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A COMPARISON OF ADJUSTMENT IN DIVORCED AND SEPARATED
BLACK AND WHITE MOTHERS:
A CULTURAL VARIANT PERSPECTIVE

Dissertation

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the
Doctor of Philosophy Degree in the Graduate School
of The Ohio State University

By
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ABSTRACT

This study investigated post-divorce adjustment in Black mothers using a sample of 235 Black and 662 White divorced or separated mothers selected from the National Survey of Families and Households (Sweet, Bumpass, & Call, 1988). The women were not remarried, and they reported having at least one or more biological or adopted children, 18 years or younger living in the home.

A cultural variant perspective as proposed by Allen (1978) and Nobles (1978) was used as a conceptual framework to hypothesize that variations in adjustment for Black and White mothers could be explained by differences in the mothers' cultural backgrounds. Specifically, Black mothers were hypothesized to benefit from particular cultural strengths (e.g., social support from strong family and extended family ties, the strong value of children and the importance that is placed on the parent (mother)-child relationship, and participation in and acceptance of flexible and interchangeable role definitions) and thus, would evidence higher levels of adjustment.

ANCOVA, controlling for SES and time since divorce, and post hoc analyses indicated support for use of a culturally
variant model in explaining adjustment differences for Black mothers when compared to White mothers. In general, Black mothers perceived depression to be less, self-esteem and overall well-being to be higher, and in general they used informal social support to a greater extent than White mothers, particularly if lower educated. Black mothers' value of religion and church attendance was generally higher; Black mothers perceived higher economic well-being as their level of education increased, and Black mothers generally displayed less conflict with former spouses than White mothers.
Dedicated to Joseph, William, mom, my two brothers and their families, my extended family,
and

To the memory of my dad, Mr. Lovie Smith Wilder
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TABLE OF CONTENTS

DEDICATION........................................ iv
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.................................. v
VITA.................................................. viii
LIST OF TABLES...................................... xii

CHAPTER

1. INTRODUCTION...................................... 1
   Divorce in the Black Community.................. 1
      Economic Risks............................... 2
      Social and Psychological Impact............... 4
      Studies of Black and White Mothers
      After Divorce.................................. 7
   Emergent/Cultural Variant Theory................ 9
   Statement of The Problem......................... 14
   Hypotheses....................................... 16
   Definition of Terms................................ 17

2. REVIEW OF LITERATURE........................... 21
   Black Families.................................. 21
   Economic Profile............................... 23
   Values and Attitudes............................ 26
   Study of Black Families......................... 27
   Black Women and Marriage....................... 32
   Black Women and Divorce......................... 35
      Demographics.................................. 35
      Psychological Adjustment.................... 36
      Coping Process................................ 38
      Economic Adjustment.......................... 41
   Conclusions.................................... 45

ix
E. Contour Plot of Formal Social Support in Black Mothers (R1) and in White Mothers (R2)..........................145

F. Contour Plot of Value of Religion in Black Mothers (R1) and White Mothers (R2).................................148

G. Contour Plot of Frequency of Attendance at Church in Black Mothers (R1) and White Mothers (R2).................................151

H. Line Plot of Economic Well-Being in Black Mothers (1) and White Mothers (2).................................154

I. Contour Plot of Conflict with Former Spouse in Black Mothers (R1) and in White Mothers (R2).................................156

J. Contour Plot of Satisfaction with Parenting in Black Mothers (R1) and in White Mothers (R2).................................159
LIST OF TABLES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Descriptive Statistics for Salient Demographic Variables</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Means for Dependent Variables for All Participants</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Means for Dependent Variables: Black Mothers</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Means for Dependent Variables: White Mothers</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Analysis of Covariance (ANCOVA) Model</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. ANCOVA for Depression</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. ANCOVA for Self-Esteem</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. ANCOVA for Well-being</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. ANCOVA for Informal Social Support</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. ANCOVA for Formal Social Support</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. ANCOVA for Value of Religion</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. ANCOVA for Frequency of Attendance at Church</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. ANCOVA for Economic Well-being</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. ANCOVA for Quality of Relationship</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. ANCOVA for Conflict with Former Spouse</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. ANCOVA for Parental Satisfaction</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. ANCOVA for Parental Distress</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Divorce in the Black Community

Currently two of three marriages in the United States end in divorce (Martin & Bumpass, 1989), making divorce such a common occurrence that some term it a normative life event (Price & McKenry, 1988). The American rate is reported to be the highest among industrialized nations (Kitson with Holmes, 1992). Certain groups are at greater risk for divorce than others. Based on both Census and national survey data, Black Americans have been found to have the highest divorce rate of any cultural group in the United States (except for Puerto Ricans residing in Puerto Rico) even when social class is controlled (Chadwick & Heaton, 1992; Martin & Bumpass, 1989).

These high divorce rates of Black families are viewed with much concern because of their relation to poverty. Black women more than other cultural groups are less likely to remarry and thus are likely to remain single heads-of-households (Farley & Bianchi, 1991). These rates of divorce thus contribute to the greater than 50% of Black families
with children being headed by women (Rexroat, 1994). These single-parent households are further jeopardized economically by racism and discrimination. This greater risk of poverty after divorce theoretically should compound the entire adjustment process for Black women (Kitson with Holmes, 1992).

**Economic Risks**

Black mother-only households are among the poorest in the nation, and compared to Black or White, two-parent or other single-parent households, Black mother-only households have the lowest income on which to meet the family's needs (U. S. Census, 1995; United States Commission on Civil Rights, 1991). The income for Black mother-only households is estimated to be approximately 36% of the intact Black family income (which is only 56% of the White family income) (Staples, 1991; Taylor, 1994). Employed Black mothers earn less than White mothers, if employed, and they receive less from any other income sources (Billingsley, 1992; Hill, 1993; McLanahan & Booth, 1991). Child support and Aid for Dependent Children (AFDC) are thought to be major sources of income for mother-only households, but research reveals neither to be a source that provides adequate income for the household. For Black mothers, child support is not a dependable nor a substantial source of income (United States Commission on Civil Rights, 1991; McLanahan & Booth, 1991) because compared to White mothers, Black mothers are less
likely to receive an award (Teachman & Polonko, 1990; United States Commission on Civil Rights, 1991). When Black mothers do receive an award, monetary contributions from noncustodial fathers are grossly inadequate, and commitments to pay are frequently broken (United States Commission on Civil Rights, 1991). Black fathers who might maintain a commitment to pay are often unable to do so because of limited socioeconomic resources (Teachman & Polonko, 1990). AFDC, as a source of income, provides only a meager amount for survival of women and their children (McLanahan & Booth, 1991). Black mothers differ from White mothers however by receiving the larger percentage of their household income from AFDC (McLanahan & Booth, 1991).

Black mothers have attempted to provide for their families through continued participation in the workforce, evidenced by a rise in their participation from 59 to 71 percent between 1972 and 1985. However, racism and discrimination have resulted in low paying jobs and inequitable pay (McLanahan & Booth, 1991; United States Commission on Civil Rights, 1991). Some are unable to work because of a lack of marketable skills, or problems with securing dependable child care (United States Commission on Civil Rights, 1991; McLanahan & Booth, 1991).

Barring remarriage, there are few opportunities for Black divorced mothers to improve their economic situation. This is a critical point because family policies are often
based on the premise that divorced women will remarry. Black women, however, choose remarriage less often than White women as an option following divorce. An imbalance in the sex ratio and the decreased pool of professional men deny Black women comparable mates (Staples, 1991). White women, until recently, fared differently than Black women in that, as their divorce rate increased, so did their remarriage rate (Farley & Bianchi, 1991).

Social and Psychological Impact

The economic situation for divorced, Black mother-only households is often related to social and psychological difficulties for members of these families. It is often necessary to change and adjust to new life situations. There are fewer opportunities for meeting desirable potential mates, and there is increased risk for loss of social status and for moving away from neighbors and community—thus an increased risk of losing social supports (Alwin, Converse, & Martin, 1985). Loss of social supports, coupled with the fact that divorced mothers must deal with many life events in a relatively short period of time, predisposes Black mothers to an increased risk for stress and related negative conditions.

Social interaction after divorce as a measure of adjustment has not been studied to any great extent (Kitson & Morgan, 1991). Key components of social adjustment involve the coparenting relationship a woman has with her former partner, her perception of social support (Kitson

Recent studies utilizing longitudinal data suggest that Black divorced couples more than White ones will be in contact with each other because the former partner tends to live closer (Mott, 1990). Perhaps because of Black women's greater autonomy, the increased frequency of contact may be less problematic. Studies focusing on social support suggest that the Black community overall provides greater support for single parents and divorced individuals than the White community (Friedman, Chiriboga, & Catron, 1991).

Lastly, in regard to parenting role following divorce, the Black mother often has more children to rear than the White mother (Staples, 1991), thereby increasing economic and emotional demands on these families. Studies that have considered the effect of children on parents' well-being have indicated that the greater the number of children a woman has, and the younger the children, the less well she adjusts to divorce (Goode, 1965; Pearlin & Johnson, 1977; Price & McKenry, 1988). Children increase the woman's risk for trauma (Goode, 1965; Teachman & Polonko, 1990) and depression (McGrath, Keita, Strickland, & Russo, 1990). In studies that have focused more specifically on White mothers, findings indicate that mothers who see childrearing
as problematic and who perceive their mother-child relationship as a burden adjust more negatively (Berman & Turk, 1981; Hetherington, Cox, & Cox, 1978; Sussman & Steinmetz, 1987).

Religiosity and religious activities provide highly salient means of support for Blacks (Hill, 1972; 1993; Poole, 1990; Staples, 1993). Studies comparing levels of religiosity for Blacks and Whites consistently show Blacks display higher levels of religiosity (Hill, 1993; Taylor, Chatters, Tucker, & Lewis, 1991). Hill (1972) identified religion as one of five strengths of Black families. The Black church functions as an extended family for Black families because it is the center of African-American social life and community organization (Billingsley, 1992; Hill, 1993; Poole, 1990).

Although the literature is limited regarding how Black mothers perceive their parenting following divorce, studies relating to Black and White single parenting in general suggest that Blacks and Whites may emotionally adjust differently to life in single-parent families with Blacks being more accepting of the family structure (Fine et al., 1992). Studies that consider adjustment to divorce in general also suggest that Blacks are at an advantage in some respects in their general response to divorce.
Studies of Black and White Mothers After Divorce

Concluding from the limited and varied literature above, divorce may be less problematic for Black mothers. Studies that have considered racial differences in post-divorce adjustment are few, but they suggest Black women may experience fewer adjustment difficulties than White women after divorce regardless of SES differences. For example, Menaghan (1985) and Menaghan and Lieberman (1986) report that Black mothers experience less depression than White mothers. Black women report higher levels of happiness, life satisfaction, home life satisfaction, and self-esteem, and lower levels of psychological distress, feeling trapped, and meaninglessness following divorce (Gove & Shin, 1989; Fine et al., 1992). Thoits (1984) found that Black females evidenced less anxiety than White females after divorce. Other researchers such as Davis (1985), who investigated adjustment as a measure of locus of control, coping style, and social adjustment, differ in their findings and report no ethnic differences in adjustment. Fine et al. found no significant differences in depression for divorced Black and White mothers; however, the Black respondents were more satisfied with being parents than were White respondents.

Knowledge of how Black and White mothers adjust post-divorce is derived primarily from comparisons of single, never-married, and divorced individuals; these comparisons also suggest that Black mothers and White mothers adjust to
the post-divorce situation differently. Blacks display less stress and demonstrate more strengths in accomplishing their role tasks. St. Pierre (1982) found that a majority of his sample of mothers coped well and reported a strong sense of organization and cohesiveness within their families. Savage, Adair, and Friedman (1978) reported that the majority of single mothers reported cohesiveness within their families as either "good" or "very good." Brown, Perry, and Harburg (1977) found that Blacks had significantly higher self-esteem and "inner directedness" than Whites. Fine and Schwebel (1988) reported that Black mothers fostered higher self-esteem in their children than did White mothers. Kitson with Holmes (1992), based on their studies and others, contend that Black women evidence fewer difficulties than White women after divorce. They state that Blacks perceive the experience as less unpleasant, they perceive less decrease in peace of mind, and less stigma. Further, Black women are thought to experience less difficulty being without others to date, and they may perceive themselves to have more freedom than is true for White women.

Concluding from these studies and contrary to life event theories, Black mothers may very well have some advantages in adjusting to divorce as compared to Whites. In fact, two recent studies of the post-divorce adjustment of Blacks have found that Black women evidence less negative
adjustment behaviors than White women following divorce because of culturally-based strengths (Fine et al., 1992; Menaghan, 1985).

Emergent/Cultural Variant Theory

The emergent model as outlined by Fine et al. (1987) and the cultural variant perspective as developed by Allen (1978) can be used to further understand Black women's greater ability to adjust to the stressors of divorce with measurably less stress. The cultural variant perspective has been used by psychologists such as Nobles (1978; 1991) who have drawn heavily on the writings of Mbiti (1970). Roots of the Black family are viewed as being created in Africa versus America. African-American culture is thought to be "a special admixture of continued African world-view operating within another cultural milieu that is primarily defined by the Anglo-American community" (Nobles, 1978, 1991). According to the cultural variant theory, this world-view determines the structure, functions, nature, and definition of African-American family.

A major feature of the cultural variant perspective that is African in nature is a deep sense and value of "family" in a broad sense. This value of family is evidenced in early recordings extending back to the preslavery period when "the basis of African family life was the kinship group... bound by blood ties, common interests,
and mutual functions" (Staples, 1988, p. 304). The value of family continued during slavery and is reported to be documented in slave writings in spite of the fact that slaves were not allowed to enter into binding contractual relationships (Staples, 1988). The importance of family has continued over time and is credited with being one of the most important survival mechanisms for African people who were held in bondage. The African world-view belief system further espouses that the universe is endowed with the same Supreme Force, thereby making all things interconnected and interdependent (Myers, 1988; Nobles, 1978, 1991).

Individuals have a sense of "oneness of being" and perceive themselves as a part of a unified whole or the community and feel, "I am because we are; and because we are, therefore, I am" (Myers, 1988; Nobles, 1991). Further, individuals who hold an African world-view possess a spirit of cooperation, commitment, love of community, family, race and nation, and mutual respect (Majors & Billson, 1992). It is believed that one owes his/her existence to all members of the family (living, dead, and those to be born) (Myers, 1988; Nobles, 1991). Family members are important, especially the elderly who are held in high regard, and the dead who are remembered and recognized through time and for as long as a person remains alive to pass on information about the dead person (Myers, 1988; Nobles, 1991).
Family cultural behaviors that reflect an African world-view are observed in families comprised of several households, and where the definition of family includes persons not necessarily related by blood (Fine et al., 1987; Myers, 1988; Nobles, 1978). These families are child-centered, and children have a special value because they represent the continuity of life. This high value of children is evidenced in the Black family by reports of the mother-child relationship being more salient than the marital relationship for Black women (Staples, 1988), and children being valued regardless of their parents' marital status (Fine & Schwebel, 1988). In addition, families who have an African world-view display a close network of relationships between families where multiple parenting and interfamilial consensual adoptions are common. Lastly, according to Nobles (1978), Fine et al. and Billingsley (1993) there are flexible, interchangeable role definitions and performance. Sudarkasa (1980) observed similar behaviors in her study of continental African families.

The cultural variant perspective also considers the Black family's historical experiences in the United States including the period of slavery and existence in a society characterized by segregation and racial discrimination. Each of these experiences is a stressor which has contributed to proportionally more Blacks being poorly educated and in a lower socioeconomic status than Whites,
yet resulted in coping skills with such adversity. Blacks have remained flexible in their response to such external conditions (Fine et al., 1987) and have adapted in response to the stressors.

Staples (1988) suggests that sociopsychological forces created by slavery promoted evolutionary differences in heterosexual relationships in Black males and females compared to their White counterparts. Gender roles in Black families evolved to be more flexible and egalitarian in structure to assure the family's survival. Black women enacted a strong, interdependent role in relation to their male partner, unlike White women who enacted more dependent roles. Out of economic necessity, Black women in marital dyads have tended to work outside the home since reconstruction. White women on the other hand have tended not to work outside the home until relatively recently. Because the Black dyad in North America is more egalitarian with the provider role shared between men and women, there is more economic parity (Staples, 1988). Roles of men and women in White families have been more distinct because traditionally there has been less of a need for two incomes to meet the family's needs. It is the Black family's attempt to model the functioning of the White, middle-class family in an environment characterized by racial discrimination that may have increased stress in Black
families to the point where divorce is a normative life event with a pattern of hardships following (Staples, 1988).

The emergent theory would suggest that the Black mothers' historical experience in an Anglo-community and the African-American culture that has resulted, provide Black mothers with strengths that promote fewer adjustment difficulties post-divorce. In other words, Black mothers may have an advantage of emotional, physical, and social resources that assist them in dealing with the post-divorce situation (Fine et al., 1987; Nobles, 1978, 1988; Staples, 1988) in a manner that is less negative than it is for White mothers. Emergent theory contends that placing a high value on children, the importance of the Black mother-child relationship in comparison to the conjugal relationship, the sense of community, the common practice of multiple parenting, and the extensive social support system based in the broad definition of family give Black mothers unique strengths. Further, because Black mothers have enacted more independent roles during marriage than White mothers, their sense of family and family functioning may be less negatively impacted when a divorce occurs. These behaviors and conclusions are in contrast to interpretations that result from research and theory from a Eurocentric perspective which has viewed differences in family functioning as pathological. The Eurocentric perspective
contributes to deficit conclusions being drawn from observations of Black mothers in post-divorce situations.

Although the cultural variant perspective has not been systematically applied to divorce nor other marital behaviors, it is thought to be a tool that can promote interpretations of the behaviors of Black families as positive and adaptive versus deviant/pathologic (Fine et al., 1987). Cultural norms direct an individual in whether divorce is selected as an option to marital problems, and they affect subsequent adaptation to the divorced lifestyle (Yee, Chiriboga, & Catron, 1991). Researchers who utilize a cultural variant perspective can ask if some behaviors that were previously viewed as problems could instead be viewed as products of the interaction between an African cultural heritage and environmental circumstances in the United States.

Statement of Problem

There is a large and rather sophisticated body of knowledge on marital disruption in the United States population and the variables that influence ones capacity to adjust positively or negatively. However, our understanding of post-divorce adjustment in Black divorced mothers remains very limited. Much of the work is culturally biased, assuming White, middle-class families to be the norm of adjustment (Kurdek, 1987; Taylor, 1994). This practice has
contributed to conclusions about Black families that are often deviant or pathological in perspective. Further, a substantial amount of knowledge about post-divorce adjustment in Black women is derived in large part from the examination of subjects from small, convenience, and/or clinical samples or from a mixed group of divorced and never-married Black women. The major focus of the studies on Black women has been primarily etiological, characterized by attempts to account for the high rate of divorce, often using pathological models. However a positive development over the past two decades is that family scientists have begun to focus specifically on adjustment in Black Americans and frequently are explaining differences in Black families using cultural variant perspectives (McKenry, Everett, Ramseur, & Carter, 1989).

Conceptual development is also a concern with the current body of literature on adjustment post-divorce. Adjustment is generally investigated as a single dimensional concept versus one with multiple dimensions. For most individuals, the process of divorce sets into motion a multitude of behaviors and changes related to emotional, social, and economic well-being and therefore warranted consideration of adjustment as a more complex concept (White, 1990).

This study, using a cultural variant perspective as an underlying framework, investigated adjustment as a
multidimensional concept and hypothesized that Black divorced mothers would evidence advantages (i.e., psychological, economic, and social) in post-divorce adjustment as a result of their cultural heritage. Data were taken from the National Survey of Families and Households to investigate post-divorce adjustment in Black and White women. While controlling for time since divorce and socioeconomic status, the following hypotheses were addressed.

Hypotheses

**Hypothesis 1:** Black mothers will display less depression than White mothers display after divorce or separation.

**Hypothesis 2:** Black mothers will display higher self-esteem than White mothers display after divorce or separation.

**Hypothesis 3:** Black mothers will perceive their overall well-being to be better than White mothers perceive their overall well-being after divorce or separation.

**Hypothesis 4a:** Black mothers will report greater informal social support from family and friends than reported by White mothers after divorce or separation.

**Hypothesis 4b:** White mothers will report greater formal social support from professionals than reported by Black mothers after divorce or separation.
Hypothesis 4c: Black mothers will report higher value of religion than reported by White mothers after divorce or separation.

Hypothesis 5: Black mothers will attend church more frequently than do White mothers after divorce or separation.

Hypothesis 6: Black mothers will consider their economic well-being to be better than White mothers do after divorce or separation as compared to the time when they were married.

Hypothesis 7: Black mothers will report a higher quality relationship with their former spouses than do White mothers after divorce or separation.

Hypothesis 8: White mothers will report more conflict with former spouses than reported by Black mothers after divorce or separation.

Hypothesis 9: Black mothers will perceive their parenting ability more positively than do White mothers after divorce or separation.

Definition of Terms

Black Mothers - Black, non-Hispanic, divorced/non-remarried, noninstitutionalized women who reside in the Continental United States, and who report that they have one or more biological or adopted children living with them from a previous marriage. The term "Black" was selected over
other terms such as "Afro-American" because the term Black is consistent with the terminology used in the data set. Secondly, it is the term that would be most inclusive of any Black individuals who might have completed the survey for the NSFH data set. No distinction in Black individuals is made in the description of respondents for the survey.

White-American Mothers - White, non-Hispanic, divorced/non-remarried, noninstitutionalized women who reside in the Continental United States, and who report that they have one or more biological or adopted children living with them from a previous marriage. The term "White" was selected versus other terms that are used to refer to persons of European descent because the term "White" was most consistent with the terminology used in the data set.

Post-Divorce Adjustment - a measure of the mothers' perception of their level of depression, level of self-esteem, overall well-being, their perception of informal and formal social support received, perception of their economic well-being, their value of religion, frequency of attendance at church, satisfaction with parenting, perception of parental distress, quality of relationship with former spouse, and amount of conflict with their former spouse.

Depression - A measure of the mothers' perceptions of their current level of depressive symptomatology emphasizing the
affective component. Twelve items from the Center for Epidemiologic Studies Depression Scale (CES-D) (Radloff, 1977) were used.

**Self-Esteem** - Determined by mothers' perception of their worth and ability to do things in comparison to others, and their satisfaction with themselves.

**Overall Well-being** - A measure of the mothers' perception of how things are currently in comparison to when they were married.

**Economic Well-being** - The mothers' perception of their financial situation as single mothers in comparison to the year before they separated.

**Social Support** - A measure of the mothers' perceptions of informal and formal social support received. Informal social support was obtained from family and friends (fictive kin may be included among family and friends). Formal social support was given by professionals and the church.

**Value Of Religion** - Determined by the mothers' responses to questions relating to their perception of how religious they are and their perception of the role of the Bible in their lives.

**Frequency Of Church Attendance** - A measure of the number of times per year mothers attend church.
Parental Satisfaction - The mothers' perception of their life now as compared to the year before they separated.

Parental Distress - Determined by the mothers' level of agreement or disagreement with the statement, "I wish I could be free from the responsibility of being a parent".

Quality Of Relationship With Former Spouse - Determined by mothers' responses to a question about how friendly or unfriendly they perceived their relationship to be with their former spouses.

Conflict With Former Spouse - Determined by mothers' responses to a question about the amount of conflict they have with their child's father about child-related issues.

Time Since Divorce - A value in century months that represented the amount of time that had elapsed since each mother divorced.

Socioeconomic Status - A constructed variable, the family occupational index according to Stevens and Cho (1985). The index represented the mothers' perceptions of their status in life based on a rating of their occupation in comparison to others.
CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Black Families

Blacks make up approximately 12.4% of the population of the United States (Knox & Schacht, 1991; Taylor, 1994). There have been structural changes in the Black family, evident in the disproportionate number of Black single female-headed households with children present and without fathers, reported to be 54% of homes with Black children (Rexroat, 1994). Women in significant numbers are rapidly becoming heads of households (McLanahan, 1987; Taylor, Chatters, Tucker, & Lewis, 1991; Sidel, 1992). Compared to Whites however, Black families are considerably more likely to be headed by a single female than by a married couple (Taylor et al.). In 1984, approximately 16 percent of all households were headed by a woman however, 44 percent of Blacks as a group compared to 13 percent of Whites were headed by a female (Rodgers, 1986). A more recent report
indicated that more than 50 percent of Black households have female heads (Rexroat, 1994) and the majority of these families live in poverty.

Black families are often large and group oriented. This extended family often includes individuals who are not related by blood and who may or may not be members of the household but, serve as resources for emotional and physical support. Black families are known for their strong kinship bonds, also. These characteristics are thought to stem from and to be characteristic of West African culture from which a large number of Africans were captured. These characteristics are thought to have continued through time and have served as an important mechanism for coping and surviving (Staples, 1988).

This diversity in Black family structure has not escaped negative descriptions (Moynihan, 1965). The Black family is often described in terms of being low income, composed of one-parent families, births to unmarried mothers, and spouses with limited education (Knox & Schacht, 1991). Other descriptions portray the Black male as a marginal, ineffectual family member, while the Black female has been considered to be a strong, controlling figure, and matriarchal in character; casual sex relations have been
said to be the prevailing norm while marital life has been described as unstable and characterized by many dissolutions (Moynihan, 1965; Staples, 1991).

Recent reports indicate that there is a decreasing propensity to marry among young Black men and women (Taylor et al., 1991). Unemployment and low earnings of the Black male are thought to influence this trend and make relationships difficult for the couple. The majority of these men and women are expected to marry however. The rate at which Blacks tend to marry is reported to be less than the rate for Whites but, when controlled for SES difference in family structure between Black and White is not very significant.

Economic Profile

The majority (84%) of Black families are classified as working class. Approximately 15% are middle class, and less than one percent is upper class (Knox & Schacht, 1991). Black families moved increasingly into the middle-class in the mid 1970s as was true for all groups (McAdoo, 1988). Currently Blacks are economically moving in two directions (Hill, 1993). That is, as an increasing number of Blacks move into the middle and upper classes, even larger numbers are increasingly moving into the lower classes. When Black families are compared to White families, there are income disparities which have a long history. Today, the poverty rate for Blacks is 30 percent, making them one of the
poorest groups in the nation. Many poor Black individuals reside in female-headed households which are four times more likely to be poor as Black married couple families (Belle, 1990; Taylor, 1994).

The economic plight of Black families in America is highly related to their caste-like status (Ogbu, 1988). This situation grew out of having been incorporated into this country involuntarily and forced to exist in a menial status that was the outgrowth of a long period of slavery, followed by segregation, and then ongoing racism and racial discrimination. Billingsley (1992, p. 77) visualizes the position of the Black family in America as an "element embedded in a larger network of mutually interdependent relationships with the African-American community and the wider White society". Inherent in wider society are structural defects of racism and discrimination which have presented racial barriers that effect the Black family in many facets of life. The Black family exists in a society where there is limited access to and inequitable opportunity to participate in the economy, education, and the social system in a meaningful way by virtue of group membership (Billingsley, 1992; Sidel, 1992). Low social status and poverty, and limited class differentiation and mobility
(Ogbu, 1988), poor education, high unemployment, and employment in lower paying jobs have characterized Black families throughout history.

Black men have a particularly higher propensity than Whites of being unemployed, working part-time, in lower paying jobs, and more often in jobs that are especially sensitive to business downturns (Jewell, 1988). Recently, the increased need for technological skills has made it even more difficult for Black men and their families to maintain themselves at levels of self-sufficiency (McAdoo, 1988). The results are continued decreases in earning power and mobility.

Out of necessity, Black women entered the workforce in great numbers before it was acceptable for all classes of women to be employed and at a time when society restricted the role of the female to homemaker and mother primarily. As is currently true, Black women tended to primarily hold "female" jobs (Knox & Schacht, 1991) which typically provided low pay and few or no benefits. However, the job allowed the Black family to survive. The effect of these socioeconomic realities on Black families is that a substantial portion of Black families have been forced to respond to such oppressive conditions by depending on programs provided by the wider community.
Values and Attitudes

In spite of obstacles to social progress, Black families continue to hold values similar to the Anglo community (Staples, 1991). More than 90% of Blacks expect to marry and to establish families, and Black men believe that it is the man's responsibility to carry out the provider role. Further, Black families believe that education is the mechanism by which to remain out of poverty, to be productive citizens in America, and to overcome the economic disparity that exists between Blacks and Whites. However, the reality for Blacks is that there is conflict between family ideals and the reality of the structural conditions in which Black families exist (Staples, 1991). Despite significant closing of the educational gap between Black and White Americans, 12.6 years average for Blacks and 12.8 for Whites in 1990 compared to 5.4 and 8.7 respectively in 1940, Black Americans still trail Whites in wages and employment opportunities (Billingsley, 1992; Hill, 1993) and educational gains are not reflected in labor market progress. In 1989, Black male graduates reportedly earned $14.44 per hour while White male graduates earned $18.65.

As primarily a group of working class individuals existing in a society filled with racial and social discrimination and economic hardship, Black families have developed different patterns of functioning in society when
compared to White families. In the Black family, flexible role functioning is common and more acceptable than in White families. The Black woman often has higher occupational status than the Black man, and the Black woman is closer in income to the Black man than the White woman is to the White man (Hampton, Gelles, & Harrop, 1989). The participation of the Black woman in the provider role may be a reflection of (a) the greater acceptance by the Black community of the Black woman working and/or (b) the greater necessity for the Black woman to work because of the economic marginality of the Black male (Taylor et al., 1991). Black men have been confronted in society with little opportunity for successful employment that would allow them to provide adequately for a family. They live with the hope and dream of being the "good provider" while society offers little support or opportunity to fulfill the dream (Cazenave, 1979).

Study of Black Families

A review of research about Black families clearly indicates that a majority of what was written prior to the 1980s is primarily grounded in an Eurocentric worldview. The resulting picture of the Black family is one that is largely pathological and deviant (Staples, 1988) as the White middle-class family was the standard of comparison in the research conducted from an Eurocentric perspective.
One of the exceptions to this general pattern was the Black family research conducted by Franklin Frazier (Irvine & Stevens, 1985). Frazier is reported to have made tremendous contributions to the field of Black family study from the 1930s through the early 1960s and is thought to have presented one of the most definitive histories about the Black family (Irvine & Stevens). He concluded from his analysis of Black family during the 19th and early 20th centuries that Blacks were generally presented as different from Whites in family behavior, and research conclusions which had an Eurocentric underpinning indicated that Black families were without morals, failed to observe marital obligations, and behaved in a manner similar to lower animals because of their "African retentions" (Irvine & Stevens). Researchers of the period were heavily influenced by Darwinistic theory, and therefore such approaches served as a foundation for attempts to understand and to explain how and why Black families differed from White families. Compounding the negative conclusions these researchers drew from their application of Darwinistic theory to explain their observations, were the ideas that social scientists held about Africa and Africans. Africa was thought to be behind modern civilization and Africans were viewed as the "children of nature" who were influenced by "carryover" behaviors from Africa. Frazier attempted to dispel these negative beliefs and to redirect Black family life analyses,
particularly the issue of the demoralized family life (Irvine & Stevens), by explaining that slavery followed by racism, discrimination, and urbanization were causes for the differences observed in Black family functioning. His conceptualizations and explanations of Black family life stood without serious challenge until Moynihan's (1965) work.

Moynihan (1965), then head of the Office of Planning and Research in the U.S. Department of Labor, attempted to confirm Frazier's theory about how situations that Blacks encountered could explain their current status. Utilizing Census data and comparing Blacks to Whites, he concluded that Black family behavior patterns were evidence of Black family deterioration. Of particular concern was the dissolution of Black marriage, the high rate of Black illegitimate births, and the prevalence of female-headed households in the Black community. He further concluded that the rapid deterioration had led to a shocking increase in welfare dependency and that the problems of the Black family rested in the fact that the Black family was experiencing family breakdown to a greater degree than the White family and that efforts to improve the situation for Blacks should be directed toward establishment of a stable family structure. This position grew out of an Eurocentric bias that denied the part that society's economic structure played in perpetuating the problems experienced by Black
families. Moynihan's report engendered much controversy at the time and to some extent even today. Later research however took counter positions to his conclusions and often reported that his findings were not supported by fact (Staples & Mirande, 1980).

As America progressed through the seventies, a new trend of thinking was developing and can be seen in the works of researchers who utilize a cultural variant perspective to explain Black family life. These researchers were of the opinion that Black family functioning was adaptive and they focused on Black family behaviors as "strengths" that made it possible for the Black family to survive in spite of society's structural defects that negatively influenced Black Americans.

One of the most noted writers on "strengths" of the Black American family is Hill (1972) who presents a theoretical discussion of Black family "strengths" including strong kinship bonds, strong work ethic, value of religion, adaptability of family roles, and a high achievement orientation. Nobles (1988) supports Hill's discussion and expands the list of strengths of the Black family in his discussion of the Black family functioning to legitimize its members' beingness, to provide a family code and guidelines for behaving, to provide elastic boundaries, and a place for its members to share insights and experiences. More recently Rice (1990) presents a similar discussion of
strengths that include strong kinship bonds, favorable attitudes toward the elderly, adaptable roles, strong achievement orientations, strong religious orientation, and a love of children. All of these strengths have contributed to the Black family's resiliency and adaptability to oppressive conditions confronted as an element within the larger Anglo society.

Family research of the decade of the 1980s brought about much progress in the quality and quantity of research about Black families (Taylor et al., 1991). Increasingly family scientists have made attempts to utilize models that emphasized the resiliency and adaptive ability of Black families. This trend has contributed to an increased awareness of the strengths and diversity of Black families.

There were also efforts to address concerns of the Black family from a wide scope including life course issues that ranged from concerns about Black children to concerns about the Black elderly. Issues that influence the health and well-being of individuals such as social support, extended family, family therapy, marriage, relationships, and divorce were also considered, to name a few.

Another major advancement in the research on Black families is the fact that attempts were made to improve the research methodology, i.e., the selection of more representative samples and the utilization of respondents who were selected from non clinical settings.
Black Women and Marriage

In spite of delays in marriage and increasing rates of cohabitation and divorce, 90 percent of the United States population desires marriage (Martin & Bumpass, 1989). Black women have similar interests in that they wish to get married and to maintain traditional roles in a conjugal relationship (Staples, 1991; Taylor et al., 1991). However, this goal is not being achieved by an increasing number of Black women. Twenty-two percent of Black women 40-44 years old have never married, compared with seven percent for Whites and nine percent for Hispanics. Rodgers and Thornton (1985) predicted that of Black females born in 1954, only 70% were expected to marry compared to 94% of the Black women born in 1930 who eventually married. This phenomena is a result of several factors. First, there is a disproportional ratio of women to men. This sex ratio has occurred because a great portion of available Black men are incarcerated, in mental institutions, and/or experiencing high homicide rates and mortality due to other reasons (Staples, 1988; Taylor, 1994). Tucker and Mitchell-Kernan (1990) have recently discussed the "potential" of an individual for relationship formation and maintenance. Potential is determined by willingness to enter a relationship, attractiveness (i.e., economic status and physical features), and eligibility. It is argued that a decline in the proportion of Black men with jobs and the
overall economic marginality of a substantial portion of Black males make them less attractive as potential marriage partners thus, decreasing the marriage pool for Black women who specifically choose to marry someone of their race and at an equal or higher economic level (Farley & Bianchi, 1991, Staples, 1991). Another factor contributing to the decline in marriage rate for Black women is the fact that there is an increase in Black women who are postponing the time of marriage. Black women are less likely to ever marry than White women (Taylor et al.). In addition, Black men are reported to be less committed to marital relationships, thus contributing to decline in marital rates for Black women (Taylor et al.).

There is a limited literature on Black marital quality. However, the limited available studies indicate that when Blacks and Whites are compared, Black spouses tend to be less happy in their marriages than Whites (Staples, 1988), and they report lower life satisfaction than single individuals (Ball & Robbins, 1986a, 1986b). However, studies report Black married spouses to be happier than their Black unmarried counterparts (Broman, 1988; Jackson, Chatters, & Neighbors, 1986). Families with higher incomes report higher satisfaction with family life. Economic concerns are thought to contribute to stress in the marriage and feelings of inadequacy on the part of the male spouse (Staples, 1988). The female may feel dissatisfied with the
mate she has selected as the male is seen as having primary responsibility for the family's financial well-being (Ball & Robbins, 1986).

The economic marginality of Black males, coupled with the fact that the Black woman's income might exceed that of Black males contribute to the occurrence of instability in relationships between Black spouses (Marrell, 1987; Staples, 1988). The more the Black woman grows economically independent, the more she has a lifestyle apart from a husband (Farley & Bianchi, 1991). Financial independence changes the degree to which women perceive marriage as an "economic utility." They can choose to stay single, not to remarry, or to leave a marriage they feel is not gratifying.

Marital stress is also generated by hypogamous unions where the female is more highly educated when compared to her partner (Hampton, Gelles, & Harrop, 1989). Secord and Ghee (1986) report that in marriages where the Black wife has more education, she is likely to expect her husband to be more sensitive, emotionally nurturant, and more companionable. Her partner, on the other hand, may not provide what she expects particularly if he is of a lower SES level.

Children provide an additional cause for stress in the family that contributes to reports of decreased happiness in
couples with children (Broman, 1988). Blacks have more children, thus can theoretically experience more marital distress.

Black Women and Divorce

Demographics

In the general population, one of two marriages end in divorce (Martin & Bumpass, 1989), but for Blacks, marital disruption due to separation or divorce is much higher than for Whites and other groups, excluding Puerto Ricans in Puerto Rico (Farley & Bianchi, 1991). Blacks divorce at a rate of two to every three marriages (Glenn & Supancic, 1984; Staples, 1988). The divorce rate for Blacks is higher even after controlling for SES.

After marital disruption, Black women tend to remain separated for prolonged periods or they remain divorced without choosing to remarry. Black women spend an average of 11 years separated between first marriage and divorce compared to two years for White women (Farley & Bianchi, 1991). Black women spend only 16 of their 73 years of life with a husband compared to White women who spend 33 of their 77 years of living as wives. As mentioned above, the reasons for remaining single after divorce often have been related to socioeconomic conditions in Black families.
Another reason Black women remain divorced or separated is the fact that they face a restricted marriage market. Black women who chose to marry a Black man must select from a marriage pool with Black men who have decreased potential because of inequities in education and occupation status. The marriage pool is further decreased in numbers of available Black men because of the large number of Black men who are incarcerated, involved in homicides, or the many who are in mental institutions.

**Psychological Adjustment**

The newly divorced experience increased depressive feelings possibly reflective of their greater economic problems, the perception that they have lost economic ground, and their relative lack of personal support. Adjusting to divorce is rated among events that are the most difficult to which to adjust (Kitson with Holmes, 1992). Divorced individuals are consistently overrepresented among those evidencing psychological disturbances (Kitson with Holmes, 1992; Menaghan & Lieberman, 1986; Price & McKenry, 1988; Wallerstein & Kelly, 1980) including anger, anxiety, depression, and low self-esteem. Recent studies suggest that the degree to which these disturbances are present is greater during the early period, particularly the first year, following disruption with observed improvement as time passes (Kitson with Holmes, 1992). Generally it takes
approximately two years following disruption of a relationship for significant adjustment to occur and the process can take five years or longer before positive adjustment is evident (Kitson with Holmes, 1992; Wallerstein & Kelly, 1980).

Menaghan (1985) found in a study using panel data from a group of Chicago women that Black and White women experience increased depression following divorce. Most studies have not investigated race, and therefore it is difficult to generalize. However, she found that the manifestations for Black women were of a lessor degree at each time of measurement when compared to White women (Menaghan, 1985; Menaghan & Lieberman, 1986). Fine et al., (1992) surveyed a sample of Black and White parents regarding their post-divorce adjustment and found that Black parents were more satisfied with their parenting than White parents. They were also less likely to report that someone in the home had a substance abuse problem following divorce. Blacks and Whites did not vary on other psychological outcome measures. The exact reason for the reported differences in adjustment following divorce is not exactly clear but, explanations include the fact that Blacks divorce at a higher rate than Whites and therefore may perceive less stigma; Blacks remain separated longer before filing for divorce, thereby having a longer period to adjust (Kitson with Holmes, 1992). Mott (1988) also found that divorced
Black individuals tend to live in close proximity thereby increasing their opportunity for contact. Lastly, race and cultural strengths that are not characteristic in the White community may provide Blacks an adjustment advantage (Billingsley, 1992; Fine et al., 1987; Fine et al, 1992; Hill, 1972; 1993).

Coping Process

Social support refers to help that people receive to facilitate their performance of activities required or permitted by their social roles (Kitson with Holmes, 1992). Social support is perceived to have been given by an individual or it is what is actually given by others. Social support enhances one's adjustment to stressful life events (Kitson, Moir, & Mason, 1982) such as divorce, which is considered to be a most stressful life event by a majority of women who experience it (Price & McKenry, 1988). Kitson with Holmes (1992) found in a midwest sample of divorced individuals that the type of support most often given is financial (in the form of money, gifts, food, or housing) followed by information, guidance, or counseling (talking things over, learning new skills, and moral support). Sources of support are most often families and friends, with friends more likely to provide the latter type of support. Friends are less likely to provide support in the form of services (babysitting, being driven places, help with errands). Families often provide help for the
separated and recently divorced, and mothers receive more support than single females. Chatters, Taylor, and Neighbors (1989) found in a sample of Blacks that females with higher income and those who maintained greater levels of contact with family typically had larger informal helper networks. Further, individuals with interpersonal, economic, and emotional problems reported smaller networks than individuals with physical health problems (Taylor et al., 1991). Younger individuals are more likely than older individuals to turn to others for emotional support (Hammond & Muller, 1992).

Individuals can also gain strength to cope depending on how one perceives their situation or themselves personally. For example, considering oneself religious, being more economically independent, possessing higher educational and occupational opportunities are characteristic of women who adjust more positively after divorce (Price & McKenry, 1988; Spanier & Thompson, 1987). These women have less difficulty accepting the breakup and are less lonely afterwards. However, women who receive pressure from the church or from their own personal religious beliefs not to break up the marriage have somewhat more difficulty accepting the divorce and are more lonely afterwards (Spanier & Thompson, 1987).

Research relating to coping among Black Americans has not focused specifically on women post-divorce (Ball, 1983; Chatters et al., 1986; 1989; Fine & Schwebel, 1988; McAdoo,
Taylor, 1986) but, in research on single Black women and female-heads that leave a relationship for reasons other than being divorced, family has been reported to be a very important source of support and in addition, these households are thought to have support outside of their household through extended family networks (Ball, 1983; Chatters, Taylor, & Neighbors, 1989; McAdoo, 1980; Sudarkasa, 1993; Taylor, 1986). It can be generally concluded that the Black community provides social support to a greater extent than is true in the White community.

There is strong indication that patterns of "cross residential cooperation" continue to be a very important factor in the survival of Black families in cities as well as in rural areas throughout America (Sudarkasa, 1993). "Kin-help exchange networks" are found to be active at all social class levels in the Black community (McAdoo, 1988). Family assistance includes money, transportation, decision-making, in-kind help (furniture, food, clothing), and support during crises, care of children, and the provision of shelter at times of need. Findings from Thompson and Ensminger's (1989) study of urban Chicago Black single mothers validate the importance of support to coping in Blacks. Mothers who were the only adult in the household over a period of approximately ten years had higher levels of psychological distress than those who had support. McAdoo (1978) reports that reciprocal extended family help
patterns transcend economic groups and continue to be practiced even when families move from poverty to middle-income level. Neighbors and Jackson (1984) conducted a study of how Blacks utilize informal and professional help and found that 80% of the time Blacks sought informal help alone or in conjunction with professional assistance. Black kinship support patterns are thought to have deep roots extending back to African cultures on the African continent and were of a strength that could be maintained in spite of the treatment of Africans during the "middle passage" and the period of slavery that followed (Hill, 1993).

Another very important source of coping for Blacks is the Black church and religiosity. Results from the National Survey of Black Americans indicate that more than 80% of Blacks surveyed considered themselves religious, more than 70% believed that religion played a very important part in their lives while growing up, and more than 70% continued to believe the church was important in their lives (Billingsley, 1992).

Economic Adjustment

In the general population, the increased rates of divorce and separation, and the fact that more women are choosing to stay single and not to remarry are the primary reasons for the tremendous growth in female-headed households. However, for Black women, the significant increase in female-headed households is due primarily to the
decreasing tendency of Blacks to marry (Taylor et al., 1991). Regardless of the reason that a household has become female-headed, these families tend to be impoverished. A recent study found that in general one-third of all women living in families with incomes above the poverty line prior to marital disruption lived in poverty after divorce (Mauldin, 1991). Household income for women and children in the U.S. following marital disruption suffers a drop reported to range from 30 percent (Duncan & Hoffman, 1985) to as high as 70 percent (Weitzman, 1985). Black divorced single female-headed households tend to be poorer than White on average because of having to adjust to a sole earner income when it has often taken two incomes to remain out of poverty prior to divorce (Taylor et al., 1991). The Black female's earning will reflect her race as well as her social position in society. Like all women, Black women are overwhelmingly employed in jobs that economists refer to as "second sector" jobs (Amott, 1988). This sector consists of jobs considered to be "women's work," offers low wages, few or no benefits, and unstable employment (part-time, temporary, or seasonal). Jobs that fall into this sector have allowed women the opportunity to be employed while carrying out other roles including mother and homemaker. Black women are far more likely to be overrepresented in these jobs than White women and they more often hold the lowest paying jobs in the sector (Amott, 1988). Compounding
the economic hardships that can arise with employment in such jobs is a scarcity of inexpensive and adequate childcare and on occasion a lack of medical insurance. For many of these women it is difficult for them to justify working outside of the home (Taylor et al., 1991). Many Black women do remain employed in these jobs, but to do so they must have other sources of income to maintain the family (Sidel, 1992).

Child support has tended not to be a substantial source of additional income for single, female-headed households as these payments are low in spite of improvements in enforcement policy (Amott, 1988; Mauldin, 1991). McLanahan and Booth (1991) found that child support coupled with alimony payments account for only 3.5% of the Black single mother's income. White mothers, and those who are older and more educated, have been more successful at being awarded payments (Amott, 1988). Teachman and Polonko (1990) indicates however that the socioeconomic status of the noncustodial father is inversely related to payment of child support; thus a larger portion of Black fathers may fall into defaulting status.

A government program, in most cases, Aid to families with Dependent Children (AFDC), provides an important source of income for many single female heads of household. AFDC alone, like other sources of income available to female-headed households, is often not enough to maintain the
household sufficiently or to raise the household income above the poverty level. Garfinkle and McLanahan (1986) report that AFDC benefits and food stamps to Black female-headed households accounted for only 28% of their income.

The 1980s cutbacks of human services programs that often benefitted women and their children exacerbated the poverty rate among women and children. The government attempted to correct budget problems by permitting states to attach AFDC benefits to the collection of child support payments. States would enforce legislation in the collection of payments from the father only if the mother collected welfare benefits in the form of AFDC (Amott, 1988). Thus child support became a substitute for AFDC versus a supplement.

In discussing the post-divorce economic situation of Black women, discrimination and racism in society must be considered. Black women can potentially suffer much greater hardships than Whites because of discrimination by employers. The effect of discrimination is obvious when one thinks that in spite of the fact that the illiteracy rate for Blacks has dropped and the years of schooling for Blacks is only one-half of a year different from Whites, the Black college graduate tends to earn at the same rate as the high school White graduate (Sidel, 1992).
Conclusions

This review of the literature has presented an overview of the status of the knowledge base on Black family, Black women who divorce, and the nature of their adjustment after the crisis event. Prior to the 1970s, conclusions about Black family functioning were based on an Eurocentric perspective, and this led to very negative evaluations of Black family behaviors. Within the past twenty-five years, a body of literature has been developing that considers the Black family from a cultural variant perspective, and therefore, consideration of strengths and adaptive behaviors of Black families are evident. Some cultural differences are now thought to explain differences between Black and White families. The differences are more often considered to be possible strengths as opposed to pathologic and deviant behaviors. This perspective has not been applied to any extent to women's post-divorce well-being even though preliminary data indicate some cultural differences in divorce adjustment.
CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

Introduction

The purpose of this study was to compare post-divorce adjustment in Black and White mothers. More specifically, the researcher investigated the utility of a cultural variant perspective in determining differences in Black and White mothers' adjustment. Adjustment was defined to include levels of depression, self-esteem, overall well-being, perception of social support, perception of economic well-being, value of religion, frequency of attendance at church, parental satisfaction, parental distress, quality of relationship with former spouse, and level of conflict with former spouse. It was hypothesized that Black mothers, controlling for SES and time since divorce, because of cultural strengths, would demonstrate more positive adjustment in terms of these outcomes.

Data and Methodology

Data for this study were taken from the National Survey of Families and Households (NSFH) (Sweet, Bumpass, & Call,
1988) which consisted of interviews with a national probability sample of 13,017 respondents conducted between March 1987 and May 1988. The survey included a main sample of 9,643 respondents who represent the non-institutional United States population age 19 and older. In addition, several population groups, Blacks being one, were oversampled. Over sampling consisted of selecting a second sample of equal size and with similar characteristics as the original group of Blacks to increase the possibility of having a sufficient number for meaningful analyses.

One adult per household was randomly selected as the primary respondent. Various nonstandardized, fixed-response questions were used to obtain information in the survey. Several portions of the main interview were self-administered to facilitate collection of sensitive information and to ease the flow of the interview. Psychometric properties of the instruments were not established prior to administration, and items were not assessed for cultural sensitivity.

Sample Parameters

The sample for this study consisted of Black (n = 235) and White (n = 662) mothers who were divorced or separated.
The women in this sample were single, and had not remarried at the time of data collection. Each woman had at least one biological or adopted child, ranging in age from birth to eighteen years and currently residing in the household.

Operationalization of Variables

Demographic Variables

Demographic variables examined were: age (AGE), race (RACE), religious preference (RELIG), marital status (Marstat), number of children (NCHD), socioeconomic status (SES), education (EDUCAT), and time since divorce (HLSD). Age and number of children were measured in terms of raw values with number of children consisting of a combination of the biological and adopted children under 18 years of age living in the household. The variables race, religious preference, marital status, and socioeconomic status were all categorical variables. Time since divorce was represented by a value in century months that was indicative of the amount of time that had elapsed since the divorce or separation. Race consisted of Black and White. Religious preference consisted of Protestant, Catholic, Jewish, and other. Marital status consisted of separated as a result of marital conflict and divorced, not remarried.

Socioeconomic status was assessed using a constructed variable, the family occupational index according to Stevens and Cho (1985). The index was based on occupation and did
not consider industry. Socioeconomic scores for the 1980 Bureau of the Census occupational classification scheme and a status hierarchy of occupations based on education and earnings were provided in the index. The occupational index was appropriate to use in this study because it is the most frequently used gauge of SES in family studies (Langman, 1987; Nam & Terrie, 1982).

The variable EDUCAT was also a constructed variable which provided continuous data representative of respondents' highest elementary, secondary, or postsecondary education standing. The variables, time since divorce and the socioeconomic status, were controlled in order that cultural effects could be isolated. Descriptive statistics for these variables are presented in Chapter 4.

Other Study Variables

The dependent variables in the study were various post-divorce adjustment measures including mother's level of depression, self-esteem, perception of overall well-being, perception of social support received, perception of economic well-being, value of religion, frequency of attendance at church, perception of parental satisfaction, parental distress, quality of relationship with former partner, and level of conflict with former spouse.

Level of depression was determined utilizing responses to a twelve item modified Center for Epidemiologic Studies Depression Scale (CES-D) (Radloff, 1977) utilized in the
data set. The CES-D scale was designed for the purpose of measuring the current level of depressive symptomatology with an emphasis on the affective component. The CES-D has been shown to discriminate among severity levels of depression with in patient groups and has been shown to effectively discriminate between general population samples and depressed psychiatric inpatient samples. The instrument has been found to be valid and reliable across various age, racial, and educational groupings. For this study, respondents answered twelve questions. Sample questions were: "On how many days during the past week did you: feel bothered by things that usually don't bother you? Not feel like eating, your appetite was poor?" Item responses ranged from "0" to "7" days. White mothers as a separate group gave responses that ranged from 0 to 7 days with a mean of 1.74, SD = 1.56. In comparison, Black mothers' responses ranged from 0 to 6.8 days with a mean of 1.99, SD = 1.77. The average depression for both Black and White mothers was relatively low and did not meet the standard for clinical depression as defined by the CES-D scale.

Self-esteem was assessed by taking the mean of responses to the following three questions: "I feel that I'm a person of worth, at least on an equal plane with others", "On a whole, I am satisfied with myself", and "I am able to do things as well as other people." Responses for each item ranged from "strongly agree" (1) to "strongly
disagree" (5). Black mothers' responses ranged from 3 to 5 with the average mother reporting $X = 4.23$, $SD = .49$. In comparison, White mothers' responses ranged from 3 to 5 with the average mother reporting $X = 4.20$, $SD = .48$.

**Perception of overall well-being** was assessed using the mean of responses to the question: "First taking things all together, how would you say things are these days?" Responses ranged from "very unhappy" (1) to "very happy" (7). Black mothers' average response was 4.91 ($SD = 1.54$). White mothers' responses in comparison averaged 4.84 ($SD = 1.40$).

**Social support** had two measured dimensions, informal and formal. Informal social support was determined with responses to the question, "As you went through the separation, how much did you rely on each of these persons for emotional support: parents? brothers and sisters? friends? boyfriend/lover? in-laws? children?" Responses ranged from "not at all" (1) through "a great deal" (7). A mean of responses to the question was determined. Black mothers' average response was 2.15 ($SD = 1.63$). White mothers' responses in comparison averaged 4.84 ($SD = 1.40$).

Formal social support was measured with responses to the following two questions: (a) "As you went through the separation, how much did you rely on each of these persons for emotional support: counselor (family counselor, psychologist, etc)? minister, rabbi, or priest?" Responses
ranged from "not at all" (1) through "a great deal" (7) for each of the questions. A mean ($X = 2.16, SD = 1.62$) was determined for responses to this question and it indicated that the mothers perceived their level of formal social support as measured by this question to be relatively low.

The second question asked was, "How often do you attend religious services?" Respondents indicated the number of times per year they attended church and responses ranged from "0" to "90 or more times a year". Blacks had a higher frequency of attendance at church ($X = 30.8, SD = 38.5$) than Whites; the frequency of attendance at church for Whites averaged 17 ($SD = 29$) times per year. Greater attendance at religious services is indicative of greater support (Wilson & Stith, 1991).

Perception of economic well-being was assessed by responses to the question: "In the area of finances, how is your life now, compared to the year before you separated?" Responses ranged from "much worse" (1) to "much better" (5), with higher scores indicating perception of greater economic well-being. Black and White mothers had very similar means for their responses to the question. Black mothers' mean was 3.1 ($SD = 1.27$) and White mothers had a mean of 3 ($SD = 1.49$).

Value of religion was measured with responses to three questions. (a) "The Bible is God's word and everything happened or will happen exactly as it says; " (b) "The Bible
is the answer to all important human problems;" and (c) "I regard myself as a religious fundamentalist." Responses for each of the three questions ranged from "strongly disagree" (1) to "strongly agree" (5). A mean of responses to the three questions served as the measure of the mothers' value of religion. Black mothers (X = 4.1, SD = .54) compared to White mothers (X = 3.8, SD = .59) placed higher value on religion as suggested by a cultural variant perspective.

Parental satisfaction was measured with responses to the question, ".... how is your life now as a parent compared to the year before you separated?" Responses ranged from "much worse" (1) through "much better" (5), with higher values indicative of greater parental satisfaction. Blacks (X = 3.6, SD = 1.0) compared to Whites (X = 3.7, SD = 1.1) had a slightly lower mean.

Parental distress was measured with responses to the question, "I often wish I could be free from the responsibility of being a parent." Responses ranged from "strongly agree" (1) to "strongly disagree" (5). Higher scores were indicative of less parental distress. The mean for Black mothers was 4.2, SD = .69 and for White mothers the mean was 4.2, SD = .70.

Quality of relationship with former spouse was measured with responses to the question: "How would you describe your current relationship with your former husband?" Responses ranged from "very unfriendly" (1) to "very
friendly" (5). Black mothers' responses averaged 3.2, SD = 1.29 and White mothers' averaged 3.0, SD = 1.3.

Conflict with former spouse was measured with responses to the questions: "How much conflict do you and child's father have over each of the following issues: (a) where child lives? (b) how he/she is raised? (c) how you spend money on child? (d) how he/she spends money on child? his visits with child? (e) his contribution to child's support?" Responses ranged from "none" (1) to "a great deal" (3) for each of the questions. Responses for Black mothers averaged 1.2, SD = .38 and for White mothers 1.3, SD = .40. Relationships that are more friendly and/or characterized by less conflict are indicative of more positive adjustment post-divorce.

Data Analysis

Analysis of covariance (ANCOVA) was used to assess racial differences in post-divorce adjustment. Specifically, analysis of covariance was utilized to determine differences on all conceptually related continuous dependent variables for Black and White mothers. The variables were: depression, self-esteem, overall well-being, social support, economic well-being, value of religion, frequency of attendance at church, quality of relationship with former spouse, level of conflict with former spouse, level of parental satisfaction, and parental
distress. In all analyses, time since divorce and SES were controlled to enhance the researcher's ability to isolate the effect of culture on any differences detected between Black and White mothers on the dependent variable indicators. Analysis of variance (ANOVA) was used to determine if there were differences for Black and White mothers on the demographic variables. Post hoc analyses using contour plots were conducted when significant interaction effects were found with ANCOVA. Findings that resulted from the ANCOVAs and the ANOVAs are presented in Chapter 4 and discussed in Chapter 5.
CHAPTER 4

RESULTS

Introduction

The purpose of this study was to compare post-divorce adjustment in Black and White mothers in terms of three domains: psychological, economic, and social. A cultural variant perspective was used to hypothesize differences in Black and White mothers' post-divorce adjustment. In this chapter, (a) descriptive statistics, (b) preliminary analyses, (c) results of hypotheses testing, and (d) a summary are presented.

Descriptive Statistics

The frequencies, means, and standard deviations of salient demographic variables are presented in Table 1. This sample of women ranged in age from 19-59 years of age with a mean age of 35.27 years. Subjects had a mean educational level of 12.5 years, ranging from 4 to 20 years. The total income for Black mothers ranged from $0 to $117,500 and averaged $11,987 whereas the total income for White mothers ranged from $0 to $243,200 with an average of $15,296.42. Occupations ranged from technical to highly
Table 1
Descriptive Statistics for Salient Demographic Variables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>n</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>235</td>
<td>26.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
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<td>73.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missing</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Age</strong></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean</td>
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<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SD</td>
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<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Marital Status</strong></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Separated</td>
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<td>26.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Divorced</td>
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<td>73.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Education</strong></td>
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<td></td>
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<td>2.19</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Income</strong></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>14436.90</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SD</td>
<td>15006.63</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
professional. The women were divorced/separated an average of 5.18 years. However, Blacks tended to have been divorced/separated longer, 7.29 years versus an average of 5.18 years for White mothers. The greatest percentage of White mothers (78%) were divorced as was found for the Black mothers (60%). More White mothers than Black mothers were divorced as is found in previous research (Cherlin, 1992; Teachman, 1988). A larger percentage of Black women are reported to separate and do not legally divorce than is reported for White women (Kitson with Holmes, 1992; Taylor, 1994). A majority of Blacks (n = 186, 80.2%) reported they were Protestant, whereas slightly less than 57% (n = 372, 56.9%) of Whites reported they were Protestant and a relatively large percentage of the Whites, 25.7% (n = 168), reported they were Roman Catholic. Blacks attended church an average of 30.8 times per year compared to Whites who attended church an average of 17.3 times per year. Research also supports this finding for religious participation (Billingsley, 1992; Hill, 1993). The women averaged one child per woman regardless of race.

T-tests were conducted to examine differences between means for Black and White mothers on demographic variables. Significant differences between Black and White mothers were reported in terms of education (t = -1.99, p < .0460.), marital status (t = -5.00, p = < .0001), frequency of attendance at church (t = 4.85, p < .0001), religious values
(t = 5.76, p < .0000), time since divorce (t = 4.49, p < .0001), and whether they were a metropolitan versus non-metropolitan resident (t = -4.56, p < .0001). Blacks tended to have slightly lower educational levels than Whites, were more likely to be separated, attended church more frequently, and were divorced/separated longer than Whites. Both Blacks and Whites were more likely to come from metropolitan areas; however, proportionally more Blacks than Whites were from metropolitan areas.

Preliminary Analyses

For each dependent variable, correlational analyses, Pearson r, were run among all items that were used to compose specific dependent variables. Dependent variables that were composed of several items included depression which consisted of eleven items; conflict consisted of six items; formal support consisted of two items; informal support consisted of six items; and esteem consisted of three items. The correlation among the depression items ranged from .38 to .83; from .18 to .73 among the conflict items; from .26 to .80 among the formal items; and from .40 to .81 among the esteem items. All items composing the dependent variables had positive coefficients as expected.
One of the dependent variables, depression, consisted of a 12-item scale that was taken from the CES-D depression scale. A Cronbach coefficient alpha was run on the scale, and it was .935.

In the National Survey of Families and Households' data set, there were several variables that were possible choices for socioeconomic variables that have been utilized in previous research to measure SES. The variables were: a constructed variable for SES (M540B), a constructed variable for total income (IRTOT2), and a constructed variable for education (EDUCAT). Scatterplots were generated to determine the best proxy for SES. The EDUCAT variable presented the best quantitative plot; thus, it served as a proxy for SES in this study. Secondly, because this study focused on Black mothers, the selection of education (EDUCAT) as the variable to measure SES was consistent with McAdoo's (1993) claim that education provides the best measure of SES for Blacks because of their disadvantaged position in the workforce resulting in inequitable pay for work done.

The dependent variables for the study were: depression (DEPRESS), conflict (CONFLICT), formal support from professionals (FORMAL), informal support (INFORMAL), esteem (ESTEEM), well-being (WELBEING), parental satisfaction (PARENSAT), parental distress (PDISTRES), relationship (RELASHIP), economic (ECONOMIC), value of religion
(RELIGOUS), and frequency of attendance at church (NUMYEAR). Means were run on all of the dependent variables for Black and White mothers as a group and are presented in Table 2. Means on all dependent variables for Black mothers are presented in Table 3 and means for White mothers are presented in Table 4. The independent variables were RACE, the main independent variable, and two covariates, time since divorce (HLSD) and SES, measured by education (EDUCAT).

A Pearson correlation coefficient was run on the covariates, SES and HLSD, to determine if they were statistically related. A coefficient of -.097 indicated a weak negative relationship.

Analyses of covariance (ANCOVAs) served as the major analytical method for this study. Assuming that all assumptions were met, ANCOVAs were run on all continuous dependent variables to examine the effects of race on each dependent variable while controlling for time since divorce and socioeconomic status. Time since divorce and socioeconomic status, were continuous variables.

In examining each dependent variable using ANCOVA, a main model consisting of all main effects, two- and three-way interactions, and quadratic terms were used (Table 5). Two-way interactions included EDUCAT*EDUCAT, HLSD*HLSD, EDUCAT*RACE, EDUCAT*HLSD, and HLSD*RACE. Three-way
Table 2
Means for Dependent Variables on All Participants (n = 900)

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<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONFLICT</td>
<td>793</td>
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<td>.4</td>
<td>1 - 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FORMAL</td>
<td>655</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>1 - 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INFORMAL</td>
<td>671</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>1 - 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ESTEEM</td>
<td>864</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>.4</td>
<td>1 - 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WELBEING</td>
<td>795</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>1 - 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PARENSAT</td>
<td>632</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>1 - 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PDISTRES</td>
<td>856</td>
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<td>.6</td>
<td>3 - 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RELIGIOUS</td>
<td>864</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>.5</td>
<td>3 - 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ECONOMIC</td>
<td>648</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>0 - 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NUMYEAR</td>
<td>885</td>
<td>20.8</td>
<td>32.3</td>
<td>0 - 368</td>
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Table 3  
Means for Dependent Variables: Black Mothers (n = 235)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DEPRESS</td>
<td>233</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>0 - 6.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONFLICT</td>
<td>206</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>.3</td>
<td>1 - 2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FORMAL</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>1 - 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INFORMAL</td>
<td>149</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>1 - 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ESTEEM</td>
<td>217</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>.4</td>
<td>3 - 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WELBEING</td>
<td>206</td>
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<td>1.5</td>
<td>1 - 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PARENSAT</td>
<td>139</td>
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<td>1.0</td>
<td>1 - 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PDISTRES</td>
<td>214</td>
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<td>.6</td>
<td>3 - 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RELIGOUS</td>
<td>217</td>
<td>4.19</td>
<td>.5</td>
<td>3 - 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ECONOMIC</td>
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<td>1 - 5</td>
</tr>
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<td>NUMYEAR</td>
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<td>38.5</td>
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</table>
### Table 4

**Means for Dependent Variables: White Mothers (n = 662)**

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DEPRESS</td>
<td>657</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>0 - 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONFLICT</td>
<td>587</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>1 - 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FORMAL</td>
<td>508</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>1 - 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INFORMAL</td>
<td>521</td>
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<td>1.2</td>
<td>1 - 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ESTEEM</td>
<td>647</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>3 - 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WELBEING</td>
<td>588</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>1 - 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PARENSAT</td>
<td>492</td>
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<td>1 - 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PDISTRES</td>
<td>642</td>
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<td>3 - 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RELIGOUS</td>
<td>420</td>
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<td>3 - 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ECONOMIC</td>
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<td>1.4</td>
<td>1 - 5</td>
</tr>
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<td>NUMYEAR</td>
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<td>29.10</td>
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### Table 5
**ANCOVA Model**

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<tr>
<td>RACE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EDUCAT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HLSD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EDUCAT*EDUCAT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HLSD*HLSD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EDUCAT*RACE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EDUCAT*HLSD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HLSD*RACE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EDUCAT<em>EDUCAT</em>RACE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HLSD<em>HLSD</em>RACE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EDUCAT<em>HLSD</em>RACE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EDUCAT<em>HLSD</em>HLSD*RACE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EDUCAT<em>EDUCAT</em>HLSD*RACE</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

65
interactions included EDUCAT*EDUCAT*RACE, HLDS*HLDS*RACE, and EDUCAT*HLSD*RACE. Quadratic terms included EDUCAT*HLSD*HLSD*RACE and EDUCAT*EDUCAT*HLSD*RACE.

To determine the final model for testing each of the dependent variables, interaction terms were deleted one at a time, beginning with the quadratic terms, until the highest and most complex term that remained was significant. For two of the dependent variables, parental distress (PDISTRES) and relationship (RELASHIP), all interaction terms were deleted, and therefore, the effect of the main independent variable and the covariates on parental distress (PDISTRES) and relationship (RELASHIP) were considered.

Contour plots were generated for all dependent variables for which there were higher order interactions. Contour plots provided a method by which the higher order interactions could be represented. In each contour plot, dependent variables were plotted with the covariates, time since divorce and socioeconomic status, using the numerical estimates of each variable that resulted from the ANCOVA that was run for each dependent variable. The contour plots provided a visual estimate of how the ANCOVA models were predicted to work for statistical analyses of each specific dependent variable with the independent variables. Plots of each dependent variable were generated for both Black and White divorced mothers. Black mothers were represented by
R1 and White mothers were represented by R2. The covariates, HLSD and SES, were represented by H (HLSD) and E (EDUCAT) on each plot.

A line plot was generated to represent the two term interaction that resulted for the economic well-being variable.

Results of Hypotheses Testing

The hypotheses tested in this study resulted from a review of family science and sociological literature relating to post-divorce adjustment in Black and White mothers. The tests conducted on the hypotheses were meant to provide a better understanding of the cultural/ethnic differences in adjustment in Black and White divorced and separated mothers. Secondly, the analyses were conducted to assess the merit of a cultural variant perspective in explaining differences in divorce adjustment for Black versus White mothers. An ANCOVA model was utilized to analyze the effects of race on each dependent variable while controlling for time since divorce and socioeconomic status. The complexity of the models varied among dependent variables depending on the level at which interaction terms became significant. The number of subjects in each statistical analysis varied for each dependent variable depending on whether or not subjects completed a particular instrument. Predicted results for all dependent variables
as they relate to specific hypotheses are presented in the following discussion. All references to higher, middle, or lower level of education are relative to the particular results that are found in each plot and are not representative of standardized categories.

Hypothesis 1: Black mothers will display less depression than White mothers display after divorce or separation.

Analysis of covariance (ANCOVA) for the depression variable resulted in a significant higher order interaction, EDUCAT*HLSD*HLSD*race, $F(2,850) = 3.93, p < .02$ (Table 6).

The depression contour plots (Appendices A1 and A2) indicated that Black mothers generally had lower predicted depression scores than White mothers regardless of time since divorce or education. Predicted depression scores in Black mothers ranged from 1.0 - 1.6 to 4.0 - 4.6 days. The majority of the predicted scores of depression were from 1.0 - 1.6 to 1.6 - 2.2, however. The highest depression for Black mothers, 4.0 - 4.6 days, was reported by mothers with 7.5 years of education or less and divorced a prolonged time, greater than 32 years. White mothers, in contrast, reported depression ranging from 1.0 - 1.6 to 6.4 - 7.0 days. The highest number of days of depression reported by White mothers was 6.4 - 7.0 days, and it was reported sooner after their divorce or separation, approximately 11.6 years, than when Black mothers reported their highest number of days of depression.
Table 6
ANCova For Depression

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>MS</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>prob &gt; F</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>4.86</td>
<td>.03</td>
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<tr>
<td>EDUCAT</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.30</td>
<td>.12</td>
<td>.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HLSD</td>
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<td>.00</td>
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<tr>
<td>HLSD*HLSD</td>
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<td>.02</td>
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<td>.04</td>
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<td>.06</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
A review of the plot for White mothers indicated that the level of depression in White mothers appeared to be a function of education as well as time since divorce. From 0 to approximately 5.8 years of being divorced there was an inverse relationship between education and depression. Then as time since divorce passed, depression decreased until between 5.8 - 8.7 years. After 5.8 - 8.7 years, depression in White women progressively increased with time since divorce. The progressive increase occurred regardless of educational level, but occurred faster for White mothers with higher education. In Black mothers, time since divorce and education appeared to have influenced depression simultaneously.

Hypothesis 2: Black mothers will display higher self-esteem than White mothers display after divorce or separation.

Analysis of covariance (ANCOVA) resulted in a significant three-way interaction, EDUCAT*EDUCAT*race, $F(1,829) = 4.33, p < .038$ (Table 7).

The contour plots (Appendices B1 and B2) of the predicted self-esteem scores for each race with HLSD and SES indicated that the sample of Black and White mothers reported moderate to high self-esteem, between 3.67 and 4.99. Black mothers with higher education, greater than 15 years, and those with lower education, less than 10 years, reported the highest levels of self-esteem. In the Black mothers with lower education, the level of self-esteem
Table 7

ANCOVA For Self-Esteem

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increased with time since divorce and in Black mothers with higher education, the level of esteem decreased with time since divorce. In White mothers, the highest levels of self-esteem were observed in women who were divorced 0 - 5.8 years and with higher education, greater than 17.5 years. Secondly White mothers who had lower education, 5 years or less and had been divorced a long time, 29 years or greater, reported the second highest level of esteem.

For Black mothers self-esteem decreased with increases in education until around 12th grade, then self-esteem increased with education. As time since divorce passed, self-esteem increased especially in women with lower education. The opposite was true for women with higher education. Self-esteem decreased as time since divorce increased.

In White mothers with lower education, approximately 10 years and less, the level of self-esteem appeared to be less than in Black mothers with the same level of education; however, beyond 10 years of education, self-esteem increased in a similar manner for White and Black mothers as educational level progressed upward. In White and Black women who had been divorced 14.5 years or more, the level of self-esteem decreased as educational level increased.

The higher degree of self-esteem, 4.46 and greater, that lower educated Black mothers felt very early in the
post-divorce period was not experienced by White mothers with similar educational levels until approximately 29 years after divorce or separation.

**Hypothesis 3:** Black mothers will perceive their overall well-being to be better than White mothers perceive their overall well-being after divorce or separation.

The ANCOVA analysis resulted in a significant quadratic term, \( \text{EDUCAT*EDUCAT*HLSD*race}, F(2,754) = 4.37, p < .01 \), (Table 8).

The contour plots (Appendices C1 and C2), of the predicted well-being scores for the mothers of this study indicated that a majority of the reports were for well-being that was 4.2 - 4.8 or higher. These scores suggested that this sample of Black and White mothers had high levels of well-being generally. In either race, the reports for the highest well-being were from women who had less than 7.5 years of education or women who had greater than 15 years of education. At the higher and lower levels of education, Black mothers tended to report slightly higher well-being earlier than in White mothers.

Black and White women who fell in the middle educational level reported a different pattern of well-being from the lower or higher educated women. Moderately educated women reported a decrease in well-being as time since divorce increased. In Blacks it began to occur around
Table 8

ANCOVA For Well-being

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11.6 years after divorce or separation, and in White women it began to occur around 17.5 years after divorce or separation.

**Hypothesis 4a:** Black mothers will report greater informal social support from family and friends than reported by White mothers after divorce or separation.

The ANCOVA analysis resulted in a significant three-way interaction, EDUCAT*EDUCAT*race, $F (1,659) = 3.76, p < .05$ (Table 9).

The contour plots (Appendices D1 and D2) of predicted scores for informal social support indicated that for White mothers, the level of informal social support progressively increased as the level of education increased until approximately 9.3 years after divorce or separation.

Black mothers differed in that those who had lower education and those with higher education reported the highest informal support. Also different from White mothers, Black mothers with approximately 7.5 years of education and less reported higher informal support than White mothers with similar education. It appeared that divorced mothers received their highest level of informal support, 4.0 - 4.3, if they were more highly educated. For White women it was those who had between 15 - 17.5 years of education and divorced more than 3.7 and between 5.6 - 7.5
Table 9
ANCOVA For Informal Social Support

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years. In Blacks, women who had at least 20 years of education and divorced between 3.7 - 5.6 years reported informal support of 4.0 - 4.3.

At approximately 9.3 years following divorce, a change was observed in the pattern of informal support received by both Blacks and Whites. Informal support began to decrease as time since divorce increased. However, the changes appeared to occur faster for Black women than for White women.

Hypothesis 4b: White mothers will report greater formal social support from professionals than reported by Black mothers after divorce or separation.

The ANCOVA analysis resulted in the quadratic term, EDUCAT*EDUCAT*HLSD*race, being significant, $F(2,640) = 4.47, p < .01$ (Table 10).

The visual presentations (Appendices E1 and E2) of the predicted formal social support scores indicated very similar patterns of formal social support in Black and White women; however in general, changes appeared to occur sooner after divorce for Blacks than for Whites.

Formal support was very low, 1.0 - 1.6 to 2.8 - 3.4 for Black mothers and low to moderate, 1.0 - 1.6 to 3.4 - 4.0, for White mothers in the initial years, 0 to 5.8 years, following divorce or separation. Following the initial 5.8 years, higher social support appeared to be received by higher educated or lower educated women. As time since
Table 10

**ANCOVA For Formal Social Support**

<table>
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<td>.01</td>
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<td>14.20</td>
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<td>.02</td>
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<td>.53</td>
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<td>.93</td>
<td>.34</td>
</tr>
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</table>
divorce continued, Black women with intermediate level education received high levels of support. White mothers with intermediate level of education did not report high support but, tended to receive lower levels of support, 1.6 - 2.2 to 2.2 - 2.8.

**Hypothesis 4c:** Black mothers will report higher value of religion than reported by White mothers after divorce or separation.

ANCOVA analysis resulted in the quadratic term, \( \text{EDUCAT}^*\text{HLSD}^*\text{HLSD}^*\text{race} \) being significant \( F (2,825) = 3.08, p < .05 \) (Table 11).

The contour plots (Appendices F1 and F2) for the predicted value of religion indicated different effects of time since divorce and education for Black versus White mothers. In both Black and White mothers, value of religion was rated moderate to high. Black mothers' value of religion appeared to be a function of education with value of religion increasing as educational level decreased. Regardless of time since divorce, value of religion was always higher with lower education. Except for a period from 0 to approximately 8.7 - 11.6 years, and in the Black mothers with high education, about 15 years or greater, mothers reported high value of religion, 4.0 and greater. In contrast, value of religion in White mothers was a function of time since divorce and educational level. During the post-divorce period from 0 to approximately 11.6
Table 11

ANCOVA For Value of Religion

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</table>
years, value of religion tended to be highest at the highest educational level; otherwise mothers reported more moderate value of religion 3.0 to between 3.8 - 4.0. After 11.6 years, value of religion in the higher educated mothers became progressively lower whereas lower educated mothers reported high value of religion that became progressively higher as time since divorce increased. However, value of religion decreased as education increased during this period for the lower educated. During this period, White mothers with education higher than 10 years tended to report the moderate, 3.0 - 3.2 to 3.8 - 4.0, verses the higher value of religion.

Hypothesis 5: Black mothers will attend church more frequently than do White mothers after divorce or separation.

Analysis of covariance (ANCOVA) resulted in the quadratic term, EDUCAT*HLSD*HLSD*race, being significant, $F(2,846) = 7.52, p < .00$ (Table 12).

The contour plots (Appendices G1 and G2) of the predicted scores for frequency of attendance at church indicated that for Black mothers the frequency of attendance at church in a year's time was no less than 30 - 60 times per year. In the case of White mothers, the greatest portion of the plot was for frequency of attendance in the range of 0 - 30 times per year. In a few sections of the
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plot higher frequency of attendance at church was reported by Black and White mothers. For example, Black mothers with education of about fifth grade or less and who had been divorced between 8.7 - 20 years, as well as Black mothers with approximately 20 years of education and divorced about 32 years, reported the highest frequency of attendance for Black mothers. In general, Black mothers reported slightly higher frequency of church attendance than White mothers except for a period that occurred at a prolonged time since divorce and in White mothers with less than seventh grade education. After approximately 17.5 years, an obvious pattern of increasing frequency of attendance at church occurred in White women with less than a 12th grade education. A similar pattern was observed in Black women but in those women who had high education, 15 years or more, and divorced 20 years or more.

Hypothesis 6: Black mothers will consider their economic well-being to be better than White mothers do after divorce or separation as compared to the time when they were married.

The ANCOVA analysis resulted in the EDUCAT*race interaction being significant at \( F(1,641) = 3.56, p < .05 \) (Table 13).

The line plot (Appendix H) of the predicted economic well-being for Black mothers (1) and White mothers (2) indicated that Black mothers' perception of economic
well-being increased as their level of education increased.
In contrast, White mothers perceived their economic well-being to be less as their education level increased.

**Hypothesis 7:** Black mothers will report a higher quality of relationship with their former spouses than do White mothers after divorce or separation.

The ANCOVA analysis resulted in race being significant at $F (1,663) = 3.61, p < .05$ and the covariate, EDUCAT, being significant at $p < .01$ (Table 14). There were no significant interactions.

---

### Table 13

**ANCOVA For Economic Well-being**

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Table 14

ANOVA for Quality of Relationship

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<th>MS</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>prob &gt; F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>RACE</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6.55</td>
<td>3.61</td>
<td>.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EDUCAT</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10.00</td>
<td>5.72</td>
<td>.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HLSD</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.35</td>
<td>.78</td>
<td>.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Error</td>
<td>663</td>
<td>1.74</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Hypothesis 8: White mothers will report more conflict with former spouses than reported by Black mothers following divorce or separation.

The ANCOVA analysis resulted the quadratic term, EDUCAT*EDUCAT*HLSD*race being significant at $F (2,762) = 3.27, p < .03$ (Table 15).

The contour plots (Appendices I1 and I2) of the predicted scores for conflict indicated that conflict in this sample of women was generally low, less than 2 and ranged between .90 and 2.4 on a scale of one to three. Conflict was generally lower in both Black and White mothers as time since divorce passed. The highest conflict reported in the study, 2.2 -2.4, was reported by White mothers with 20 years of education and divorced at least 32 years.
Table 15
ANCOVA for Conflict with Former Spouse

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>MS</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>prob &gt; F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>RACE</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.4277</td>
<td>2.72</td>
<td>.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EDUCAT</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.7213</td>
<td>4.58</td>
<td>.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HLSD</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.1936</td>
<td>1.23</td>
<td>.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EDUCAT*EDUCAT</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.6507</td>
<td>4.13</td>
<td>.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HLSD*HLSD</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.0143</td>
<td>.09</td>
<td>.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EDUCAT*RACE</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.2540</td>
<td>1.61</td>
<td>.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EDUCAT*HLSD</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.3416</td>
<td>2.17</td>
<td>.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HLSD*RACE</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.4723</td>
<td>3.00</td>
<td>.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EDUCAT<em>EDUCAT</em>RACE</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.1472</td>
<td>.93</td>
<td>.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HLSD<em>HLSD</em>RACE</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.0303</td>
<td>.19</td>
<td>.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EDUCAT<em>EDUCAT</em>HLSD*RACE</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>.5146</td>
<td>3.27</td>
<td>.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Error</td>
<td>762</td>
<td>.1575</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Blacks reported conflict as high as 1.5 - 1.6, and it occurred in Black mothers with about a fifth grade education and divorced 29 years or more.

**Hypothesis 9:** Black mothers will perceive their parenting in more positive terms than do White mothers after divorce or separation.

Two variables were used to determine the mothers' perception of parenting: parental satisfaction and parental distress. Analyses of covariance (ANCOVAs) were utilized to analyze both variables. The model for parental satisfaction was one wherein all except the two-way interactions were deleted. The HLSD*race interaction reached a level of significance, $F(1,619) = 5.51, p < .01$ (Table 16).

The contour plots (Appendices J1 and J2) of the predicted parental satisfaction revealed that this sample of Black and White mothers reported that they were no less than moderately satisfied with their parenting. Black mothers' reports fell in the range of 3.3 - 3.5 and 3.5 - 3.6 mostly. White mothers' reports of parental satisfaction were slightly higher, falling in the range of 3.5 - 3.6 and higher. White mothers' parental satisfaction appeared to be more a function of time since divorce as greater parental satisfaction occurred as more time since divorce passed. The highest level of parental satisfaction, 4.9 - 5.0 ("somewhat better to much better"), was reported by White mothers, and it occurred around 14.5 years after divorce in
### Table 16

**ANCOVA for the Parental Satisfaction**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>MS</th>
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<td>RACE</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.35</td>
<td>.28</td>
<td>.59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EDUCAT</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.15</td>
<td>.13</td>
<td>.72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HLSD</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.08</td>
<td>.07</td>
<td>.79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EDUCAT*EDUCAT</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.41</td>
<td>.33</td>
<td>.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HLSD*HLSD</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.05</td>
<td>.04</td>
<td>.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EDUCAT*RACE</td>
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<td>.92</td>
<td>.73</td>
<td>.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EDUCAT*HLSD</td>
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<td>.07</td>
<td>.06</td>
<td>.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HLSD*RACE</td>
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<td>6.97</td>
<td>5.51</td>
<td>.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Error</td>
<td>619</td>
<td>1.26</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
mothers with low educational levels, 5 years and less of education. Black mothers never reported satisfaction this high. Black mothers' reports of parental satisfaction fluctuated less than White mothers. They were more consistently in the moderate range of 3.3 - 3.5 and 3.5 - 3.6 and their level of satisfaction appeared to be more a function of time since divorce and education. The highest parental satisfaction reported by Black mothers was in the 4.2 - 4.3 range and it was reported by highly educated mothers who were divorced or separated less than 3 years.

The second variable investigated to determine mothers' perception of parenting was the parental distress variable. An ANCOVA analysis with race as the dominant independent variable and controlling for time since divorce and SES revealed that neither variable reached a level of significance (Table 17).

Table 17
ANCOVA for Parental Distress

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>MS</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>Prob &gt; F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>RACE</td>
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<td>.01</td>
<td>.03</td>
<td>.87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EDUCAT</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.24</td>
<td>.49</td>
<td>.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HLSID</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.74</td>
<td>1.51</td>
<td>.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Error</td>
<td>827</td>
<td>.49</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

89
Summary

Analyses of covariance (ANCOVAs) were the major analytical methods used to analyze the data for this study. Based on the level of significance in the analyses of covariance tables and graphic results presented in contour plots, it appears that there is an effect of race when time since divorce and educational level are considered in regard to depression in hypothesis 1, self-esteem in hypothesis 2, well-being in hypothesis 3, informal social support in hypothesis 4a, value of religion in hypothesis 4c, frequency of church attendance in hypothesis 5, economic well-being in hypothesis 6, quality of relationship with former spouse in hypothesis 7, and conflict with former spouse in hypothesis 8. Therefore, under the conditions specified by their respective interaction, these hypotheses were supported. The ANOVAs clearly indicated that any assumptions that are made about how divorced mothers adjust after divorce must take into consideration the fact that complex interactions between SES, time since divorce and race often influence the manner in which a mother adjusts.
CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION

Introduction

A sharp increase in the rate of divorce over the past three decades signifies a fundamental change in Black family structure. In the Black family, two of three marriages end in divorce (Lawson & Thompson, 1996)—twice the rate of divorce in White families (Taylor, 1994). Forty-eight percent of Black family households are female-headed, often created as a result of divorce or separation (U.S. Bureau of Census, 1995). However, the knowledge base of women's post-divorce adjustment is overwhelmingly based on the responses of White women. There are little data available to determine if Black women differ from White women in their pattern of post-divorce adjustment.

The purpose of this study was to contribute to this limited knowledge base by comparing the adjustment experiences of Black and White divorced and separated mothers. Black mothers (n = 235) from a national probability sample were compared with White mothers (n = 662) on three adjustment domains: psychological, economic,
and social. A cultural variant perspective as proposed by Allen (1978) and Nobles (1978) was used to hypothesize differences in the Black and White mothers' levels of post-divorce adjustment. Specifically, differences for Black mothers were hypothesized to be related to various coping abilities derived from their unique cultural background. These strengths included social support from a vast network of family and friends, value of children, less severe depressive reaction to stressful situations such as divorce, and the greater acceptance of the single-parent family form. Thus, this study adds to a growing body of research over the past two decades that represents a shift away from a social pathological/deviant perspective to one that focuses on strengths and adaptive behaviors of Blacks.

This chapter presents a discussion of the findings of the study as related to each hypothesis. The chapter concludes with (a) recommendations for future research and (b) implications of the study.

Discussion of Hypotheses Testing

Hypothesis 1: Black mothers will display less depression than White mothers display after divorce or separation.

Findings of this study supports the hypothesis in that Black mothers' level of depression was lower than that of White mothers generally. This supports previous research findings that Black women following divorce display fewer symptoms of depression than White women (Gove & Shin, 1989;
Menaghan & Lieberman, 1986). Other research has found that Black single mothers, unlike White mothers, display levels of well-being that are similar to their married counterparts and that divorce and single-parenthood does not appear to be as stressful for Black women as it is for White women (Fine et al., 1992; Gove & Shin, 1989; Katz & Piotrkowski, 1983). A cultural variant perspective would explain the study findings in terms of the tendency of Black mothers to seek and receive support and strength from a vast network of family and friends to a greater degree than White mothers (McAdoo, 1980; Chatters et al., 1989). In addition, it must be noted that because divorce is more normative, less stigma is thought to be associated with the single-parent form in the Black community compared to the White (Kitson with Holmes, 1992). Such support would mediate the depressive response.

Findings further indicated that although Black mothers generally had depression levels lower than White mothers, the highest level of depression for Black mothers was reported by mothers with lower education, 7.5 years or less, and divorced for an extended period of time, greater than 32 years. With lower education, the risk of depression increases for these women. Woods, Lentz, Mitchell, and Oakley (1994) found in their study of depressed mood and self-esteem of Black women that those women with lower education tended to be more depressed. Also, research
conducted on Canadian women found lower education to be a variable that predicted more negative adjustment following divorce because the women were more likely to consider marriage a permanent union (Krishnan, 1994). Further, women in this study who were divorced 32 years or more are older women. Research has shown that older women are more likely to hold a more traditional sex-role orientation which is associated with significantly higher depression than women who demonstrate a more androgynous sex-role orientation (Krames, England, & Flett, 1988; Napholz, 1994). In addition, these mothers might also be approaching a time in their lives that has been commonly referred to as the "empty nest" period, when children may be preparing to leave home and are less dependent on the mother. Although women's reactions to "empty nest" are highly individualized with a great range of feelings (Fahrenberg, 1986), many women have been reported to express negative feelings after children are launched; feelings of loneliness and aloneness and not being needed have been reported (Bart, 1972). These feelings may contribute to feelings of depression. Further, mothers who no longer have dependent children may experience a change in their social network of friends and family which could also contribute to feelings of depression. Previous research indicates that women with dependent children receive more support from families and friends than other
divorced women (Taylor, 1986). These women are also developmentally at a stage where they may have begun to lose friends through death.

The contour plot analysis also indicated that White mothers' patterns of depression were different from Black mothers, but like Black mothers, education and time since divorce influenced the level of depression in these mothers and in a curvilinear fashion. During the first 9-10 years following divorce, depression decreased as educational level increased. This finding is supported by previous research that found less depression among females who were more highly educated and with increased opportunities for obtaining resources and support needed to decrease stress and role strain. Further, consistent with research on Black women, Krishnan (1994) found that more highly educated subjects considered marriage less as a permanent joining of two persons and thus demonstrated more positive adjustment to divorce.

Another relationship observed among the White divorced mothers was that levels of depression decreased as time since divorce progressed from 0 to approximately 9-10 years. This is consistent with Wallerstein's 10-year follow-up indicating progressive decline in depression (Wallerstein & Blakeslee, 1989). Yet, after nine to ten years post-divorce, depression in this group of White women progressively increased with time since divorce, and it
occurred regardless of educational level. Because marriage is more normative and status conferring in the White community, these unmarried women perhaps were at greater risk of depression (Lamanna & Riedmann, 1991). Therefore, it is possible that White mothers in the current study were more marriage-and family-orientated than they were self-orientated (Bloom & Clement, 1984; Taylor, 1994), and thus suffered higher levels of depression.

**Hypothesis 2:** Black mothers will display higher self-esteem than White mothers display after divorce or separation.

There were several self-esteem findings that support the hypothesis. First, self-esteem in Black divorced and separated mothers was generally higher than for White divorced and separated mothers. More specifically, White mothers with lower educational levels, approximately 10 years and less, displayed lower level self-esteem than Black mothers with the same level of education. Lower educated Black mothers reported a high degree of self-esteem, 4.46 and greater on a five-point scale, earlier in the post-divorce or separation period than did the White mothers with similar education. This finding is consistent with Fine and Schwebel (1988), who found that Black mothers with lower SES had higher self-esteem than White mothers. Likewise, Gove and Shin (1989) found that divorce was not associated with a poor sense of self in Black women. Kitson with Holmes (1992) conclude that in the Black community, there is less
of a stigma with living in a divorced structure. Whites on the other hand are believed to evidence more difficult adjustment following divorce because among other things they experience a greater sense of unpleasant changes, greater sense of decreased peace of mind, and increased sense of stigma (Kitson with Holmes, 1992).

Findings of the study specifically relating to Black mothers are (a) the highest level of self-esteem was reported by mothers with higher or lower education and (b) there were curvilinear relationships between self-esteem, education, and time since divorce. One relationship observed for Black mothers was that self-esteem decreased with increasing levels of education up to approximately 12.5 to 13 years of education, but afterwards self-esteem increased with education. The findings may suggest that mothers with higher education and high self-esteem have bases for self-esteem building that might relate to the ability to secure material goods and to be in contact with a social network that decreases stresses and facilitates self-esteem (Berman & Turk, 1981; Hill, 1993). Mothers with lower education may not have high expectations for self or high demands for material goods and thus are more content with their situation. Middle-educated mothers on the other hand, whose self-esteem falls in between the higher and lower educated mothers may have desires that are not met and
therefore may tend to be more frustrated, explaining their slightly lower reports on self-esteem than the higher and lower educated mothers.

Time since divorce had a negative relationship with self-esteem in Black women with higher levels of education. The decrease in self-esteem with time since divorce for these women might be explained by the fact that these Black women are not remarried and Black women tend to value marriage but face a more restricted marriage market because Black men are often less available or, for various reasons (i.e., unemployment, lower educational or occupational levels) do not appear as very attractive marriage partners (Hill, 1993; Staples, 1988; Taylor, 1994). It is also possible that these are women who did not recover sufficiently following the divorce to be attracted to a new partner and to move on to remarriage.

In contrast, self-esteem in lower educated Black mothers increasingly became higher with time since divorce. This behavior in Black mothers might be explained by a combination of factors relating to the mothers' perception of their improved ability to fulfill the role of single mother as time passes, as well as the amount of social support the mother has available to her. These Black mothers may be skilled at using the social support of family and friends to help buffer the hardships of being a single mother, resulting in a heightened display of self-esteem.
Hill (1993) reported that 74% of low-income Blacks in a sample from the National Survey of Black Americans received social support.

White mothers displayed similar patterns of self-esteem as Black mothers in that the highest levels of self-esteem for the White mothers' group was observed in mothers with higher education and those with lower education. Specifically in relation to the mothers with the highest education, the mothers showed decreasing self-esteem with time since divorce, possibly reflecting their declining optimism for fulfillment of goals. Possibly they represent a cohort who initially displayed high self-esteem in relation to the new sense of competence and control that a divorce brings for some individuals. In addition, two out of three women who divorce remarry, and on average, within five years after the divorce. If the women of this study had begun to lose hope of remarriage and were beginning to find that their life as a single-mother was not fulfilling, it is possible that their level of self-esteem would also decrease. Last, it is also possible that these are women who did not recover sufficiently following the divorce to be attracted to a new partner and to move on to a new marriage.

In regard to the White mothers with lower education and high self-esteem, their level of self-esteem had an inverse relationship to time since divorce. The highest level of self-esteem for these women with lower self-esteem was when
they were divorced 29 years or more. Divorce is a stressful event economically (Hoffman & Duncan, 1988; Kitson with Holmes, 1992; Weitzman, 1985). With lower education, it is possible that these women may have been more dependent on the former spouse for his provider role and considered marriage a more permanent union. This would explain why self-esteem would be directly related with time since divorce for these women. Research suggests that White mothers differ from Black mothers by being more restricted to their partners for economic survival (Hampton, 1980). Fewer White women than Black women have worked as wives (Hill, 1993). When these White women find themselves as divorced, single moms, it is not surprising they would take longer than the Black women to adjust. They typically are less economically independent and their self-esteem is more rooted in traditional roles related to marriage and two-parent, nuclear family, thus it might take longer to develop other sources of self-esteem and to adjust.

Hypothesis 3: Black mothers will perceive their overall well-being to be better than White mothers perceive their overall well-being following divorce or separation.

This study found support for the hypothesis to some extent as Black mothers at higher and lower educational levels reported higher levels of well-being earlier than the White mothers. Research suggests that because Black women are less stigmatized as single parents in the Black
community and they benefit from a strong network of support from family and friends, they would evidence higher well-being earlier than their White counterparts (Kitson with Holmes, 1992; Taylor, 1986).

Reports of the highest well-being in Black and White mothers were from those who had less than 7.5 years of education or women who had greater than 15 years of education. This pattern is similar to the findings for self-esteem for this sample of women and may have a similar explanation. Mothers with higher education and higher self-esteem would most likely be equipped to seek out supports from their environment and contacts with others that promote their higher well-being. Mothers with lower education may not have high demands of others and their environment, and with high self-esteem, their level of well-being would be facilitated. The pattern for the middle-educated mothers, on the other hand, suggests that they experienced well-being that was not quite as high as the higher and lower educated women, possibly indicating they were slightly more frustrated and were less optimistic about their situation. However, it should be noted that, although the pattern of well-being displayed by middle-educated mothers is generally lower than the higher and lower educated mothers, regardless of the amount time that passes, the level of well-being of middle-educated women is no less than moderate level. This probably relates to the fact that these mothers are not
highly depressed, they have moderately high or higher self-esteem, and the average woman has an educational level of 12.5 years which promotes her ability to obtain what she needs from the economic world.

An additional explanation for the lower educated Black mothers experiencing levels of well-being higher than middle and similar to higher educated is the fact that it was lower educated Black women who also experienced high value on religion that progressively increased as more time since divorce passed and they attended church more often. Church and religion is a major strength in Black families, and church support and religiosity highly contribute to feelings of well-being (Billingsley, 1992; Walls & Zarit, 1991). Based on a compensatory thesis, the lower-income Black person would be expected to seek religion for support to a greater degree than is true for other Blacks (Hill, 1993).

Hypothesis 4a: Black mothers will report greater informal social support from family and friends than reported by White mothers after divorce or separation.

The hypothesis was supported in part by the finding that Black mothers with 7.5 years of education or less reported higher informal support than White mothers with similar education. This finding supports a cultural variant perspective, indicating a greater social support that could also be related to lower levels of depression and greater
sense of well-being sooner than Whites in this group of Black mothers compared to White mothers. (Fine et al., 1993; Fine & Schwebel, 1988; Nobles, 1978).

Informal social support for Black mothers was basically moderately high or higher and displayed a curvilinear pattern in relation to education when compared to White mothers whose pattern of informal support displayed a positive relationship with educational level. This pattern was observed from 0 to approximately 9 years post-divorce. During this period, Black mothers who had lower education and those with higher education received higher informal support than the Black women with medium levels of education. Kin play a key role in facilitating adjustment of women following divorce, unless it is perceived to be too dense (Gerstel, 1988; Garvin, Kalter, & Hansell, 1993; Leslie & Grady, 1988). Yet, research indicates that divorce often disrupts these social supports (Duffy, 1993; Kitson & Morgan, 1991). Hill (1993) reported that middle-income Blacks are just as likely as low income Blacks to receive assistance from family. Taylor (1986) found however, that Blacks with education were more likely to receive social support.

In contrast to Black mothers, White mothers' pattern of informal social support paralleled increases in education whereas Black mothers displayed a curvilinear relationship in relation to time since divorce and education. This
occurred for about 9 years. Lower educated White mothers received the lower amount of informal support. Research has found a positive relationship between education and informal support, and single mothers with little education have low access to social network support (Simon, Beaman, Conger, & Chao, 1993).

After 9 years post-divorce the level of informal support decreased in both groups with time since divorce. This pattern probably suggests that informal social support is strongest when mothers need it most, and there is decreasing need as time since divorce passes and as women's adjustment improves.

Like the self-esteem and well-being findings, informal social support was influenced by time since divorce and educational level for both Black and White mothers. The mothers received moderate level or higher informal social support influenced simultaneously by time since divorce and education until approximately 8-9 years. After 8-9 years, education was less of an influence on perception of informal social support received than time since divorce. Both Black and White mothers received their highest level of informal support if they were more highly educated, basic college level or greater, and during the period from 0 to approximately 9 years following divorce. Research suggests that being more highly educated correlates positively with increased social support (Taylor, 1986). In addition, it
takes about 2-5 years to make a transition from the initial divorce, often crisis-like, period to a stage of adjustment (Hetherington, Cox, & Cox, 1978; Price & McKenry, 1988; Wallerstein & Kelly, 1980). This post-divorce period is a time that divorced persons are most likely to seek support, and others are most likely to give support. After approximately 9 years of being divorced, Black and White mothers demonstrated a pattern of decreasing informal support. The pattern of changes occurred faster for Black women than for White women. This finding might support a cultural variant perspective because Black women have a greater probability of having had to contribute more to their economic survival during marriage than the White mother, as related to the Black woman having lived in a less dependent relationship (Hampton, 1980; Hill, 1993). They would have developed skills and strengths that would facilitate a more rapid movement toward independence and thus adjustment.

Hypothesis 4b: White mothers will report greater formal social support from professionals than reported by Black mothers after divorce or separation.

This hypothesis received some support from the findings when higher-educated Black mothers were compared to higher-educated White mothers on the level of formal social support received during the first 5.8 years following divorce or separation. Higher-educated White mothers' received formal
social support at a higher level than higher-educated Black mothers. This finding might be explained by the culturally variant perspective that suggests (a) Black women are likely to have a history of having functioned more independently of their spouses which might contribute to their perceiving less of a need for formal support as they might receive from a minister or their church during the initial years following divorce or separation; and (b) Blacks are more likely to depend on a network of family and friends than former means of support like psychotherapy. Recent research found that the average Black female in psychotherapy is one who is in a technical or semi-professional occupation, has some college experience, and has a presenting problem of depression (Gray & Jones, 1987). Black women in this study generally indicated they experienced low depression and the average woman was a person with a high school education. In addition, Black mothers in this study who were highly-educated also received high levels of informal support.

Following the initial 5.8 years, Black and White mothers indicated very similar patterns of formal social support in that higher-educated and lower-educated Black and White mothers reported the higher levels of formal social support. As time since divorce continued, Black mothers with intermediate level education received higher levels of formal support that was not reported by White mothers with intermediate level education. One of the items used to
measure formal support relates to how much mothers have used ministers for support. It is likely that Black mothers sought the support of ministers more quickly than the White mothers as time since divorce increased. Research has found that Blacks when compared to Whites, have higher levels of religiosity than Whites; and more than 70% of middle-income Blacks have been found to belong to churches (Hill, 1993). Perhaps, these research findings explain why the Black mothers with intermediate education in this study reported high formal support more quickly than White mothers.

Hypothesis 4c: Black mothers will report higher value of religion than reported by White mothers after divorce or separation.

The hypothesis was supported by the findings in that the value placed on religion by Black mothers, except for the more highly educated, during the first 10 years following divorce, was consistently higher than the value of religion specified by White mothers generally. The finding supports a cultural variant perspective. According to Hill (1993) most studies comparing religious pattern between racial groups have found Blacks to have higher levels of religiosity than Whites. Billingsley (1992) reported that 86% of the Black women in a sample drawn from the National
Survey of Black Americans considered themselves religious, and 80% of these women reported that church was important to them now.

Black mothers' value of religion appeared to be a function of education in that value of religion increased with decreases in educational level. Regardless of time since divorce, value of religion was generally higher with lower education, and the highest value of religion was reported by mothers with the lowest education. This finding would be supported by a compensatory thesis that suggests lower socioeconomic individuals are expected to have higher levels of religion than middle-income Blacks because the lower-income Blacks are more isolated from mainstream White institutions (Hill, 1993). Thus, the findings of this study might suggest that the lower educated mothers used religious beliefs as a coping mechanism to a greater degree than mothers with higher education, and they perhaps drew upon religion to cope as they had few other resources.

In contrast to Black mothers, value of religion in White mothers was a function of time since divorce and educational level. Mothers with the highest education and divorced 0 to approximately 11.6 years and mothers with education less than 12 years and divorced greater than 11 years reported the higher value on religion. For the highly educated women, having been taught to seek answers and to be in control, perhaps religion was used as a mechanism to try
to better understand their lives and how they would survive the crisis period they were experiencing. The lower-educated women on the other hand, like lower-educated Black mothers, reported the highest value of religion of all White mothers.

Hypothesis 5: Black mothers will attend church more frequently than do White mothers after divorce or separation.

The hypothesis was supported in part in that Black mothers reported a higher frequency of church attendance than White mothers generally. This pattern supports a cultural variant perspective as the Black church and religious orientation are historically strengths of the Black family (Billingley, 1992; Hill, 1993). The Black church is known not just for its offering of "personal salvation," but for its "social salvation" and community service as well (Billingsley, 1992).

Frequency of church attendance for Black mothers generally ranged from 30-60 times per year or greater. This finding is consistent with results from the National Survey of Black Americans (NSBA) (Billingsley, 1992) that considered the importance of church; however the rate of participation for the Black mothers in the current study is substantially higher than results for the NSBA. In addition, Black women in the current study who had lower education attended church the most. They were women with
7.5 years of education or less who generally attended church 60 or more times per year. This finding supports a compensatory thesis which until recently was the predominate explanation of religious participation of lower-income Blacks versus those Blacks with higher income (Taylor, 1988). However, it is in contrast to more recent research that found middle-income Blacks to be slightly more likely, although not significantly, to have higher religious participation (Hill, 1993).

In comparison, a similar frequency of attendance was observed in White mothers with educational levels of approximately 10 years or less and not before they had been divorced approximately 20 years. This pattern for White mothers is similar to their pattern for value of religion. Perhaps these may be mothers who found that other alternatives for satisfaction and well-being were not being realized so their religiosity and church attendance increased as coping mechanisms.

**Hypothesis 6:** Black mothers will consider their economic well-being to be better than White mothers do after divorce or separation as compared to the time when they were married.

The hypothesis was supported in that Black mothers perceived higher economic well-being as their level of education increased while White mothers perceived their economic well-being to be lower with increased level of
education. This finding is possibly related to the fact that Black mothers are more likely to have experienced less of an income shift following divorce; they are more likely to have been in egalitarian relationships where they shared to a greater extent than White mothers in meeting the economic need of their family and were less dependent on their husbands (Hampton, 1980; Hill, 1993; Jackson, 1991; Nobles, 1978; Taylor, 1994). In addition, a cultural variant perspective would suggest that Black mothers benefit from a strong informal support network. Thus, Black mothers would be expected to experience higher economic well-being with increased education following the divorce.

Hypothesis 7: Black mothers will report a higher quality of relationship with their former spouses than White mothers after divorce or separation.

The findings indicated that Black and White mothers did not significantly differ in quality of relationship with their former spouses. However, Black mothers had slightly higher mean scores for relationship quality as compared to White mothers.

The findings further indicated that a negative relationship existed between quality of relationship and education for both Black and White mothers. For every year of increase in education, the quality of relationship decreased .05 units. These findings perhaps could be explained by the fact that lower educated women would have
greater dependency on the former spouse and greater need to maintain contact. This might interfere with breaking bonds of attachment (Kitson with Holmes, 1992).

**Hypothesis 8:** White mothers will report higher conflict with former spouses than reported by Black mothers after divorce or separation.

The hypothesis was supported in that White mothers generally reported higher levels of conflict post-divorce. This finding supports a cultural variant perspective and could relate to several factors. Black women may substitute support from family and friends for the income of the husband to a greater extent than White women (Fine & Schwebel, 1988), and therefore, they may expect less of the Black father's financial support for their children. In addition, Black females and Black males are more flexible in performance of roles such as the provider role and childcare role in their marriages (Hill, 1993; Nobles, 1978; Taylor, 1994). In the single-parent situation, the Black mother may assume sole responsibility for all family roles with more ease than the White mother and expect less assistance from the former partner.

Conflict in this sample of women was generally low, ranging between .90 and 2.4 on a scale of 0 to 5, and it declined for both Black and White mothers as time since divorce passed. This is an understandable finding because conflict is often related to childrearing issues. During
the initial years, there is increased opportunity for the spouses to be in contact and to experience conflict over the parenting of young children. Visits from the noncustodial parent are more frequent during the initial years, but typically decline over the first one to two years post-divorce (Furstenberg & Nord, 1985; Furstenberg, Peterson, Nord, Zill, 1983; Hodges, 1991). Also, it must be noted that as time passed, the mothers' responses probably reflected the fact that they had had time to recover economically and emotionally and to become less influenced by the former spouse.

Hypothesis 9: Black mothers will perceive their parenting in more positive terms than do White mothers after divorce or separation.

The findings did not support the hypothesis in that (a) there were no significant racial differences for the mothers in terms of their parental distress and (b) the responses for the mothers in terms of their parental satisfaction did not indicate that Black mothers' reports were more positive than White mothers' reports.

Both Black and White mothers reported that they were no less than moderately satisfied with their parenting. However, Black mothers' reports of satisfaction were basically the "same" to "somewhat better" whereas White mothers' reports progressively increased from the "same" to the highest response, "much better." As has been found in

113
longitudinal studies (Hetherington, Cox, & Cox, 1978; Wallerstein & Blakeslee, 1989), time since divorce influenced the level of parental satisfaction for White mothers in this study, as greater satisfaction occurred with increased time since divorce. In contrast, Black mothers' level of satisfaction was influenced simultaneously by time since divorce and education with the highest parental satisfaction for Black mothers being reported by the more highly educated mothers who were less than 3 years divorced. Black mothers reported less variation in their perception of parental satisfaction, perhaps because single-parenthood is more normalized and supported in the Black community. Consistent with emergent theory, the strength the single-mother is able to draw from her community and network of support would serve to mediate the amount of stress that could negatively influence her perception of satisfaction with parenting (Fine et al., 1992; Fine & Schwebel, 1988).

Recommendations For Future Research

This study contributes to a growing body of literature that focuses on strengths of the Black family. It is distinguished from a great proportion of previous studies because a cultural variant perspective was utilized as a framework to explore differences in the perceptions of Black and White mothers regarding their psychological, social, and economic well-being following marital dissolution. Many of
the findings supported the value of a cultural variant perspective in explaining post-divorce differences for Black mothers as compared to White mothers. In general, Black mothers perceived depression to be less, their self-esteem and overall well-being to be higher, and in general they used informal social support to a greater extent than White mothers, particularly if lower educated. Black mothers' value of religion and church attendance was generally higher; Black mothers perceived higher economic well-being as education level increased while the inverse was found for White mothers; and Black mothers generally displayed less conflict with former spouses than White mothers.

Because the cultural variant perspective is very much in an early stage of development, replication of this study with other samples is warranted. The sample in this study, while a subset of a national probability sample, was relatively small due to missing data and the parameters imposed on the sample. A large, more representative sample would allow for greater generalization, inclusion of more variables, and more powerful statistical testing.

Another limitation of this study is that, except for the instrument used to measure depression, the instruments were constructed specifically for the National Survey of Families and Households. In addition, there was no pretesting of instruments for cultural sensitivity or bias, and no psychometric properties or norming of the instruments.
for the subjects who made up the sample were established. Future research using cultural sensitive questions would greatly contribute to documenting the utility of the cultural variant model. In addition, there is need for research using questions and variables specifically related to and developed from the theory.

In addition to the above concerns about the utilization of secondary data and development of the instruments, the fact that the instruments were of a self-report, forced-choice nature limited the control the investigator had over how variables were measured and increased the need for the researcher to be concerned about biases such as social desirability and response set bias. Future research should consider the possibility of investigating the hypothesized relationships of this study, using qualitative methods along with quantitative.

Lastly, the variable means tended to lack variability and were skewed toward the positive end of the continuum. Thus, the lack of variability limited the degree to which groups could be differentiated.

As in much of the research on Black family, within group differences were not explored to a great extent. The fact that this was secondary data and the sample of Blacks was rather small limited explanation of differences. Socioeconomic status and time since divorce were controlled in this study but, other salient variables related to
adjustment such as geographical location, intergenerational
effects on divorce, other stressful life events, age of
subject at time of divorce, age of subject when and if their
parents divorced, and the predivorce status of the women
were not controlled. Previous research has suggested that
these factors are related to variations in divorce
adjustment.

Although findings supported to some extent the cultural
variant perspective as a foundation for understanding some
of the adjustment behaviors of Black mothers, it is also
obvious from the research that the influence of time since
divorce and education must be considered in relation to post
divorce adjustment. Time since divorce and education
influenced adjustment outcomes for Black mothers often very
obviously in a simultaneous manner and at other times one
had more affect than the other one. Therefore, future
research should reconsider these relationships using
different samples to facilitate further understanding of
adjustment in Black mothers, e.g., low education levels,
those divorced several years.

It must be noted there were many findings that were not
supported by a cultural variant perspective, and the two
groups gave similar responses on some variables. Therefore,
this might suggest that this sample of Black and White
mothers are similar in many ways. Indeed they were very
comparable in terms of many demographic factors. However,
the fact that the groups were so similar demographically would accentuate the salience of the differences found to discriminate between these two groups.

Also it should be noted that the Black mothers were generally well educated. This might suggest that the analyses may reflect a group with greater acculturation into majority culture compared to other Blacks. This should be considered in terms of applying the findings to a cultural variant perspective.

A recurring trend in the findings was the curvilinear relationship between education and three outcome variables. Responses for the variables were more positive for mothers if they had higher or lower levels of education versus middle education levels. Future research should seek to understand how middle-educated divorced mothers differ from those who are higher or lower educated.

It is pertinent that future research be conducted to determine the effects of cohort differences in the perceptions of adjustment following divorce. The ages of subjects in this research ranged from 19-59 years. There were likely cohort differences that influenced the study findings. For example, mothers who were younger may be able to separate from a marriage with slightly less stress because relationship permanency is less normative today. However, older mothers are more likely to have been women who married at a time when values about roles of females
were more traditional and therefore they may experience more difficult adjustment as they may be more emotionally and financially dependent on the marriage.

Racial/ethnic differences deserve greater attention in future research on divorce because cultural and structural factors may have significantly different effects on family patterns (Heaton & Jacobson, 1994). Studies that compare different minority groups (e.g., Blacks, Mexican Americans, Asians) on the same variables would expand our understanding of the effects of race and culture on adjustment to divorce. Family scientists have just begun to acknowledge and investigate cultural variations in family patterns (Irvine & Stevens, 1985; Taylor et al., 1991).

Research that is conducted in the future must consider the fact that a substantial amount of what is already known about women's adjustment to divorce has been gained from cross-sectional studies. The "time since divorce" factor which resulted in several interesting relationships in this study was limited by a cross-sectional perspective. Change over time could only be implied using cross-sectional findings. Therefore, it is pertinent that some of the future research attention be focused on longitudinal studies to increase our understanding of how Black mothers change over time in their adjustment following divorce.

Future research studies utilizing qualitative analysis would offer a more in-depth perspective into the process of
adjustment for Black mothers following divorce. The cultural variant model has evolved from qualitative accounts, and thus quantitative assessments may not be as well suited to this model.

Implications for Intervention

Although only tentative, the findings of this study suggest some implications for intervention designed to assist Black females in their adjustment following divorce. Practitioners should keep in mind that adjustment is a complex entity that cannot successfully be facilitated in Black females by attending to only one outcome. To be most successful in assisting Black females and women in general in their adjustment, interventions must take into consideration the fact that several variables account for adjustment process. Divorce adjustment is a component of many inter-related factors including economic well-being, psychological well-being, expression of depression and self-esteem, perception of informal and formal social support, quality of relationship with former spouse, occurrence of conflict with former spouse, level of parental satisfaction, and degree of parental distress. Intervention thus entails an interdisciplinary and interprofessional orientation.

Some variations in adjustment by race were detected in this study suggesting that practitioners and counselors must be cautious about interventions that do not take into
consideration differences in culture. It is pertinent that these professionals remain open to explanations that build on an adaptive, cultural explanation of why Black women perceive their adjustment in a particular manner. Greater support and respect of cultural differences as a positive, helpful, and adaptive expression in Black families is warranted. Family scientists should consider the importance of basing interventions on a family strengths model. Culturally specific programming is needed where strengths of Black mothers, e.g., lower depression and higher well-being, serve as a guide to planning for the care of Black women.

It is also important to consider the influence of covariates, e.g., time since divorce and education interacting with race. Programming for Black mothers needs to be tailored to race but with consideration given to time since divorce and SES.

The fact that the lower educated and higher educated women responded similarly on several outcomes supports the need for family scientists and practitioners to move beyond the deficit model and refrain from assuming that lower SES would function very differently from higher SES.

In certain cases, Black and White mothers appeared very similar in their perceptions of adjustment following divorce. This suggests that many established intervention procedures and policies may be appropriate when working with Black mothers who are adjusting to divorce.
REFERENCES


123


124


127


APPENDIX A

CONTOUR PLOT OF DEPRESSION IN BLACK MOTHERS (R1)
AND WHITE MOTHERS (R2)
Plot: Depression for Black Mothers (RI)
The SAS System

Contour plot of E*H.

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NOTE: 80644 obs hidden.
Plot: Depression for White Mothers (R2)
The SAS System
-------------------------------------------------- R=2 --------------------------------------------------

Contour plot of E'H.

NOTE: 41856 obs hidden.
APPENDIX B

CONTOUR PLOT OF SELF-ESTEEM IN BLACK MOTHERS (R1)
AND WHITE MOTHERS (R2)
Contour plot of $E^4H$.

Plot: Self-Esteem for Black Mothers (R1)

The SAS System

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NOTE: 97091 obs hidden.
Plot: Self-Esteem for White Mothers (R2)

Contour plot of E*H.

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NOTE: 100270 obs hidden.
APPENDIX C

CONTOUR PLOT OF WELL-BEING IN BLACK MOTHERS (R1) AND WHITE MOTHERS (R2)
Plot: Well-being for Black Mothers (R1)

The SAS System

Contour plot of E*H.

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NOTE: 87422 obs hidden.
Plot: Well-being for White Mothers (R2)

The SAS System

Contour plot of E*H.

NOTE: 81361 obs hidden.
APPENDIX D

CONTOUR PLOT OF INFORMAL SOCIAL SUPPORT IN BLACK MOTHERS (R1) AND WHITE MOTHERS (R2)
Plot: Informal Social Support for Black Mothers (RI)

The SAS System

Contour plot of E*M.

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::: 1.6667 - 2.0000 OOOOO 2.6667 - 3.0000 BBBBB 3.6667 - 4.0000

NOTE: 52021 obs hidden.
Plot: Informal Social Support for White Mothers (R2)

The SAS System

Contour plot of E*H.

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1.6667 - 2.0000 OOOOO 2.6667 - 3.0000 MMMM 3.6667 - 4.0000

NOTE: 54730 obs hidden.
APPENDIX E

CONTOUR PLOT OF FORMAL SOCIAL SUPPORT IN BLACK MOTHERS (R1) AND WHITE MOTHERS (R2)
Plot: Formal Social Support for Black Mothers (RI)
The SAS System

Contour plot of E*H.

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FORMAL

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FORMAL

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FORMAL

Symbol

FORMAL

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2.8000 - 3.4000

3.4000 - 4.0000

4.0000 - 4.6000

6.3999 - 6.9999

NOTE: 57214 obs hidden.
Plot: Formal Social Support for White Mothers (R2)

The SAS System

Contour plot of $E^*H$.

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APPENDIX F

CONTOUR PLOT OF VALUE OF RELIGION IN BLACK MOTHERS (R1) AND WHITE MOTHERS (R2)
Plot: Value of Religion for White Mothers (R2)

The SAS System

Contour plot of E*H.

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NOTE: 75019 obs hidden.
APPENDIX G

CONTOUR PLOT OF FREQUENCY OF ATTENDANCE AT CHURCH IN BLACK MOTHERS (R1) AND WHITE MOTHERS (R2)
Plot: Frequency of Church Attendance for Black Mothers (RI)
The SAS System

Contour plot of E'H.

NOTE: 100270 obs hidden.
Plot: Frequency of Church Attendance for White Mothers (R2)
APPENDIX H

LINE PLOT OF ECONOMIC WELL-BEING IN BLACK MOTHERS (1) AND WHITE MOTHERS (2)
Plot: Economic Well-being for Black Mothers (1) and White Mothers (2)
APPENDIX I

CONTOUR PLOT OF CONFLICT WITH FORMER SPOUSE
IN BLACK MOTHERS (R1) AND WHITE MOTHERS (R2)
Plot: Conflict With Former Spouse for White Mothers (R2)

The SAS System

Contour plot of E*H.

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APPENDIX J

CONTOUR PLOT OF SATISFACTION WITH PARENTING
IN BLACK MOTHERS (R1) AND WHITE MOTHERS (R2)
Plot: Parental Satisfaction for Black Mothers (Rl)

The SAS System

Contour plot of $E^*H$.

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NOTE: 100270 obs hidden.