* Some respondents gave more than one response.

index; furthermore, 19 per cent of the high-scoring respondents, as against only nine per cent of the low-scoring respondents, had wives who had consulted someone about a nervous or mental problem. These findings suggest that high anxiety may reflect not only the respondent's own problems but also his marital or family situation and the tensions that have built up within it.

People who are classified by our index as having high anxiety should also be more likely to report having trouble getting to sleep, since this is an item which has high loading on a similar factor constructed by Gurin, Veroff, and Feld (1960a). Indeed, our high-scoring respondents were twice as likely as the low scorers to have had trouble getting to sleep.

Respondents with high scores on the index were also much more likely to report that they had been sick during the week preceding the interview and were, of those who had been sick, the most likely to indicate that the illness caused them to cut down on their usual activities. High-scoring respondents were much more likely to use various types of medicine such as aspirin, stomach medicine, nerve medicine or tranquilizers and other medicine prescribed by a physician. They were also much more likely to report that they had less energy during the previous week than usual. These findings raise the question of whether our index is really measuring anxiety or merely reflecting the fact that some respondents had been ill and thus suffered from many of the symptoms on our check-list. While some of the respondents probably were classified as high on the index because they were suffering from a physical illness with minimal psychic concomitants, the vast majority (70 per cent) of those classified as having high anxiety were not sick. Moreover, an inspection of the interviews indicates that many of those who had been sick were suffering from illnesses, such as "nervous stomach," ulcers, and hypertension, that had at least a large psychic component. Taken together these various findings indicate that our index is measuring a

construct which legitimately falls within the meaning of our notions of anxiety.

How does the anxiety index relate to our other indices of well-being? Table 2.13 shows that there is a negative relationship between the anxiety index and respondents' reports of how happy they are, with the high-anxiety respondents being more likely to report that they are "not too happy" and the low-anxiety respondents being more likely to report that they are "very happy." As concerns the two feelings indices, however, the anxiety index is strongly related only to the negative feelings index and has no significant relationship with the positive feelings index. The lack of relationship between anxiety and positive feelings coupled with the strong relationship between anxiety and negative feelings, indicates that anxiety affects happiness only by contributing to negative feelings and not by decreasing positive feelings. Viewing the relation of responses to the anxiety index to major demographic variables, we note in Table 2.14 that women are much more prone than men to high anxiety but that there is no consistent relationship between age and anxiety. Anxiety is inversely related to income and education, although, for a reason as yet unclear, the \$7,000 a year bracket constitutes one exception to the general decline in anxiety with increasing income. These relationships are in general similar to those found for negative feelings (no table reported) and would be consistent with the interpretation that anxiety is associated with a general negative factor.

Marital Adjustment

For the men between the ages of 25 and 49 who received the long-form interview we have more extensive data on adjustment in two important roles--the marital role and the work role. For married men in the interviewed group we included a question describing different types of problems that sometimes cause disagreements in

TABLE 2.13

ANXIETY AND HAPPINESS, POSITIVE FEELINGS AND NEGATIVE FEELINGS
(Total N = 2,006)

Feelings	Anxiety Index			
	Low	Medium	High	
<u>Happiness</u>				
Very happy	35	27	16	Les
Pretty happy	55	61	60	30
Not too happy	10	11	24	40
Total	100%	99%	100%	50
N-NA	414	707	871	60
<u>Positive Feelings</u>				
High	38	37	34	70
Medium	33	33	36	8th
Low	29	30	30	Par
Total	100%	100%	100%	Hig
N-NA	419	711	876	Par
<u>Negative Feelings</u>				
High	29	42	73	Col
Medium	10	11	7	Les
Low	61	47	20	\$3
Total	100%	100%	100%	\$4
N-NA	419	711	876	\$5
				\$6
				\$7
				\$8
				\$10

Mal
Fer

Les
30
40
50
60
70

8th
Par
Hig
Par
Col

Les
\$3
\$4
\$5
\$6
\$7
\$8
\$10

I
II

TABLE 2.14

ANXIETY AND SELECTED DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

Selected Demographic Characteristics	Anxiety Index			Total	
	Low	Medium	High	Per cent	N-NA
<u>Sex</u>					
Male	28	41	31	100	909
Female	15	31	54	100	1,097
					<u>2,006</u>
<u>Age</u>					
Less than 30	21	33	46	100	299
30 - 39	20	34	46	100	385
40 - 49	19	41	40	100	419
50 - 59	21	35	44	100	339
60 - 69	26	34	40	100	283
70 and over	21	37	43	101	226
					<u>1,951</u>
					NA <u>55</u>
					<u>2,006</u>
<u>Education</u>					
8th grade or less	18	32	50	100	647
Part high school	23	33	44	100	365
High school graduate	19	38	43	100	555
Part college	22	44	35	101	242
College graduate or more	31	36	33	100	155
					<u>1,964</u>
					NA <u>42</u>
					<u>2,006</u>
<u>Income</u>					
Less than \$3,000	19	30	51	100	537
\$3,000 - 3,999	23	34	43	100	160
\$4,000 - 4,999	25	35	40	100	229
\$5,000 - 5,999	16	40	44	100	242
\$6,000 - 6,999	18	45	37	100	250
\$7,000 - 7,999	13	32	54	99	118
\$8,000 - 9,999	24	38	38	100	181
\$10,000 or more	29	37	34	100	153
					<u>1,870</u>
					NA <u>136</u>
					<u>2,006</u>
<u>SES</u>					
I	22	38	41	101	865
II	20	34	46	100	1,025
					<u>1,890</u>
					NA <u>116</u>
					<u>2,006</u>

marriage and asked them to indicate whether or not each problem area had been a problem in their marriage. Table 2.15 presents the intercorrelations of the items on the marital problem checklist. The intercorrelation among all of these problem areas except one--"how the house looks"--was high enough to suggest that we could utilize simply the number of problem areas mentioned as an index of degree of tension in the marital relationship. We thus constructed a marital tension index, giving each respondent a score equal to the number of problems he mentioned, and then divided respondents into three groups: a low-tension group consisting of those respondents who mentioned no problems in their marriage, a medium-tension group of respondents who mentioned one or two problems, and a high-tension group consisting of those respondents who said that three or more problem areas had caused differences of opinion or problems between them and their wives.

Since it is not certain that the mere number of different problem areas mentioned is indicative of real tension in marriage, let us explore the relationship between the marital tension index and other items having to do with the marital relationship. In Table 2.16 we see that there is a strong relationship between the marital tension index and the respondent's report of how happy his marriage is. Men who are low on the index are much more likely than those who are high to report that their marriages are "very happy" and, similarly, men high on the index are much more likely to have only "average" or "not too happy" marriages than are men low on the index. Men who are low on the marital tension index are also more likely to report that they spend a lot of time doing things together with their wives. It is interesting to note that tension appears to decrease with the length of the marriage, 37 per cent of those married for twenty years or more being low on the marital tension index as against 28 per cent of those married for 10 to 19 years, and only 19 per cent of those married for less than ten years. It seems likely that this result is due both to

TABLE 2.15

Q-VALUES FOR ITEMS ON MARITAL TENSION INDEX

(Married Men, Age 25-49, N = 360)

Items on Marital Tension Index	Q-Values											
	Religion	House Expenses	Time Spent with Friends	Disciplining Children	Being Tired	Personal Habits	Leisure Time	Work	Being Away from Home	In-Laws	Work Around the House	How House Looks
Not showing love . . . . .	.80	.78	.78	.72	.69	.69	.69	.66	.65	.63	.57	.35
Religion	-	.32	.63	.36	.45	.53	.66	.58	.39	.59	.42	.52
House expenses	-	-	.55	.63	.61	.34	.41	.71	.35	.77	.60	.47
Time spent with friends	-	-	-	.49	.28	.38	.60	.64	.59	.30	.59	.15
Disciplining children	-	-	-	.47	.61	.31	.37	.05	.57	.45	.23	.23
Being tired	-	-	-	.58	.36	.35	.21	.55	.40	.27	.30	.27
Irritating personal habits	-	-	-	-	.69	.27	.34	.44	.45	.30	.45	.30
How to spend leisure time	-	-	-	-	-	.51	.55	.46	.45	.37	.37	.37
Work	-	-	-	-	-	-	.55	.55	.56	.31	.31	.31
Being away from home too much	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.24	.46	.34	.34	.34
In-laws	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.19	.40	.40	.40
Work around the house	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.46	.46	.46
How the house looks	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	.46	.46

TABLE 2.16

MARITAL TENSION AND SELECTED ITEMS

(Married Men, Age 25-49, N = 360)

Selected Items	Marital Tension Index			Total	
	Low (N=99)	Medium (N=118)	High (N=143)	Per cent	N-NA
<u>Marriage is . . .</u>					
Very happy	70	56	38		
Above average	11	27	29		
Average or "not too happy" . .	<u>19</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>33</u>		
Total	100%	100%	100%		
<u>Spends Time with Wife</u>					
A lot	54	42	27		
Moderate amount	26	42	39		
Little	<u>20</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>34</u>		
Total	100%	100%	100%		
<u>Spends Time with Children</u>					
A lot	39	31	22		
Moderate amount	33	53	51		
Little	<u>28</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>26</u>		
Total	100%	100%	99%		
Felt not as good father as would like to be	55	50	72		
<u>Years Married</u>					
Less than 10	19	37	44	100	103
10 - 19	28	28	44	100	172
20 or more	37	37	26	100	<u>84</u>
					359
					NA <u>1</u>
					360
Married more than once	27	47	27	101	34
No children living in house- hold	44	31	24	99	54
Children living in household .	25	33	42	100	306

a gradual accommodation between marriage partners over time and to the fact that marriages with high tension would probably have broken up before too many years had passed. Note, however, that having been married more than once is not related to marital tension.

The presence of children in the household, however, does appear to increase the likelihood of marital tension, 41 per cent of those with children living in the household having high marital tension as compared with 24 per cent of those having no children in the household. Furthermore, among men who do have children living with them, those who are high on the marital tension index are less likely to spend a lot of time with their children and much more likely to feel that they are not such good fathers as they would like to be. In general then, the marital tension index would appear to be a good indicator of maladjustment in the marital role and to some extent in the parental role, although we have less data on behavior in this role.

Job Adjustment

Since the work role is one of the most central in a man's life, we would expect that one's adjustment in this role would be of major importance in determining his over-all sense of well-being. Four items in the interview concerned satisfaction with different aspects of work--type of work, wages, employer, and over-all level of job satisfaction. The intercorrelations of these four items are presented in Table 2.17. An over-all job satisfaction index was constructed by totaling each respondent's answers on three items (the item on satisfaction with employer being excluded because it did not apply to the self-employed), and the respondents were divided into three groups on the basis of total score.

Table 2.18 presents the relationship of the job satisfaction index to other work-related items. As compared with

TABLE 2.17
 Q-VALUES FOR ITEMS ON JOB SATISFACTION INDEX
 (Employed Men, Age 25-49, N = 352)

Satisfaction with:	Kind of Work	Wages	Employer*
Over-all job . . . . .	.90	.80	.77
Kind of work	-	.68	.40
Wages		-	.49
Employer*			-

*Not asked of self-employed (N = 93).

Better
 Same
 Not
 Feel
 Had
 pro
 Rece
 Expe
 cor
 Feel
 Job
 sk
 Gone
 Resp
 in

TABLE 2.18

JOB SATISFACTION INDEX AND RELATED WORK ITEMS

(Employed Males, Age 25-49, N = 352)

Related Work Items	Job Satisfaction Index		
	Low (N = 127)	Medium (N = 153)	High (N = 72)
<u>Work Performance During Previous Week</u>			
Better than usual	14	17	13
Same as usual	76	75	83
Not as well as usual	10	7	4
Total	100%	99%	100%
Feel very much part of work group .	77	86	93
Had disagreement at work during previous week	24	17	8
Received praise or recognition* . .	33 (98)	43 (116)	38 (45)
Experienced criticisms or complaint*	6 (98)	7 (116)	2 (45)
Feels employer acted unfairly* . .	14 (98)	4 (116)	2 (45)
Job does not use all of respondent's skills	79	50	40
Gone as far as can in present job .	36	30	29
Respondent wished he had started in different line of work	32	8	8

* Not asked of self-employed (N = 93).

those having high job satisfaction, men who are low in job satisfaction are much less likely to report that they feel very much a part of their work-group, more likely to report that they did not work as well as usual during the previous week, and considerably more likely to report that they had disagreements at work during the previous week. Such differences, however, do not carry over when we consider the respondents' reports of having received praise or recognition for doing a good job or of being criticized or complained about in regard to their work during the previous week, there being no differences on these two items between those with high and those with low job satisfaction. Men with low job satisfaction are, however, more likely to feel that their employer acted unfairly during the previous week.

It would appear that another major factor is the feeling that one's particular job does not use all one's skills or talents, those who report feeling this way about their jobs comprising 79 per cent of the low-satisfaction as against only 40 per cent of the high-satisfaction group. Lack of promotion opportunities is also a cause of job dissatisfaction, although to a much lesser extent; 36 per cent of the respondents with low job satisfaction, as against 29 per cent of those with high job satisfaction, report that they have gone about as far as possible in their present job. It is not surprising, then, to find that approximately four times as many respondents with low job satisfaction wish that they had started in different lines of work as do respondents with high job satisfaction. We would conclude then that people who have low job satisfaction do not find their work a source of positive gratification, but indeed, as we shall see later, find it an active source of dissatisfaction.

Is there any relationship between our two role adjustment indices? Table 2.19 shows that men who are high on the marital tension index tend to be low on the job satisfaction index, but that respondents who are low on the marital tension index are about

TABLE 2.19

MARITAL TENSION AND JOB SATISFACTION INDICES

(Married and Employed Men, Age 25-49 Only, N = 331)

Job Satisfaction Index	Marital Tension Index		
	Low	Medium	High
Low	28	33	42
Medium	51	42	42
High	21	25	16
Total	100%	100%	100%
N-NA	85	114	132

equally likely to have high job satisfaction as low job satisfaction. This relationship indicates that while people with poor role adjustment in one area are likely to have poor role adjustment in other areas also, there is still considerable independence between one's adjustment in the marital role and his adjustment in the work role.

Role Adjustment and Measures of Well-Being. Turning now to the relationship between our measures of role adjustment and of well-being, we find that, in general, there tends to be a positive relationship between adequacy of role adjustment and happiness. Table 2.20 shows that people who report little marital tension are more likely than those reporting high tension to be "very happy." Job satisfaction is very strongly correlated with happiness, respondents who are satisfied with their jobs being much more likely to be "very happy," and much less likely to be "not too happy" than those who are low in job satisfaction. Analogous relationships are found with regard to negative feelings and anxiety. Marital tension is particularly highly correlated with negative feelings, the job satisfaction index somewhat less so; marital tension shows a much stronger relationship with anxiety than does the job satisfaction index, but in both cases the less well-adjusted tend to have more anxiety.

Combining the two role adjustment indices (Table 2.21), we find a very strong correlation between over-all role adjustment and happiness. Thus, respondents with both low marital tension and high job satisfaction are much more likely to be "very happy," while those having both high marital tension and low job satisfaction are more likely to say that they are "not too happy." There appears then, to be a cumulative quality to maladjustment, the more the unmerrier.

Notice, however, that maladjustment in social roles is associated only with an increase in negative feelings and not with a decrease in positive feelings, there being--in striking exception

=====

Measu

Very ha
Pretty
Not too

Pos

Low .
Medium
High .

Neg

Low .
Medium
High..

Low .
Medium
High .

TABLE 2.20

MARITAL TENSION AND JOB SATISFACTION INDICES AND
MEASURES OF WELL-BEING

(Married and Employed Men, Age 25-49)

Measures of Well-Being	Marital Tension Index (N = 360)			Job Satisfaction Index (N = 352)		
	Low (N=99)	Medium (N=118)	High (N=143)	Low (N=127)	Medium (N=153)	High (N=72)
<u>Happiness</u>						
Very happy	40	38	23	13	36	56
Pretty happy	51	57	68	70	59	42
Not too happy	9	4	9	16	5	1
Total	100%	99%	100%	99%	100%	99%
<u>Positive Feelings</u>						
Low	34	31	34	39	24	29
Medium	34	37	28	29	36	38
High	31	32	38	32	40	33
Total	99%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
<u>Negative Feelings</u>						
Low	61	47	24	29	46	49
Medium	20	31	29	27	26	33
High	19	21	46	44	28	18
Total	100%	99%	99%	100%	100%	100%
<u>Anxiety</u>						
Low	45	26	21	23	31	36
Medium	39	37	40	40	39	40
High	15	36	39	37	30	24
Total	99%	99%	100%	100%	100%	100%

TABLE 2.21

COMBINED ROLE ADJUSTMENT INDICES AND HAPPINESS
(Males, Age 25-49 Only)

Job Satisfaction	Marital Tension	Very Happy	Pretty Happy	Not Too Happy	Total	
					Per cent	N-NA
High	Low	72	28	0	100	18
	Medium	59	41	0	100	27
	High	48	52	0	100	21
Medium	Low	45	48	7	100	42
	Medium	42	54	4	100	48
	High	27	70	3	100	56
Low	Low	8	75	18	101	24
	Medium	21	71	8	100	38
	High	13	76	11	100	55
						329
						Not Applicable or NA
						64
						393

to the general pattern of findings--practically no relationship between our two measures of role adjustment and the positive feelings index. It would appear that, like anxiety, problems in marriage and work contribute to a decrease in happiness not by having any significant effect on the amount of positive feelings a person has but by significantly increasing negative feelings and thus tipping the balance of feelings toward the negative side. Thus high marital tension or job dissatisfaction may not necessarily produce unhappiness if they are offset by a sufficient amount of positive feelings.

Such a conception helps to explain an otherwise paradoxical set of findings. We saw earlier (Table 2.16) that there is a positive correlation between marital unhappiness and marital tension. We find also, and not surprisingly in light of our findings on over-all well-being, that marital unhappiness occurs more frequently among men of lower socio-economic status, 33 per cent of the respondents in Class II as compared with 17 per cent in Class I reporting that their marriages are only "average" or "not too happy" (Table 2.22a). But here the syllogism breaks down, for marital tension is reported by a greater proportion of men of high SES (44 per cent) than of men of low SES (35 per cent, see Table 2.22b). How can we explain a correlation that goes in one direction at the individual level but in the opposite direction at the group level?

It was pointed out earlier that higher income, better educated groups were higher in affectivity than lower income, poorly educated groups; that is, they had a higher level of both positive and negative feelings. Now, if it is the relative strengths of positive and negative feelings that determine happiness, a factor that contributes to negative feelings will decrease happiness relatively more among lower SES respondents, who have few positive feelings to balance the negative ones, than it will among higher SES respondents who have more compensatory positive feelings to mitigate the effects of an increase in negative feelings. This

NA

18

27

21

42

48

56

24

38

55

329

64

393

ole

TABLE 2.22

MARITAL HAPPINESS, MARITAL TENSION AND SES
(Men, Age 25-49 Only)

A. Marital Happiness and SES

SES	Marriage Is...			Total	
	Very Happy	Little Happier Than Average	Average or Not Too Happy	Per cent	N
I	56	27	17	100	201
II	49	18	33	100	159
				N - NA	360
				Not married	<u>33</u>
				Total	393

B. Marital Tension and SES

SES	Marital Tension			Total	
	Low	Medium	High	Per cent	N
I	27	29	44	100	201
II	28	38	35	101	159
				N - NA	360
				Not married	<u>33</u>
				Total	393

C. Marital Happiness and Marital Tension, Controlling for SES
(Per cent Whose Marriage Is "Average or Not Too Happy")

SES	Marital Tension		
	Low	Medium	High
I	14 (55)	5 (58)	26 (88)
II	25 (44)	28 (60)	44 (55)
			N - NA 360
			Not married <u>33</u>
			Total 393

interpretation is supported by the fact that marital tension and marital happiness show a stronger negative relation among low-SES than among high-SES men (Table 2.22c). "Average" or "not too happy" marriages are reported by 25 per cent of the low-SES but only 14 per cent of the high-SES respondents with low marital tension, and by 44 per cent of the low-SES as against only 26 per cent of the high-SES men having high marital tension. Note also that at every level of marital tension low-SES men are more dissatisfied with their marriages than are high-SES men.

This explanation of the apparent paradox that men of higher SES have a higher degree of marital tension but at the same time happier marriages illustrates the utility of our concept of well-being as dependent on the relative strengths of two dimensions for resolving some of the conflicting findings in mental health research.

Social Interaction

In discussing various factors found to be associated with negative feelings--anxiety, marital tension and job dissatisfaction--we have noted with surprise that these factors do not appear to have any significant relationship to positive feelings. What, then, is related to positive feelings? The answer to this question is crucial because we have been arguing that it is not simply a variation in the degree of negative feelings which determines the subjective assessment of well-being, but rather the relative strength of positive and negative feelings.

From our data it appears that the factor most significantly associated with high positive feelings is a high degree of social interaction and participation in the environment. This finding seems eminently reasonable in view of the fact that persons of higher SES, who as we have seen tend to have higher positive feelings, have been found in almost all studies to show a greater degree of involvement in the world about them and a higher rate of social interaction. Such a finding would also be in line with

the argument of Homans (1961) that increased interaction leads to greater liking; a higher general rate of interaction should generate a greater number of positive sentiments and thus increase the number of positive experiences a person has.

Several questions on the long form of the interview dealt with the degree of social contact respondents had. We see in Table 2.23 that for both SES groups there is in general a consistent relationship between positive feelings and various measures of social interaction. For instance, men who were in contact with more families of relatives and who got together more often with friends were more likely to have high positive feelings. (The relationship between positive feelings and contact with relatives is somewhat stronger among the lower SES men, but the relationship with visiting friends is about the same for both groups.) Similar relationships with positive feelings are found for the average number of times per day that a respondent talked to friends on the telephone and for the respondent's having met someone during the previous week whom he had never met before. No consistent relationship was found between positive feelings and the distance a respondent had traveled from his home during the week.

There is one reversal to this general trend in association between greater social participation and higher positive feelings, and that has to do with the number of church or church-sponsored events attended. Of the low-SES men, those who attended more church-sponsored events were less likely to have positive feelings, while in the high-SES group men who attended more church-sponsored events had slightly higher positive feelings. While we need a larger number of cases to explain this difference definitively, a possible interpretation might be that our low-SES, high-religious participators come from predominantly fundamentalist Protestant groups which frown on many sorts of social activity. Thus our low-SES high-religious participators would be low on other participation measures; that is, there would be a negative correlation

TABLE 2.23

POSITIVE FEELINGS AND SOCIAL INTERACTION,
CONTROLLING FOR SES

(Men, Age 25-49, N = 393)

(Per cent High Positive Feelings)

A. Contact with Relatives During Week				
SES	No Families	One Family	Two Families	Three or More Families
I	37 (52)	30 (69)	57 (42)	49 (51)
II	15 (52)	26 (53)	30 (30)	30 (43)

B. Got Together with Friends Other than Relatives			
SES	Not at All	Once	Twice
I	37 (75)	31 (55)	57 (83)
II	19 (86)	26 (43)	34 (50)

C. Telephone Contact with Friends			
SES	None	Less than Once a Day	Once a Day or More
I	33 (75)	46 (63)	42 (76)
II	19 (100)	33 (36)	30 (43)

D. Met New People During Week		
SES	Met Someone Never Met Before	Did not Meet Anyone New
I	52 (104)	29 (110)
II	37 (56)	19 (123)

TABLE 2.23--Continued

E. Distance Traveled from Home During Week			
SES	Less Than 1 Mile	2 - 24.9 Miles	25 or More Miles
I	46 (35)	39 (71)	39 (108)
II	25 (51)	16 (63)	32 (65)

F. Participation in Religious Events During Month			
SES	None	1 - 4 Times	5 or More Times
I	39 (77)	37 (81)	48 (50)
II	33 (87)	23 (47)	13 (31)

G. Average Television Viewing			
SES	1 Hour or Less a Day	2 Hours a Day	3 Hours or More
I	44 (85)	42 (74)	33 (55)
II	20 (40)	29 (58)	24 (80)

H. Participation Index				
SES	0	1	2	3
I	32 (25)	32 (50)	37 (59)	49 (80)
II	18 (57)	24 (55)	31 (39)	33 (27)

among low-SES men between religious participation and other forms of social participation, but a positive correlation among high-SES men.

Finally, we might note that there is little relationship between positive feelings and the amount of time spent watching television, although there is a slight tendency for high-SES men to have higher positive feelings the less television they watch.

To study the general effects of increased interaction and participation, we constructed a participation index that included most of the above items plus several others from the interview. The index dealt with the following aspects of a respondent's behavior during the week preceding the interview: 1) the number of organizations he belonged to, 2) the average number of times a day he chatted with friends on the telephone, 3) the furthest distance he went from his home, and the number of times he 4) attended a meeting, 5) got together with friends, 6) went for a ride in the car, or 7) ate in a restaurant. On the basis of their scores on this index, respondents were divided into four groups of as nearly equal size as possible. Table 22.3h shows that there is a consistent relationship within both SES groups between positive feelings and score on the participation index. Among lower-SES men, 33 per cent of the high participators as compared with 18 per cent of the low participators have high positive feelings, the comparable figures for high-SES men being 49 per cent and 32 per cent respectively.

On the short-form questionnaire, unfortunately there were few questions dealing with social interaction rates, but several dealt with participation in the environment. We see in Table 2.24a that for both sexes and both socio-economic groups there is on the whole a positive relationship between belonging to organizations, clubs, or community groups and having positive feelings. Reflected in this table are some of the findings mentioned previously, namely,

TABLE 2.24

ORGANIZATIONAL MEMBERSHIP AND MEASURES OF WELL-BEING

A. Organizational Membership and Positive Feelings,
Controlling for SES and Sex

(Per cent High Positive Feelings)

SES	Sex	Organizational Membership			
		None	One	Two	Three or More
I	Male	38 (109)	30 (86)	43 (93)	49 (116)
	Female	42 (139)	41 (91)	57 (75)	52 (120)
II	Male	23 (207)	27 (131)	34 (50)	32 (31)
	Female	24 (286)	40 (106)	44 (48)	50 (54)
		N-NA 1,742			
		NA on SES 116			
		NA on Organizations 148*			
		Total 2,006			

* On the self-administered form many respondents did not write in the number of organizations they belong to. While no number probably meant zero, blanks have been treated as no answers.

TABLE 2.24--Continued

B. Organizational Membership and Negative Feelings,
Controlling for SES and Sex

(Per cent High Positive Feelings)

SES	Sex	Organizational Membership			
		None	One	Two	Three or More
I	Male	58 (109)	44 (86)	46 (93)	41 (116)
	Female	59 (139)	55 (91)	55 (75)	47 (120)
II	Male	52 (207)	54 (131)	40 (50)	35 (31)
	Female	67 (286)	61 (106)	44 (48)	52 (54)
		N-NA			1,742
		NA SES			116
		NA Organizations			148
		Total			2,006

C. Organizational Membership and Happiness,
Controlling for SES and Sex

(Per cent "Not Too Happy")

SES	Sex	Organizational Membership			
		None	One	Two	Three or More
I	Male	8 (107)	17 (86)	9 (92)	6 (115)
	Female	12 (139)	11 (91)	14 (74)	6 (119)
II	Male	24 (204)	23 (130)	16 (50)	13 (31)
	Female	30 (285)	12 (106)	6 (48)	9 (54)
		N-NA			1,731
		NA SES			116
		NA Organizations			148
		NA Happiness			11
		Total			2,006

that the tendency to have high positive feelings is greater among women than men and among upper socio-economic groups. Considering organizational membership and sex differences alone, we find relatively little difference in degree of positive feelings between men and women who belong to no organization, but quite a substantial difference between men and women who belong to three or more organizations, indicating that organizational membership has a greater positive effect on women than on men.

For the most part, social interaction and participation items are related only to positive feelings and not to negative feelings or even directly to happiness. Organizational membership, however, is an outstanding exception, being related, in opposite directions, to both positive and negative feelings and directly, as might be expected, to happiness. Table 2.24b indicates that for both men and women in both socio-economic groups there is a negative relationship between degree of organizational membership and negative feelings. Organizational membership is positively related to happiness (Table 2.24c), the relationship being strongest for women and for lower SES groups.

Turning now to other items reflecting participation in the environment, we see in Table 2.25 that for both sexes and both socio-economic groups, those who during the week went for a ride in the car or ate in a restaurant several times or more and those who participated in or watched games or sports activities were more likely to have positive feelings than those who did not do any of these things. While none of the differences is spectacularly large, their consistency is impressive and supports the notion that those who engage actively in their environment are more likely to experience positive feelings. It is also noteworthy that none of these items shows any relationship at all with negative feelings.

In sum then, we find that positive feelings are associated with higher rates of social interaction and active engagement in

TABLE 2.25

POSITIVE FEELINGS AND SELECTED PARTICIPATION ITEMS,
CONTROLLING FOR SES AND SEX

(Per cent High Positive Feelings)

A. Went for Trip in Car During Week

Sex	SES	No Times	Once	Several Times or More
Male	I	37 (139)	34 (117)	48 (158)
	II	19 (159)	28 (134)	35 (158)
Female	I	42 (154)	45 (117)	60 (171)
	II	26 (230)	32 (128)	40 (192)

N-NA 1,857
 NA on SES 116
 NA on Item 33
 Total 2,006

B. Ate in Restaurant During Week

Sex	SES	No Times	Once	Several Times or More
Male	I	30 (140)	35 (91)	51 (185)
	II	24 (289)	29 (75)	34 (95)
Female	I	47 (231)	52 (129)	55 (88)
	II	29 (411)	35 (81)	45 (67)

N-NA 1,882
 NA on SES 116
 NA on Item 8
 Total 2,006

TABLE 2.25--Continued

C. Participated in and Attended Sports Events During Week

Sex	SES	Non- Participators	Participators	Non- Attendees	Attendees
Male	I	38 (283)	46 (131)	37 (268)	47 (143)
	II	24 (354)	31 (105)	25 (386)	34 (70)
Female	I	49 (378)	53 (62)	48 (351)	57 (95)
	II	31 (493)	44 (48)	32 (506)	42 (45)
		N-NA	1,854	N-NA	1,864
		NA on SES	116	NA on SES	116
		NA on Item	36	NA on Item	26
		Total	2,006	Total	2,006

the environment. Careful scrutiny of our data fails to reveal any other factor which is significantly correlated with positive feelings or, on the other hand, any relationships, by and large, between social interaction or active participation in the environment and negative feelings. We do not wish to suggest that social interaction is the only factor related to positive feelings since there may be others that were not sufficiently covered in our interview schedule. We would suggest, however, that there has been a bias in research on mental health toward the investigation of negative factors, with relatively little consideration being given to forces that may contribute toward positive satisfactions. Such a bias would follow understandably from an assumption that evaluations of well-being are unidimensional, with any increase in negative factors automatically producing a decrease of positive factors and a consequent lowering of the sense of well-being. In view of our finding that these are two independent dimensions each of which is correlated with different aspects of a person's life, it is apparent that greater attention will have to be paid to those forces producing positive satisfactions before we can fully understand what determines a person's well-being.

Worries and Happiness

The relationship between happiness and worries is a particularly intriguing one. One view of the relationship is that the happy person is free from worries, or as nearly free as possible. Another view, holding the worry-free individual to be a pathological case denying his anxieties, pictures the happy man as one who has a "healthy" amount of worry. Underlying these two images appear to be somewhat different concepts of the term "worry." The image of the happy man as carefree suggests that worries are manifestations of anxiety or mental disturbance, whose presence should contribute toward a decrease in happiness and whose absence should be associated with happiness. This concept of worries is the one

accepted by lexicographers, at least; the dictionary defines "worry" as a troubled state of mind or harassing anxiety. Such an image, while not ruling out the possibility that some people might consciously deny having any worries as a defense against anxieties, suggests that on the whole there should be a negative correlation between degree of worrying and feelings of happiness. The second image of the "healthy" worrier suggests that worry is a more positive state, expressive not so much of anxiety as of active concern over certain problem areas that all people are assumed to face. This conception would imply a much more complicated relationship between level of worry and happiness: either a positive relationship or perhaps a curvilinear one, with a moderate degree of worry being associated with happiness and either a very high or a very low degree of worry with unhappiness. Support for this latter conception of worry is given by the authors of Americans View Their Mental Health, who show that the more highly educated and wealthy who scored higher on measures of happiness also did a greater amount of worrying.

Lack of a standard vocabulary makes the problem of doing research on worries particularly vexing. Some people, denying that they ever "worry," proceed to mention things that they have been "very concerned about" or that have "weighed on their minds." In our questionnaire we tried to skirt the problem by using neutral phrases such as "thinking about" or "had on your mind," letting the particular problem areas convey the notion of worry. Since the "worry" check-list consisted of common areas of worry, there is every reason to suppose that the respondents interpreted it in this context. To a direct question on the long-form interview-- "Do you worry a lot or not very much?"--very few respondents (seven per cent) replied that they never worried.

How, then, are these indicators of worry related to happiness? Judging from our sample, it would seem that the "carefree" model of happiness has much merit, for reported happiness decreases

as intensity of worry increases. Those men aged 25 to 49 who report that they worry "a lot" comprise 15 per cent of the "very happy" respondents as against 21 per cent of the "pretty happy" and 67 per cent of the "not too happy" respondents. Similarly, 34 per cent of the men with high negative feelings report that they worry a lot as against only 15 per cent of those with low negative feelings. Somewhat surprisingly, however, there is no relationship between positive feelings and intensity of worry, 23 per cent of both those with high and with low positive feelings reporting that they worry a lot. We find also that men with high anxiety (34 per cent, as against 20 per cent of the lows), those with high marital tension (27 per cent, as against 19 per cent of the lows) and those with low job satisfaction (26 per cent, as against 18 per cent of the highs) report worrying a lot. Intensity of worry thus is negatively related to well-being.

In terms of their content, worries fall into two distinct groups. The first group--worries about "growing old," "death," "health," and "the atom bomb or fallout"--are all areas over which the individual has very little control, being more or less the passive victim of natural (or unnatural) forces. A second group--"getting ahead," "money," "personal enemies," "work," "marriage," and "bringing up children"--consists of areas of life in which the individual himself has a considerable degree of control or influence over the outcome. For the sake of convenience we will refer to these two groups as "uncontrollable" and "controllable" worries.

The patterning of worry content by socio-economic status and age is shown in Table 2.26. Uncontrollable worries are associated with lower SES and being old, while controllable worries are associated with higher SES and being young. That is, within both socio-economic groups respondents of 50 or older are, for the most part, more likely than younger respondents to worry about uncontrollable areas of life and within each age group, respondents

TABLE 2.26

SES, AGE AND WORRIES

(Per cent Worrying "Often")

Worries	SES			
	I		II	
	Age		Age	
	Younger than 50	50 or Older	Younger than 50	50 or Older
Growing old	4	12	4	21
Death	4	7	5	14
Health	8	14	19	39
A-bomb or fallout	2	4	4	8
Getting ahead	39	24	46	24
Money	52	43	51	41
Personal enemies*	13	9	8	6
Work	58	55	54	39
Marriage	17	8	12	4
Bringing up children	55	18	46	14
N =	612	227	450	547
N-NA				1,836
NA on SES and Age				164
NA on Worries				6
Total				2,006

*Per cent who worry "Sometimes" plus "Often."

from lower socio-economic groups are more apt to worry about uncontrollable areas, though not about "growing old," than are those from upper socio-economic groups. On the other hand, younger and high-SES respondents are in general more likely to worry about areas of life over which there is some individual control. The only exception to this general tendency is in the area of "getting ahead," about which the younger respondents do tend to worry more than the older; however, it is those from the lower socio-economic group who worry most about this area. Otherwise it is the younger upper socio-economic respondents who are most likely to have worried about controllable areas of life.

Given the fact that older respondents from lower socio-economic groups worry more about uncontrollable areas of life while younger respondents from upper socio-economic groups worry more about controllable areas, and the fact that youth and high SES are positively related to happiness, we might expect the two types of worries to correlate differentially with happiness. We could then resolve the conflict between images of the relationship of happiness to worries by pointing out that it all depends on the type of worry involved. The happy person of the first image is one who does not worry about things beyond his control while the happy person in the second image may worry but only about things he can control and presumably improve.

Unfortunately, as we see in Table 2.27, the data do not permit such a neat explanation. Within both socio-economic groups there is a strong negative relationship between happiness and worrying of either the controllable or uncontrollable sort. The only exceptions to this trend are that among the lower socio-economic group worries about "getting ahead" and "bringing up children" are unrelated to unhappiness and that among the upper socio-economic group there is a slight tendency for respondents who report that they are "very happy" to worry more about "bringing up children." These findings suggest that the first image is

TABLE 2.27
 HAPPINESS AND WORRIES, CONTROLLING FOR SES
 (Per cent Worrying "Often")

SES	Happiness	Worries										N	
		Growing Old	Death	Health	A-Bomb	Getting Ahead	Money	Personal Enemies*	Work	Marriage	Bringing Up Children		
I	Very happy	3	6	12	3	35	43	8	55	16	47	240	
	Pretty happy	5	4	18	2	33	48	12	55	12	44	529	
	Not too happy	21	8	31	4	44	68	23	66	26	42	90	
II	Very happy	7	7	20	5	35	35	5	39	8	28	207	
	Pretty happy	10	8	26	5	34	46	6	48	6	28	595	
	Not too happy	30	18	47	10	34	54	11	49	9	27	216	
												N=NA	1,877
												NA on SES	116
												NA on Happiness	13
												Total	2,006

* Per cent who worry "Sometimes" plus "Often."

indeed the correct one, namely that there is a direct negative correlation between happiness and worry, but with the qualification that the content of worries varies greatly with age and class.

Even though at all socio-economic levels those who are less happy worry more often about almost every topic, there is some support for the previously mentioned finding reported in Americans View Their Mental Health that higher education and income groups, which tend to be higher in over-all happiness, are nevertheless also higher in the extent of their worries. Our data suggest that this finding can be accounted for not by a lack of relationship between worries and happiness but by the relationship of worries to another dimension that cuts across happiness, namely, degree of affectivity; and that it is people with a high degree of affectivity who tend most to worry, at least about controllable areas of life. Table 2.28 presents the per cent who worried often about each of the areas in our check-list by socio-economic status and the five-fold typology of feelings. For each socio-economic group the relative comparisons are in Rows B and E. The uncontrollable areas of life have been a source of worry chiefly to people with low positive and high negative feelings, i.e., those who are most likely to report being "not too happy" (Row E), with the exception of the atom bomb in the high-SES group. It is the high-affective people, however--those who are high in both positive and negative feelings (Row B)--who are most likely to have worried about the controllable areas of life, except about money in the lower socio-economic group.

We find then a somewhat complicated, yet understandable, relationship between happiness and worries. In general, worries and happiness are negatively related. When the particular content of the worries is examined, however, this relationship is found to be cut across, although not destroyed, by another dimension. The relation of worries to two independent dimensions,

TABLE 2.28
 COMBINED POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE FEELINGS INDICES AND WORRIES, CONTROLLING FOR SES
 (Per cent Who Worry "Often")

SES	Positive Feelings	Negative Feelings	Growing Old	Death	Health	A-Bomb	Getting Ahead	Money	Personal Enemies*	Work	Marriage	Bringing Up Children	N
A	High	Low	6	5	10	4	38	44	5	41	15	48	149
B	High	High	4	8	20	3	46	61	21	63	21	60	187
I C	Medium		6	2	19	3	31	47	11	55	13	41	367
D	Low	Low	5	5	14	0	21	42	1	50	3	30	67
E	Low	High	14	10	22	2	36	48	15	43	4	35	89
A	High	Low	6	5	17	5	33	26	4	88	8	22	114
B	High	High	14	13	36	6	45	52	13	68	12	39	165
III C	Medium		12	9	27	6	35	46	7	46	7	31	389
D	Low	Low	6	4	21	4	25	38	1	36	3	18	138
E	Low	High	27	17	43	9	31	54	7	40	5	26	212
													N-NA 1,877
													NA, SES 116
													NA, Worries 13
													Total 2,006

*Per cent who worry "Sometimes" plus "Often."

degree of affectivity and happiness, helps explain the otherwise apparent paradox that the high-SES group, who tend to be happier, worry more than the low-SES group about some areas of life, even though in the aggregate happy people worry less about almost all areas of life.

Summary

In this chapter we have been concerned with the social and psychological correlates of over-all well-being. We have presented data to show that happiness is positively correlated with education and income, negatively correlated with age, and uncorrelated with sex. We have further shown that unmarried people, particularly men, are unhappier than married people, and people who are unemployed or retired are less happy than those who are employed.

In analyzing further the relationship between happiness and other aspects of well-being, we came to the conclusion that a person's over-all sense of well-being can best be understood as a function of the relative strengths of the positive and negative feelings he has experienced in the recent past. The data show clearly that these are two distinct and independent dimensions associated with different aspects of a person's life. Forces contributing toward increased negative feelings, such as anxiety, marital tension and job dissatisfaction, do not produce any concomitant decrease in positive feelings, and those forces which contribute toward the development of positive feelings, such as social interaction and active participation in the environment, do not in any way lessen negative feelings. Thus it is possible for a person who has many negative feelings to be happy, if he also has compensatory positive feelings. Only by knowing the relative balance of feelings can one make predictions about people's happiness.

Another finding has been that a dimension of affectivity cuts across the relative strength of the two types of feelings. This dimension was shown to be related to other areas of well-being, such as the patterning of worries, but not to happiness itself. It was suggested that taking into account both affectivity and the relative strength of positive and negative feelings would be useful in explaining some of the puzzling findings of recent studies of mental health, for example, that people who are happy may also feel socially inadequate.

CHAPTER III

ECONOMIC DEPRESSION AND PSYCHOLOGICAL WELL-BEING

Our pilot research project was designed to investigate, among other things, the effect of environmental conditions, particularly those that may vary from time to time, on the psychological well-being of individuals. One of the most important of such conditions is economic climate. Taking the simplest model, we expected individuals living in communities with a prosperous economy to have a higher sense of well-being than individuals living in economically depressed communities. To test this hypothesis, our sample was drawn, as described in Chapter I, from residents of four communities that varied in degree of economic prosperity. Having developed a conceptual framework for studying psychological well-being, we are now in a position to apply this framework to the four communities to see whether economic climate has a significant effect on psychological well-being.

Knowing the social composition of the four communities and the correlation of happiness with youth, education, and income, we would expect to find differences between communities in the percentages of people reporting different degrees of happiness. Table 3.1 confirms the expectation, although the differences are found only in the percentage reporting that they are "not too happy." Similarly community differences turn up on other measures of well-being, which are unfortunately available only for the men between 25 and 49 who were given the long personal interview (Table 3.2). The men in the more depressed communities were more likely to worry "a lot" and to say that they worry more now than they used to. A greater percentage of men from the depressed

TABLE 3.1

ECONOMIC CLIMATE AND HAPPINESS

Economic Climate	Community	Per cent Who Are ...			Total			
		Very Happy	Pretty Happy	Not Too Happy	Per cent	N		
Depressed	East Parrish	21	59	20	100	538	Econ Cli	
	Clyde	22	57	20	99	449		
Improving	Spiresburg	30	57	13	100	424	Depre	
Prosperous	Brewer	24	63	13	100	581	Impro	
						N-NA	1,992	
						NA on Happiness . . .	14	Prosp
						Total	2,006	

TABLE 3.2
 WORRY INTENSITY AND HAPPINESS FIVE YEARS AGO BY COMMUNITY
 (Males, Age 25-49 Only)

Economic Climate	Community	Per cent of Respondents Who . . .			N
		Worry a lot	Worry more now than used to	Were happier five years ago	
Depressed	East Parrish	27	49	35	108
	Clyde	31	50	38	90
Improving	Spiresburg	18	39	16	89
Prosperous	Brewer	19	34	22	106
Total					393

than from the prosperous communities also reported that they were happier five years ago. We see, then, that the "average" person in the prosperous communities has a greater sense of well-being than the "average" person in the depressed communities.

The question naturally arises, however, as to whether these community differences are due merely to the disproportionately large number of respondents in the two depressed communities who have low education and income and are older, or to some more general "depressive" climate affecting respondents in these towns regardless of socio-economic status and age. Table 3.3 indicates that when SES and age are controlled for, community differences in happiness appear only among the lower SES groups and disappear entirely among the upper SES groups. In Class I there are no differences between younger respondents from community to community, and of the older people in this class, it is those from the most depressed community who are least likely to report being "not too happy," providing perhaps another example of relative gratification. Among the lower-SES group, however, we notice a consistent community difference with people from both age groups in the depressed communities being more likely to report that they were "not too happy" than respondents from the economically better-off communities. These data suggest that the psychological impact of economic depression is felt primarily by those most directly affected, that is, those with lower education and income and fewer resources for coping with the stress of economic decline.

One of the most interesting effects to be noted is the apparent accentuation of SES differences in the depressed communities. Table 3.4 shows the percentage differences in reported unhappiness between socio-economic groups within each age group and community. Note that the difference between upper and lower SES groups in percentage of people reporting that they are "not too happy" is fairly large in the two depressed communities, particularly among the older group, but practically disappears in the two more

TABLE 3.3
 HAPPINESS AND COMMUNITY, CONTROLLING FOR SES AND AGE
 (Per cent "Not Too Happy")

SES	Community	Age	
		Under 50	50 or Older
I	East Parrish	8 (107)	8 (75)
	Clyde	8 (117)	19 (37)
	Spiresburg	8 (124)	18 (39)
	Brewer	9 (261)	16 (76)
II	East Parrish	18 (135)	34 (182)
	Clyde	17 (110)	30 (182)
	Spiresburg	8 (110)	22 (116)
	Brewer	12 (96)	19 (95)
		N-NA	1,830
		NA on SES	116
		NA on Age	48
		NA on Happiness	<u>12</u>
		Total	2,006

TABLE 3.4

PERCENTAGE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN SES GROUPS IN HAPPINESS
 (Per cent "Not Too Happy" Among Class I Minus
 Per cent "Not Too Happy" Among Class II)

<u>Community</u>	<u>Under 50</u>	<u>50 or Older</u>
East Parrish	-10	-26
Clyde	- 9	-11
Spiresburg	0	- 4
Brewer	- 3	- 3

prosperous communities. This finding suggests that one of the important effects of economic depression, as regards psychological reactions, is to sharpen the difference in levels of happiness between different social classes. The poor and elderly in predominantly poor and elderly communities appear to be worse off, psychologically speaking, than the poor and elderly in younger and wealthier communities. Apparently misery does not love company.

When socio-economic status is controlled for, differences still appear between communities in the intensity of worry and present as compared to past amount of worry reported by the men in the middle age range who were given interviews. Men of both social classes in the depressed communities tend to worry more, and more now than formerly, than men in the more prosperous communities. Since all these men are in the "prime of life," the differences suggest that adverse economic conditions do place a strain on people, particularly men with responsibilities for family welfare, which is reflected in their over-all sense of well-being. On the whole it does appear that a "depressive" economic climate has some adverse effects on the psychological well-being of those living in it, even those who may not be directly affected by economic pressures. Such effects, however, are relatively small compared with the large and direct effects of economic privation through loss of job, low income, or increased vulnerability to economic stress with increasing age.

What, then, are the mechanisms through which the "depressive" climate affects psychological well-being? We see in Table 3.5 that, on the whole, people living in the more prosperous communities had more positive feelings; surprisingly, however, there is no consistent difference between communities in the degree of negative feelings reported. This finding suggests that an absence of positive satisfactions in life, rather than an increase in negative forces, is the main consequence of a "depressive" economic climate. It is the lack of joy in Mudville rather than the presence of sorrow that makes the difference.

TABLE 3.5

POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE FEELINGS BY COMMUNITY

Community	Per cent of Respondents Who Have . . .								
	Positive Feelings				N	Negative Feelings			
	Low	Medium	High	Total		Low	Medium	High	Total
East Parrish .	33	34	33	100	545	40	8	51	99
Clyde	35	34	31	100	451	36	6	57	99
Spiresburg . .	27	37	36	100	428	43	8	49	100
Brewer	24	33	43	100	582	34	12	54	100
Total					2,006				

When age and socio-economic status are controlled for, however, differences between the communities in positive and negative feelings are greatly minimized (Table 3.6). Here again, as in the case of happiness, what differences there are tend to be concentrated in the lower socio-economic groups with a slight tendency among people 50 and older for those from the more depressed communities to have fewer positive and more negative feelings; among those under 50, there is relatively little difference except that a higher proportion of those from Brewer have high positive feelings. The four upper socio-economic groups do not differ significantly in positive or negative feelings. Given the absence of differences between communities in negative feelings, we would also expect to find no differences in the factors related to negative feelings. Anxiety, for one, is relatively stable from community to community (Table 3.7). As noted in Chapter II, anxiety shows only a small negative correlation with income and is not related to age; nor apparently, is it produced by a general climate of economic depression, although it may be produced by direct economic threats such as that of unemployment.

Marital adjustment does differ from community to community, but, as Table 3.8 shows, the differences do not follow our economic dimension. If anything, the men with the greatest amount of marital tension and the most unhappy marriages are those in the most prosperous community, while those in the improving community have the least amount of marital tension and the happiest marriages. Although the findings on marital happiness do not present a clear picture, the indications are certain that economic depression is not associated with any increase in marital unhappiness.

It should be noted in Table 3.8 that while in general marital happiness tends to be associated with higher socio-economic status, this trend disappears in the depressed communities and in the case of Clyde even slightly reverses itself. In the prosperous communities, however, the difference between upper and lower

TABLE 3.6

POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE FEELINGS BY COMMUNITY,
CONTROLLING FOR SES AND AGE

SES	Community	Per cent High Positive Feelings		Per cent High Negative Feelings	
		Age		Age	
		Under 50	50 or Older	Under 50	50 or Older
I	East Parrish	46 (109)	41 (75)	48 (109)	39 (75)
	Clyde	37 (117)	45 (38)	51 (117)	50 (38)
	Spiresburg	50 (125)	35 (40)	51 (125)	32 (40)
	Brewer	51 (261)	40 (76)	57 (261)	51 (76)
II	East Parrish	27 (135)	26 (186)	51 (135)	57 (186)
	Clyde	31 (111)	23 (150)	60 (111)	63 (150)
	Spiresburg	27 (110)	32 (118)	52 (110)	52 (118)
	Brewer	42 (96)	35 (95)	60 (96)	52 (95)

N-NA 1,842

NA on SES and/or Age 164

Total 2,006

TABLE 3.7

ANXIETY BY COMMUNITY

Community	Anxiety Index			Total	
	Low	Medium	High	Per cent	N-NA
East Parrish	22	36	42	100	545
Clyde	18	33	49	100	451
Spiresburg	26	34	40	100	428
Brewer	19	37	44	100	582
				Total . .	2,006

TABLE 3.8
 MARITAL ADJUSTMENT BY COMMUNITY, CONTROLLING FOR SES
 (Married Men, 25-49 Only)

SES	Community	High on Marital Tension Index	Marriage Is . . .		Spend a Lot of Time With Wife	N-NA
			Very Happy	Average or Not Too Happy		
I	East Parrish	39	67	7	40	43
	Clyde	42	48	23	42	48
	Spiresburg	28	64	8	31	39
	Brewer	56	50	24	28	71
II	East Parrish	40	62	23	53	47
	Clyde	32	50	32	48	40
	Spiresburg	22	51	36	42	45
	Brewer	48	22	44	28	27
						N-NA 360
						Not Married 33
						Total 393

socio-economic groups in marital happiness is considerable. This finding is the opposite of a previous one, namely, that economic depression tends to increase the difference between social classes in over-all happiness. It suggests that one reaction to the increased stress of economic depression is a tightening of family bonds and a greater investment in the marital relationship, particularly among the lower socio-economic groups who are hardest hit. Such an interpretation, however, must be regarded as extremely tentative in view of the small number of cases on which these findings are based.

A somewhat similar finding appears, however, with job satisfaction (Table 3.9). Insofar as straightforward differences between communities are concerned, low-SES men in the more prosperous communities are more likely to be dissatisfied with their jobs than are low-SES men in the depressed communities. While there is an over-all tendency for men of lower SES to be low in job satisfaction (42 per cent of Class II men as compared with 32 per cent of Class I men), this difference disappears almost entirely in East Parrish, and again reverses itself in Clyde. In fact, in the economically depressed communities, men from the lower socio-economic group are more likely to have high job satisfaction than men from the upper socio-economic group, although in the more prosperous communities the opposite is true. Such differences suggest that for a man of low SES in the economically depressed communities, the mere fact of having a job is an achievement, and he is less able to afford the luxury of being dissatisfied with his job than are men who live in a more prosperous area. This interpretation is supported by the fact that among men of low SES, only 10 per cent in Brewer are "very satisfied" with their wage level as compared with 38 per cent in East Parrish and 41 per cent in Clyde. We have here a good example of relative deprivation. In an area where jobs are plentiful and wages

TABLE 3.9

JOB SATISFACTION BY COMMUNITY, CONTROLLING FOR SES

(Employed Males, 25-49 Only)

SES	Community	Job Satisfaction Index			Total	
		Low	Medium	High	Per cent	N-NA
I	East Parrish	30	52	17	99	46
	Clyde	39	45	16	100	44
	Spiresburg	22	49	29	100	41
	Brewer	34	49	17	100	76
II	East Parrish	36	36	28	100	47
	Clyde	33	41	26	100	27
	Spiresburg	49	29	22	100	41
	Brewer	50	40	10	100	30
					N-NA	352
					Not working	<u>41</u>
					Total	393

generally high, there is considerable dissatisfaction about wages among people making low incomes because, compared with others all around them, they are not doing very well. Those making low incomes in an area of high unemployment and low wages are much less dissatisfied with their wages because, relative to those around them, they are not doing too badly.

It was pointed out earlier that respondents in the more prosperous communities tended to have slightly more positive feelings. As might be expected from this, the communities differed in rates of social interaction and participation. Looking at organizational membership in Table 3.10, we see within each age and socio-economic group a steady increase in the per cent belonging to two or more organizations as we move from the most depressed to the most prosperous community. Greater organizational membership implies increased opportunities for social interaction and more active involvement in the environment. Table 3.11 shows that, at least among the upper socio-economic group, men in the more prosperous communities were more likely to have met someone new during the week preceding the interview, were more likely to have traveled 25 miles or more from their homes, and spent less time watching television. Parallel differences were not found, however, among the lower socio-economic groups except that the men in the most prosperous town were more likely to have traveled 25 miles or more during the previous week.

In the lower-SES group, there appear to be some community differences in social interaction patterns, with the men in the more depressed communities being more likely to be in contact with relatives but those in the more prosperous communities with friends. Such a difference supports the interpretation given earlier that for the lower SES men in the more depressed communities family ties take on greater importance, perhaps at the expense of interaction with friends who are not relatives. Low SES men in the more depressed communities were, however, more

TABLE 3.10

ORGANIZATIONAL MEMBERSHIP BY COMMUNITY, CONTROLLING FOR SES
 (Per cent Belonging to Two or More Organizations)

SES	Community	Age	
		Under 50	50 or Older
I	East Parrish	33 (106)	52 (69)
	Clyde	43 (112)	60 (35)
	Spiresburg	46 (123)	63 (38)
	Brewer	50 (252)	64 (72)
II	East Parrish	15 (127)	18 (168)
	Clyde	19 (102)	19 (132)
	Spiresburg	17 (106)	22 (105)
	Brewer	27 (86)	26 (69)
N-NA		1,702	
NA on SES		116	
NA on Age and/or Organizations		188	
Total		2,006	

TABLE 3.11
 SELECTED PARTICIPATION ITEMS BY COMMUNITY,
 CONTROLLING FOR SES
 (Males, Age 25-49 Only)

SES	Community	Per cent of Respondents Who . . .			N-NA
		Met someone new during previous week	Traveled 25 or more miles from home during previous week	Watched T.V. one hour or less a day	
I	East Parrish	39	39	33	49
	Clyde	40	37	35	48
	Spiresburg	56	66	51	41
	Brewer	57	58	41	76
II	East Parrish	36	39	17	59
	Clyde	29	24	26	42
	Spiresburg	25	33	26	48
	Brewer	37	53	23	30
Total					393

likely to have had telephone contact with a friend during the week than were those from the more prosperous communities (Table 3.12).

The above differences are slight, and in view of the small number of cases involved should be treated as tentative. It should be noted, however, that social interaction was also found to decrease with economic depression in studies of the unemployed by Eisenberg and Lazarsfeld (1938) and by Komarovsky (1940).

On the whole, then, as far as direct measures of well-being are concerned, differences between communities are due largely to the differing age, education, and income characteristics of the inhabitants. Where there are small community effects independent of differences in age, education, and income, they appear chiefly among the respondents of lower socioeconomic status who are more vulnerable to the vagaries of economic conditions. Economic depression appears to affect psychological well-being primarily through a reduction in positive feelings rather than through an increase in negative feelings or such correlates as anxiety or poor role adjustment. The decrement in positive feelings appears to be related to the decreased social interaction and participation that characterizes the more depressed communities. Thus, the primary psychological effect of a "depressive" economic climate, apart from such direct effects as reduced income, increased unemployment, and selective out-migration of young people, is to alter people's degree of involvement in the social environment, there being, however, a compensatory strengthening of familial bonds: people withdraw from the world into the relative safety of the family.

The communities under study have been characterized here exclusively in terms of a general economic dimension. It is evident that they may differ in significant ways along other important dimensions, some of which may be relatively remote from

TABLE 3.12
 SOCIAL INTERACTION BY COMMUNITY,
 CONTROLLING FOR SES
 (Males, Age 25-49 Only)

SES	Community	Per cent of Respondents Who . . .			N-NA
		Were in contact with three or more families of relatives during previous week	Got together with friends during previous week	Chatted on telephone with friends during previous week	
I	East Parrish	22	67	67	49
	Clyde	31	54	58	48
	Spiresburg	24	54	61	41
	Brewer	20	76	70	76
II	East Parrish	29	46	51	59
	Clyde	26	48	45	42
	Spiresburg	21	54	38	48
	Brewer	17	67	40	30
Total					393

direct influence by economic conditions. Further detailed analysis of the communities is currently being undertaken, with particular emphasis on historical influences and characteristic patterns of social life and community leadership. The results of this analysis will be published in a separate report.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSIONS

The foregoing chapters have presented an analysis of data collected in our pilot study. Let us now consider some of the implications of these data for our future research on behavior related to mental health.

If our analysis has been correct, it is possible, utilizing survey methods in a large heterogeneous population, to measure in a meaningful way a dimension of happiness or psychological well-being. This possibility opens the way for longitudinal studies of changes in the level of well-being of the population as a whole or of significant subsections of the population. The establishment of trend lines for psychologically relevant behavior would enable us ultimately to predict the effects of particular changes in social conditions or in the life situations of individuals upon mental health or psychological well-being. While the measuring instrument we have used in this study is in no sense a final product, it does look promising as a point of departure for further studies.

The analysis of our data has suggested a very important revision in our thinking about the dimensions of well-being. The establishment of two independent dimensions, each of which is related in approximately the same degree to happiness but each of which is correlated with different aspects of a person's life, gives a promising theoretical explanation of some apparent paradoxes in the research findings on mental health, on one hand, and on the other, points out areas of life which have been relatively neglected in research in this field.

The underlying hypothesis of the pilot study was that people living in communities varying in economic climate would show certain basic differences in their involvement in the environment around them, their role adjustment, and their sense of well-being. While we made no hard and fast predictions about the nature or extent of the differences, our expectations were certainly guided by various notions about positive mental health and the results of other research work. In general, we expected people in economically depressed communities to manifest less happiness, more worry, less participation in community and social events, and less interpersonal involvement, and to derive fewer satisfactions from life. Among people in prosperous communities, on the other hand, we expected to find more active engagement in the community, a greater sense of well-being, less tension in interpersonal relations, and more satisfactions out of life. While we were fairly confident that some differences between communities would result from the different social composition of the communities, we also expected to find a "contextual" effect such that those living in the context of a depressed community would show certain "depressive" symptoms, whether or not they themselves were directly affected through threat of unemployment or reduced income.

Our data showed that indeed there were community differences, but that they were largely due to the direct impact of economic conditions on the life situation of individuals and that, compared with the effects of unemployment or low income on happiness, the contextual effects were small and tended to be limited to the lower socio-economic groups who are most vulnerable to changes in economic conditions. It should also be noted that insofar as there were contextual effects, they tended to appear in factors related to positive satisfactions rather than in those related to negative feelings. The data suggest that the community variable is a much more complex one than we had at first anticipated

and is worth more detailed exploration. Further investigation of community differences is being carried out at present.

Implications for Future Research

As was mentioned at the beginning of this report, this study is the first of a projected series of investigations of behavior related to mental health. In considering the implications of the results of this project for our future research, we see four main areas to be covered. These are:

- 1) Replication of the basic findings regarding the independence of the two dimensions related to well-being and their correlates. In particular, we need to obtain more complete data for women, to see whether the relationships we have formulated on the basis of data available only for men will hold also for women. We also need to investigate different types of populations, particularly those living in urban areas and those of more diverse ethnic, religious and racial backgrounds.
- 2) In the long run, our goal is to establish trends over time in our measures. We must thus systematically investigate the stability of the measures over time and the conditions which contribute toward their increase or decrease. Toward this end it will be necessary to conduct a panel study in which changes in peoples' life situations can be correlated with changes in their sense of well-being. In the course of such an investigation, we will be able to determine to a considerable extent how variable peoples' life situations and sense of well-being in fact are and of what magnitude situational changes must be in order to bring about changes in our various measures. We also need to discover how variable these measures are in the

absence of any changes in life situations.

- 3) The apparent importance of positive feelings for overall evaluation of well-being points up the need for further investigation of the causes of positive feelings. Past research, based on the assumption that positive feelings are merely the opposite of negative feelings, has concentrated chiefly on the more "pathological" elements of behavior which turned out to be related only to negative feelings. Future investigations should consider positive satisfactions derived from important roles, such as marriage, work, and parenthood, as well as from other possible sources of positive feelings, such as experiences that might raise self-esteem. That this will not be an easy task is suggested by a tendency, during the period of questionnaire development, for items to be cast more and more in negative at the expense of positive terms. The plain fact is that it is easier to ask people what is wrong in their lives and what troubles they are having than it is to ask what is right and what positive satisfactions they are experiencing.
- 4) Having established the important correlates of the two dimensions of well-being, it will then be necessary to determine what conditions produce changes in which aspects of these dimensions. We have spoken in rather general terms about a person's life situation as a determinant of his sense of well-being. It will be necessary, in order to make our measures more meaningful, to find out what conditions produce, for example, increases in anxiety, marital tension or work dissatisfaction and concomitant increases in negative feelings and, on the other hand, what factors influence social interaction and participation rates or such other things as may be found to

be correlated with positive feelings. Once having developed a satisfactory series of measures, we will be in a better position to investigate systematically what the important changes in life situations are.

We will also be able to investigate the degree of generality that specific changes may have. For instance, do changes causing increased marital tension also have repercussions on work adjustment, anxiety or behavior as a parent? In addition, we will be in a position to study the effects on the population as a whole of any large-scale stressful events, such as resumption of nuclear testing or an increase in international tensions or the effects of more localized events, such as the closing of a major industrial plant, a local political scandal or intergroup conflicts in a community.

Studies which will implement at least partially the goals outlined above are currently being undertaken by the National Opinion Research Center. One study involves the return, immediately after the Cuban crisis of October, 1962, to two of the communities previously studied, East Parrish and Brewer, in order to obtain repeated measurements on the same individuals after an intervening socially-stressful event. A report on this study will be forthcoming shortly.

A second and larger study, currently underway, has been planned in terms of the two key features of the long-range program: repeated measurements on the same individuals over time, and the relationship between changes in environmental conditions and changes in sense of well-being. This study involves samples from communities in several urban areas and respondents with a wide range of ethnic, religious and racial backgrounds. The first wave of interviewing is currently in progress and a second wave will be conducted approximately nine months after completion of the

first. Four waves will be conducted in one working-class suburb of a large industrial area in order to study in more detail the effects of the normal cyclical behavior of the dominant industry in the area. For the people in this suburb we will have four measures over one year's time. When the data from these studies have been analyzed, we will be in a better position to evaluate the fruitfulness of long-term trend studies of behavior related to mental health.