

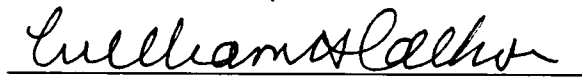
To the Graduate Council:

I am submitting herewith a dissertation written by Margaret Shelley Perry entitled "A Study of Marriage and Divorce in a Sample of Rural Appalachian Women." I have examined the final copy of this dissertation for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, with a major in Psychology.

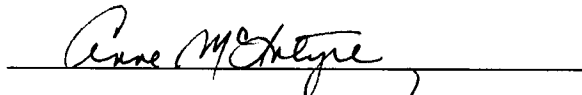


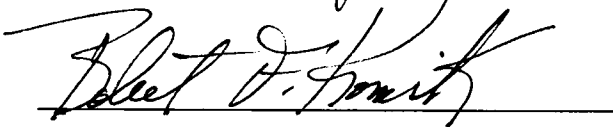
Raymond P. Lorion, Major Professor

We have read this dissertation
and recommend its acceptance:









Accepted for the Council:



Vice Provost
and Dean of The Graduate School

A STUDY OF MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE IN A SAMPLE
OF RURAL APPALACHIAN WOMEN

A Dissertation
Presented for the
Doctor of Philosophy
Degree
The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Margaret Shelley Perry
December 1987

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to thank the members of my doctoral committee, Dr. Raymond Lorion, Dr. John Lounsbury, Dr. William Calhoun, and Dr. Ann McIntyre, who guided me over the course of several long years. I also would like to thank Dr. Bob Kronick and Ms. Ann Wachter for serving as my outside committee members. Ann McIntyre deserves special thanks for her help and support in the final stages of the dissertation.

Raymond Lorion has been my mentor in my studies over the past 10 years, through both my masters and doctoral degrees. I have learned a great deal from him: the content of community psychology and an approach to research and its application which will serve me throughout my career. He has been a role model in his productive pursuit of prevention in mental health and applied research in community psychology. I have also learned from him what it means to be a good teacher and I hope to pass that along to those coming behind me.

I wish to thank my family, who have supported me in every way over the long course of my doctoral education. I greatly appreciated their encouragement and support. My

parents' own pursuit of knowledge and achievement inspired me to seek this degree and their generosity helped me fulfill my ambitions.

Carole Martin and Mary Thrall at the East Tennessee Regional Health Office provided me access to many of the women interviewed for this study. Nancy Peden, Jane Williams, Mary Barker, and Kathy Butcher worked many long hours assisting me with interviews. Kristen Roberts-Ball was of great help in establishing my credibility in several communities. Bob Wyrick served as a knowledgeable key informant about Appalachian culture. Donna Bundy, Debra Stokely, Sarah Sharp, Ginny Simmons, Gail Miller, Sandy Halford, Ruth Harper, Marilyn Hoffman, Joanna Meredith, and Graham Higgs all took time from their never-ending schedules to help me reach the women I talked to. Connie Gibson, Dixie Hall, Suzan Bowman, Lois Eichenberger, and Barbara Nelson took an interest in the study and helped by providing additional contacts for me.

The University of Tennessee Department of Psychology assisted me with data collection through the award of a small research grant.

I would also like to acknowledge the contribution of my employer, Westat, to the completion of my degree. Dr. Ronie Nieva, Dr. Mike Wilson, and Dr. Sandra Baxter encouraged me, provided me technical assistance, and supported my efforts to complete this dissertation and still manage my project responsibilities. Karen Fagan and Sonja Ouellette provided patient secretarial assistance for the last few months of this process.

Many friends nourished my spirit and provided perspective on what has often been an arduous process. I would like them to know that each of them contributed uniquely to the completion of my degree. I owe much to Cheryl McDonnell, Gary Golembiewski, Chris and Dick Johnson, Cindy Thompson, Sandy Miller, John Cornwell, Nancy Gay, Linda Keil, Bruce and Lisa Allen, Judith Love, Mary Ann Harrison, Nancy Brown, Carol Trent, and Rick Dulaney. At some time during the past seven years, each of these people has given of themselves and provided encouragement, empathy or inspiration. Morris Ehrenberg lived particularly close to the dissertation for several years and I wish to thank him for his support.

Finally, the memory of the women in the mountains who I met and talked with in the course of this study will

always remain with me. I thank them all for opening their doors to me. I will never forget the many hours spent on porches and in front rooms listening to their joys, sorrows, and dreams.

ABSTRACT

A study of 67 female residents of the rural, Appalachian mountain area was conducted to explore marriage and divorce within the Appalachian culture, to determine reasons for marriage and divorce, and to explore role expectations for married and divorced women. Additionally, the study explored the nature of social support within the institution of marriage and attempted to determine mental health outcomes of divorce. A structured interview and standardized inventories of marital sex-role orientation, familism and psychiatric symptomatology were administered to respondents in a face-to-face interview. A discriminant function analysis was performed on the sociodemographic, marital history, and psychological variables of respondents and showed that lower educational level of respondent and her spouse, younger age at marriage and parents' marital status are the strongest predictors of marital status and age group. Psychological characteristics were not found to be strongly predictive of marital status or age group. Qualitative analysis was performed on the structured interview and results describe the strong expectations of the Appalachian culture for womens' early marriage and childbearing, expectations for a traditional role in family and community, causes of divorce, the lack of a clearly

defined role for divorced women in the culture, the different sources of social support for married and divorced women, and the greater emotional problems reported by divorced women than married women. The study explores practical implications of these findings and directions for further research.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
I. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM.....	1
II. LITERATURE REVIEW.....	5
Appalachian History.....	5
Appalachian Cultural Values and Characteristics.....	13
Rural Mental Health.....	31
Stressful Life Events Model.....	35
Current Literature on Divorce.....	37
III. METHODS.....	50
Subjects.....	50
Subject Recruitment Procedures.....	51
Design.....	55
Instruments.....	55
Standardized Inventories.....	60
Procedures.....	65
IV. ANALYSIS OF QUANTITATIVE DATA.....	69
Results.....	69
Multivariate Analyses.....	80
Discussion of Quantitative Findings.....	112
V. ANALYSIS OF QUALITATIVE DATA.....	120
Results.....	120

Discussion of Qualitative Findings.....	152
VI. DISCUSSION OF RESULTS AND IMPLICATIONS	
OF THE RESEARCH.....	163
Differences Among Subgroups.....	165
Values and Characteristics of the Appalachian Culture.....	168
Marriage and Divorce Within the Appalachian Culture.....	170
Divorce as a Stressful Life Event.....	174
Areas for Further Research and Practical Implications of the Research.....	177
REFERENCES.....	187
APPENDICES.....	198
APPENDIX A. STRUCTURED INTERVIEW.....	199
APPENDIX B. SOCIALIZATION DATA FORM.....	223
APPENDIX C. MALE-FEMALE ROLE RESEARCH INSTRUMENT.....	226
APPENDIX D. FAMILISM SCALE.....	230
APPENDIX E. COMPOSITE SYMPTOM CHECKLIST.....	233
APPENDIX F. DEBRIEFING FORM.....	238
APPENDIX G. INFORMED CONSENT FORM.....	240
APPENDIX H. ADDITIONAL ANALYSES OF SUBJECT CHARACTERISTICS.....	242
VITA.....	250

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE	PAGE
1. Summary of Demographic Characteristics and Marital History Variables of Subjects and Spouses.....	52
2. Comparison of Subgroup Means on Socioeconomic Variables and Marital History Variables.....	79
3. Means of Subgroups on Model 1 Variables.....	85
4. Correlation Matrix of Model 1 Variables.....	86
5. Within Groups Correlation Matrix of Model 1 Variables.....	88
6. Eigenvalues, Canonical Correlations, and Tests of Significance of Three Canonical Discriminant Functions of Model 1 Variables.....	89
7. Mahalanobis' Distance Scores Between Subgroups..	91
8. Differentiation Between Subgroups Using Regression Analysis.....	92
9. Total Canonical Structure of Model 1 Variables..	94
10. Standardized Discriminant Coefficients of Model 1 Variables.....	98
11. Eigenvalues, Canonical Correlations, and Tests of Significance of Three Canonical Discriminant Functions of Model 2 Variables.....	101
12. Total Canonical Structure of Model 2 Variables..	102

TABLE	PAGE
13. Eigenvalues, Canonical Correlations, and Tests of Significance of Three Canonical Discriminant Functions of Model 3 Variables.....	105
14. Total Canonical Structure of Model 3 Variables..	106
15. Eigenvalues, Canonical Correlations, and Tests of Significance of Three Canonical Discriminant Functions of Model 4 Variables.....	109
16. Total Canonical Structure of Model 4 Variables..	110
17. Aspects of Social Support.....	141
18. Social Support Provided by Religion.....	146

CHAPTER I

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The experience of divorce is painful emotionally, socially, and economically. It is an experience chosen by a relatively large percentage of married American couples, however, and reflects changes toward increasingly equal roles for women and men in society. As number of the divorces have risen from 377,000 in 1955 to 1,189,000 in 1980, the stigma of being divorced has lessened. Many institutions, ranging from counselling agencies to credit bureaus, have changed to cushion the impact of moving from married to single status.

Women undergoing divorce are more likely than their spouses to experience psychological stress, social isolation and economic deprivation. This distress originates both in psychological factors of the individual and the cultural milieu in which they occur. The experience may differ in urban and rural settings, but it is clearly an event causing disruption to lives and requiring great adjustment to resolve.

Among American women who divorce, those residing in rural areas where social change takes place relatively

slowly are likely to encounter more negative treatment and have lower self-esteem than their urban counterparts. In part, the different experience is due to the importance of family, a value reinforced by conservative religious beliefs, and the self-reliant, individualistic lifestyle necessary when homes are many miles apart.

This study was also an attempt to conduct effective research within a population not often studied. Effective in this case meant uncovering the experience of women living their lives as wives or former wives. The point was to explore the experience of women undergoing the life event of marital dissolution within this particular cultural setting. It was exploratory, and not solely a test of a hypothesis drawn from research on urban divorce. The very characteristics that differentiated this population from urban populations were the characteristics which limited the research methodology of the study. University research and graduate students are foreign to the populace of the hills of Appalachia; therefore, the unfamiliar methods of mail surveys or self-administered psychological instruments were considered potentially ineffective methods. Data must be collected through a more personal method. It was decided that personal interviews would provide the researcher with the time necessary to

observe and experience life as it is, at least within the half day spent with each subject. After the personal relationship was established, other methodology was then used within the time frame of the interview. The Appalachian culture relies on personal, informal social transactions and that is the way one gains entrance to the culture. Outsiders are immediately suspect, so research must be conducted as an "insider". In doing this, a more intimate bond was established than is usual in social science research between subject and observer. This bond facilitated the depth of information available in the study and provided the validity of information that is felt to be here. There was by necessity a mutuality between the respondent and the researcher that allowed a return of something-- of time, of information, of self, that does not often occur in research on individuals' lives.

Appalachian women are one subgroup of rural women for whom the values of kin, separate and unequal social roles for women and men, and economic individualism of the family are especially strong. This study focused on the characteristics, attitudes, and experiences of two generations of women in Appalachian, half of whom are married or widowed and half who were separated or divorced prior to the study. The study explored the relationships

among characteristics of the women, their marital status, and their subjective experiences of marriage and divorce.

The study combines methods of data collection, including personal interview and administration of pencil-and-paper instruments measuring psychological characteristics. Relationships between the study variables and marital status and age group of respondents were tested through statistical analysis performed on interview variables and instrument scores. Analysis of qualitative data formed the basis for the remainder of the study's findings.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

This review summarizes research and writing in several areas: (a) a background on the history of Appalachian culture, particularly focusing on the characteristics and values of the Appalachian people; (b) characteristics of rural mental health and differences from urban mental health, and; (c) precipitating factors in divorce and the effects of divorce on women. A fourth area of research reviewed is on the stressful life events model which, in this study, provides a context for the experience of divorce.

Appalachian History

The lives of individuals take place within the context of the culture in which they have developed and currently live. Individual psychology is shaped to some extent by interactions with family, peers and institutions. Within the sociological and anthropological literature, one finds different definitions of culture. The psychological literature uses the concept of culture in an even more imprecise manner, since it is primarily thought of as a backdrop to individual functioning. It may be defined as

the common, learned way of life shared by members of a society consisting of the totality of tools, techniques, social institutions, attitudes, beliefs, motivations, and systems of value known to the group. It is the rules that guide the way of life of a group. (Foster, 1962, p.11)

The Appalachian culture is the influence over the lives of individuals studied in this research. The history of Appalachia is only a century and a half old and starts with the migration of English, Scottish, and Irish immigrants in the nineteenth century, who came to the rugged Southern mountains to escape oppression in their native land. With them, they brought a history of the virtues of strength and struggle and a respect for family unity, religion, and music which was passed down to their children. These mountain settlers have remained relatively isolated across the years, bound together by a distinctive blend of folk, farming and mining culture, representing an often overlooked segment of America- the primarily white and rural, lower and working class (Gaventa, 1980). As generations passed, the large tracts of lands of the first mountain settlers were subdivided among children and kin until it was not unusual to find a hundred families with the same name in a county, all of them related in some way (Kahn, 1973). As recently as one hundred years ago, communities in the rural Appalachian counties were sparsely settled in the mountain hollows, with richer settlement in

the river valleys, all dependent upon a agricultural economy. As in many frontier communities, community labor was often depended upon for corn-huskin's, log-rollings, and house-raisings.

By the turn of the century, speculators from the North had changed the subsistence economy of farming to timber production and bituminous coal mining. Kahn (1973) recounts the history:

Coal companies sent agents into the mountains to buy the timber and mineral rights to the land from the farmers, paying as little as fifty cents an acre for the land. Then they moved in, dug deep mines, and hired mountain men off the farms to mine their coal and to cut their trees to make mine timbers. (p. 5)

Coal camps were established by the company, providing housing and supplies at high cost for the low wages of the miners. The textile industry followed the coal companies to the Southern mountains in an effort to find a supply of non-union labor. Whole families were employed in carding, spinning, and weaving operations in poorly ventilated mills in the mountains of Tennessee, Virginia, North Carolina, and North Georgia. Textile factories were located outside of the coal region, where males in the labor force were already occupied. Mill villages and factory towns, similar to the coal towns

farther North were established, where the textile companies owned everything: the houses, store, schools, and churches.

Kahn (1973) describes the economic life of the town:

"Usually the company took a worker's paycheck, deducted for the house rent, for bills at the company store, and what was left went to the worker in the form of 'scrip'- money privately printed by the company- which could only be used to purchase goods out of the company store" (p. 7).

The Great Depression affected Appalachia as severely as anywhere in the country. There were few jobs available and this in part contributed to the rise of the "white lightning" industry, which became profitable and often became the only source of income for a family. During World War II and the decade following, industry fared relatively well in Southern Appalachia. Although the recovery of the country from World War II extended to Appalachia, there were still not enough jobs for the population, prompting the migration of some families to the cities of the North in search of jobs and a better life, making their homes in the slums of Cincinnati, Chicago, Detroit, and Baltimore. There, they generally remained isolated in these adopted communities, facing a hostile mainstream culture.

Appalachia developed into the last few decades in a way that concentrated the wealth of economic development among few, leaving a small middle class and relatively larger lower class. In his campaign for the presidency in 1960, President Kennedy observed the conditions of poverty in Appalachia, and laid the groundwork for the War on Poverty executed by President Johnson. Johnson continued turning the attention of the country to Appalachia. Through the establishment of the Appalachian Regional Commission, attempts were made to improve roads to attract new industry to the area. The "poverty program" aimed improvements at Southern Appalachia as one of the most concentrated areas of poverty in the country. Over a billion dollars was pumped into the area in an attempt to eliminate the "causes of poverty" (Kahn, 1973). Substantial change was not made for many reasons, among them being alleged corruption in the distribution of funds and a lack of attention to the effect of a "welfare program" on individuals' pride and dignity. Another source might have been the lack of involvement of those in Appalachia in their future. Recounting Kennedy's 1960 visit to West Virginia, Daniel Patrick Moynihan wrote:

The American poor were not only invisible, in Michael Harrington's phrase, but they were also silent. Kennedy had ventured into West Virginia searching for Protestant votes, not for poverty. There he encountered the incredible pauperization

of the mountain people, most particularly the soft-coal miners, and industrial workforce whose numbers had been reduced by nearly two-thirds in the course of the decade, but with hardly a sound of protest. The miners were desperately poor, shockingly unemployed, but neither radical nor in any significant way restive. (Moynihan, 1969, pps. 24-25)

Current history and economic status of

Appalachia. At the time this study was conducted, the economic development of this region was poor. In many of the counties in which the respondents lived, there was 20-25% unemployment, as compared with the Tennessee state figure of about 8% during the same period. Many respondents could not afford to buy permanent homes, instead renting mobile homes and often supplementing their grocery purchases by growing garden crops. The Appalachian region as a whole falls below American norms in education, housing, employment, health care and per-capita income (News-Sentinel, 1985). Coal, steel, and textiles have historically formed the basis of the industrial development of this area. Because the steel and textile industries are in decline and coal continues a pattern of boom and bust, the Appalachian economy is in trouble. As with many areas, the fastest-growing employment sector in the region is in services, especially health service and restaurant services. It has been noted that,

The simultaneous decline in industry and increase in service is tantamount to a decrease of middle-income opportunities in the region. Tennessee trends are likely to lead to the increased feminization of low-wage work in the region.... (News-Sentinel, 1985, p. 2)

A student of the area estimates that nearly 7 million of the 20 million people in the Appalachian area draw all or a portion of their support from welfare, that 40% have incomes below the poverty level and only about 50% of those able to work are employed or actively seeking a job. Transfer payments such as welfare, black lung, disability, and Social Security have increased faster than any other form of income.

The pattern of economic development, not the lack of economic development, is the problem in the area. High-tech industry is not the growth sector of the economy, because it relies on workers with scientific and technical backgrounds not found in abundance in this area. High growth is predicted to be in the minimum-wage service sector, providing employment for people like cashiers, waitresses, janitors, hospital aides, and others who are low-skilled, low-pay and unorganized wage employees. At present, the economy of the region at large is dominated by the mining, metals, textiles, apparel and wood industries. Between 1981 and 1982, 400,000 jobs in these industries

were lost. There is an inevitable permanent displacement of some members of the work force.

Across the nation, 49.8 percent of the labor force is female and the corresponding figure for Appalachia is 43.9 percent (News-Sentinel, 1985). Women in the Southern Appalachia region are having fewer children, and are more often employed, changing the distribution of power in the family regarding important decisions and often causing domestic problems. There is some development in the commercial craft field in Appalachian and this is dominated by women. Fear and distrust of outsiders is common in this area where competition for survival and the slightest of economic advantages is keen.

In many families, husbands, sons, or brothers leave the mountains for employment in larger towns or cities and return to their family homes on weekends, driving the many hours back to their jobs on Sunday nights. Since the Depression, there has been a history of outmigration of men from the area to take jobs in industry in the North and Midwest, but many have returned after layoffs or homesickness, to unstable jobs or unemployment.

Appalachian Cultural Values and Characteristics

The isolation of Appalachia, combined with its prevailing societal institutions (e.g., the fundamentalist church, the independent court system) and self-reliant, individualistic lifestyle have resulted in the development of a culture with values and norms different from the surrounding, mainstream culture. Characteristics which have been used to describe the Appalachian resident are individualism, traditionalism, religious fatalism, action-orientation, and stoicism in manner and speech (Weller, 1965; Kephart, 1913). It is true that descriptions of the Appalachian resident have been somewhat uniformistic and ignorant of the region's cultural diversity, such as settlement of German residents which remained intact into the mid-20th century. There are differences among regions and of course, among individuals, but as with all "stereotypes", there is an element of truth underlying the portrait. Caudill (1962) and Lewis and Knipe (1978) portray rural Appalachian people as participants in a traditional, peasant-like subculture that emphasizes kinship, noncompetitiveness, and egalitarianism. Physical and cultural isolation are still so great in some areas that folk medicine and superstitions about child bearing, child rearing and medical treatment must be actively considered by medical and social service workers in the

area. Workers are careful not to be critical of a husband's dominance in the family or disrespectful of reliance by their clients on cultural superstitions. The mountaineer's personal orientation as the basis for cultural transactions, rather than reliance on institutions or formalized relations, has been recognized by some researchers (Looff, 1977). Particularly in the Appalachian mountain area, values of traditionalism in sex roles (Peters, 1983; Shackelford & Weinberg, 1977), close kinship systems (Cavender, 1981) and familism (Peters, 1983; Heller, Quesada, Harvey, & Warner, 1981; Looff, 1971) have been identified as part of rural life.

Historical writers Shackelford and Weinberg (1977), in their chronicle of Appalachia, use regional narrators to describe the community value of traditionalism: "People had to take care of their neighbors. There was nobody else to do it." (Narrator, b. 1899). Another narrator, born in 1902:

We had a sense of value of things we don't anymore. A family was more of a unit than it is now. There weren't any divisive influences. We seemed to have an obligation to each other. Oh, we have families that have their scraps, but let somebody else intrude in it (and) they'll all be on your back. Our sense of values disappeared about 1920-- industry is what did it. Mother was very much opposed to divorce and we never had many divorced people in the county. Mother called them "grass widows." A grass widow seemed

to be some kind of a mild stigma. I reckon it went back to an old religious attitude: that you're married to death do you part.

Sex roles in marriage. The history of sex roles in Appalachia reveals distinct differences in the experiences, behaviors, and role expectations for females and males. Writers describing the cultural roles in the 1800's and 1900's describe a patriarchal culture in which the male role was imbued with much more freedom and power than was the female role. Males had responsibilities for support of the family in logging, raising crops, hunting, or in supporting the family through trade which was the basis of the economy for the isolated mountaineers until the mid-1800's. Fewer restrictions in the areas of sexuality, morality, language and access to the public sphere of life resulted from this position of responsibility outside the family (Lord & Patton-Crowder, 1979). The wife's role was recognized as demanding and difficult, in dealing with hardship and physical demands. Her role demanded that she be strong and resilient, and that she function as the mainstay of the family. On the other hand, she was also expected to passively accept a lifetime of domestic work and child rearing. As women were able to move beyond the world of the family, they usually

pursued work that was an extension of their family duties, such as education, midwifery, or health care.

Over the past few decades, profound change has come to all areas of the country affecting marriage and the roles of men and women within marriage. Changes have affected rural women as well, but evidence exists to indicate that change has come less rapidly to rural America. Rural residents are more likely to marry earlier, have more children, and live in larger families than urban residents. Fertility rates have been declining in general, but considerable differences in rural-urban fertility rates still exist, particularly among young women (Bescher-Donnelly & Smith, 1981). Rural women still evidence more of a traditional sex-role ideology, and there is still a greater social stigma attached to divorce or separation in rural places (Bescher-Donnelly & Smith, 1981). Nationwide, rural couples still experience less marital dissolution than urban couples. Rural families are more often characterized by traditional husband-wife family patterns, but male dominance in families may be beginning to change as wives obtain employment and demand more equality in decisionmaking (Hennon & Photiadis, 1979; Brown & Schwarzweller, 1970).

Stolz (1985), in her wide-ranging study of low-income women in several sites around the country, also found that Appalachian women felt that, in their cultural subgroup, the "natural order" was perceived as placing women in a subordinate position to man. Many of the husbands of women informants were disabled, and in order to provide adequate income, wives had to work outside the home. However, wives still did not believe, as the primary breadwinner, that they had the right to decide their hours or what type of job they would hold. One of the dictums discovered by Stolz was that "women should listen to men." The subordinate position of women was also reflected in attitudes toward women speaking in public. In public, men were supposed to do the speaking and women remain submissive. Some of Stolz's informants indicated with having to speak with and work in front of strangers was the reason they did not take a job outside their home.

Stolz found that the primary role of a woman was still defined as wife and mother and that social pressures seemed still to encourage early marriage and childbearing. Because of this, education was also not encouraged. Her younger informants indicted this value was changing and they did not want the same limitations of opportunity for their daughters. Although they emphasized the importance

of a good education, and attitudes were changing in the community, schools in the areas were poor, offered few opportunities, and were slow to change programs. If a woman attempted to meet her needs for education or expand her world through employment, she confronted culturally induced guilt. She was perceived as selfish for meeting her needs at the expense of her family.

Another interesting factor that Stolz found was that women did not support one another. Stolz concluded that culture affected self-image, and her view of other women and of relationships among women. Her respondents indicated the the women's movement had, in general, "no effect" on their lives. Most of the women viewed the movement as irrelevant to their situation or were at most ambivalent toward it. Little change has occurred in the past ten years in the relationship between low-income women and organized women's movement. At its worst, the movement was perceived by informants as a negative force, critical of the lives low income women have led. At its best, it seems to have stimulated these women to look at their lives and their acceptance of their subservient position in society.

Family structure. Peters (1983) has identified Appalachian families as more likely to be position-oriented than person-oriented, that is, having high levels of role segregation and authoritarian leadership structure based on age and gender differences. Roles in such families are usually ascribed, clear-cut, and inflexible. These families are more likely to rely on sex role differentiation along traditional expressive-instrumental lines (Brown & Schwarzweller, 1970). The authors also note that the familistic orientation of the Appalachian residents tends to facilitate boundary maintenance in families of considerable strength.

Kinship relationships. Kinship bonds and family loyalty have always been strong values in the Appalachian culture. Kahn (1973) describes the effects of this value:

So strong was the sense of family loyalty that any wrong inflicted on one member of the kin was bound to be avenged by their family. The famous so-called "feuds" - more accurately called "wars" by people in the mountains - were an outgrowth of the fierce tradition of kinship in mountain counties. (p.51)

Kinship is a primary criterion for determining an individual's social identity and social rank in local society (Cavender, 1981).

The bases of emotional and physical support for family members, and the identity and self-worth of the individual are defined by extended family systems. A lower value, therefore, is placed on the marital relationship in the extended-kin-oriented system because spouses satisfy many of their emotional and psychological needs through extended-kin relations. After marriage, young couples are often expected to establish residences that are separate from their families of origin, but frequently close by (Peters, 1983). Because of long-term residential stability, family groups have learned to rely and encourage extended family contacts. In fact, there is an element of obligation to the role commitments (Heller, et al., 1981), although these contacts may or may not be based on affectionate ties (Looff, 1971; Weller, 1965). Geographical mobility for any reason, such as better occupational opportunities, is looked upon as something to be undertaken only under extreme circumstances because mobility involves leaving the connections of the extended kin group.

Research of the past decade on kinship also describes gender differences in kinship use. Booth (1972) found that women report more "close" kin than men. Bahr (1976) found that wives were expected to be more active in

the maintenance of kin ties than husbands except in decisions about extending financial aid to kin. Wives were also often expected to be responsible for maintaining contact with husband's kin, while the reverse occurred rarely. Bahr also reported that women communicate more often with kin than do men.

Familism. Familism is a type of social organization in which the individual's interests and privileges are perceived as being less important than those of the family group. It consists of a set of rights and responsibilities pertaining to members of a kinship network, such as an obligation to give preference to intra-family over extra-family relationships, and a right to receive aid from one's family in times of need (Peters, 1983). Familism has been recognized as a characteristic offering strength to Appalachian families (Looff, 1977), providing the sharing of limited resources among the extended family. Particularly in times of crisis, familism stabilizes family life, structure and functioning. Familism, in its close, interdependent family functioning, is seen as the antithesis of socially disorganized families of urban areas. Heller, et al. (1981; 1977) describe the type of familism common in southern Appalachia as extended-kin-oriented familism, referring to the circumstances in

which nuclear and extended family systems are linked closely together.

Fatalism. Fatalism has also been identified as one of the characteristics of Appalachian mountain people. According to Kahn (1973), fatalism rose out of the daily fact of death in the lives of the people. The level of mortality is high among people of all ages, of children, and of the old and poor. For many years, Southern Appalachians had one of the highest birth rates and fatality rates for children in the nation.

Robert Coles (1971), in his work with the children and adults of Appalachia chronicled another source of fatalism:

Fiercely individual men have had to confront over the generations an increasingly conspicuous poverty in territory they love. A tradition of independence and strict personal honor has to contend with a harsh and mean struggle for arable land, food and whatever cash can be gained from jobs that are scarce. The most stubbornly aloof and out-of-the-way region in the country becomes represented (unfairly so in many respects) as the nation's most dependent and needy area. Those who have to fight harder, on their own, for a survival that is at least of their own doing, become ironic fatalists, resigned to what will come because year after year there is little else to do. (pps. 495-496)

Relationship of childrearing practices to cultural characteristics. Also recognized among the Appalachian people is an inherently strong capacity for trusting relationships, partially based on the establishment of a trusting relationship between mother and child in the first year (Looff, 1977). There is a strong valuing of children in this culture. Simultaneous with the establishment of trust among children, Looff found a lack of acquisition of controls over aggressive impulses. Children frequently are allowed to do just as they please. A third characteristic taught to children is an orientation towards feelings rather than words: "Actions speak louder than words" and "A man is judged by his deeds, not his words" (Looff, 1977). Looff calls this characteristic "regional nonverbality" to describe the Appalachian person's orientation to the intimate, the sensory, and the personal. While their orientation to the person and to nonverbal behavior of family forms the basis of a sensitivity towards others, verbal expression is not a characteristic of the culture. Children learn to follow the feelings rather than the words of others.

Religion in Appalachia. Religion in the Appalachia mountains is celebrated in small, independent fundamentalist churches. The pastor is often a neighbor, a

part-time preacher holding a secular job during the week. Services are less formalized than in mainstream churches and are often very personal, involving, and emotional events. It is from this area that speaking in tongues, and snake-handling and poison-drinking as a test of faith have been practiced in decades past and into the present in some religious sects. Rural fundamentalist churches provide members the involvement of an event and a community, but simultaneously the solace and comfort of the emphasis on an individual relationship with a living God. Robert Coles (1971) wrote eloquently of the role of religion among the peoples of the South and Appalachia. Coles, from his observations of mountain residents involved in fundamentalist religion, described the role of the church in providing sanctuary to believers, but also the experience of joy. Emotions of "joy, of resentment and fears and qualms, of peace and calm as well as excitement or relief are all part of a religion that does not need to reinterpret the Scriptures" in light of the modern world. What is fundamental remains throughout time within this church.

Interrelationship of the economy and cultural values and impact on women. It has been proposed (Gaventa, 1980) that in Appalachia, economic and cultural variables

may be interrelated empirically, that to some extent the culture of the area has grown out of the economic structure. Stolz (1985) has examined the modern movement of low-income women into the workforce, including in Appalachia. In her arguments, she attempts to make a distinction between culture as preferred values and situational adjustments or adaptations to circumstances that have developed over time. She concludes that what is important to the analysis of the factors inhibiting change in the lives of working women is that beliefs, traditions, and practices communicate a message that supports the maintenance of women in a subordinate position and rationalize and legitimate the superordinate position of men in the home. Among those women who outwardly reject the tradition of subordination, they experience internal conflicts because they have not found an adequate alternative to learned cultural definitions regarding their responsibilities to home and family first.

Rural women as a group have been found at present to still lag behind their urban counterparts in characteristics illustrating social change. Labor force participation, for example, is still less than urban women and most often is prior to marriage and childbearing. Jobs for nonmetropolitan women remain within a narrow range of

occupations (mostly clerical and service jobs) offering low wages, minimum levels of prestige and little chance of advancement. This is especially true in the Appalachian area where development of more innovative and progressive managerial, technical, or professional positions is minimal (Bescher-Donnelly & Smith, 1981). Rural residents also lag behind their urban counterparts in education attainment. Although educational levels are increasing over time among rural women, they still face serious education problems. The low level of educational achievement has affected a number of areas of community life, but particularly women's participation in the work world, subsequently affecting the distribution of power in the family and the community. Bescher-Donnelly and Smith (1981) describe how restrictions in the economic sphere have ramifications on the entire social sphere:

Thus, various internal and external processes operate in rural areas to "cool out" or prevent women from entering the labor force or pursuing higher status occupational positions. Internalized barriers, for example, are learned as part of the definition of femininity. Childhood, adolescence, and adult socialization experiences that emphasize a traditional sex-role ideology for women and encourage acceptance of the "female traits" of noncompetitiveness, passivity, and vicarious achievement can influence the career aspirations and work attitudes of rural women. External or structural barriers, including discriminatory hiring and advancement policies, sex typing of jobs, lack of role models, and limited employment opportunities, also operate to discourage the

economic advancement of rural women and restrict their role options. (p. 175)

Similarities of Appalachian characteristics to other cultures. Although Appalachian culture is based on characteristics making it unique, there are similarities between its structure and form and that of other subcultures which have been the focus of research in the areas of marriage and family. Stack (1974) studied the marriage and family patterns of blacks who had migrated in the last generation from the rural South to a midwestern urban area. She also found strong extended kin networks supporting these families through the provision of material support and emotional aid.

Komarovsky's (1962) study of white, urban, blue-collar families and their marriages, although performed 25 years ago, shows a number of similarities between these families and those of Appalachian women of nearly three decades later. Old ties to friends were given up at the formation of the new marital relationship, although attachment of young wives to their mothers were retained and visits frequent, although this declined over the course of the marriage from several times a week to less frequently. Parents served as a positive reference group. Very often, conflicts occurred between husbands and wives

as to how much socializing husbands should have with male friends. Komarovsky noted that the gulf between the sexes in interests and attitudes may be wider in the working classes than among the educated middle classes, concluding that the differences between males and females resulting from socialization differences later contributed to their difficulties in communication and to vast perceptual differences between the sexes.

Bott (1971), in her study of working-class families in London, found that marital roles were segregated, and leisure time activities pursued with extended family members rather than with spouses. Extended family activities tended to be gender-specific. A result of this pattern was the retention of non-marital sources for need gratification and less dependence on the spouse for companionship in leisure activities, thus also encouraging sex-role distinctions within marriage.

Relationship of cultural values to divorce. The unique characteristics of the rural setting, combined with the stress of marital dissolution, may predispose rural women to a more difficult experience in divorce than urban women. The traditionalism of sex-roles and conservatism of institutions may create greater role conflict for rural

women who have separated from or divorced their husbands than might be found in urban women. Additionally, it is uncertain whether the greater familism and closer kinship networks among Appalachians may help or harm separated or divorced women. Close family ties may moderate the effects of marital dissolution or create additional demands on the divorced woman. For example, in her research, Stolz (1985) has recognized the practical benefits of living near one's extended family in the form of built-in child care and alleviation of guilt if others must be relied upon for this. But more often, in her experience, family ties mean additional responsibilities, obligations and even criticism of behavior.

Problems experienced by rural women have been described in Husaini and Neff's (1980) survey of rural middle Tennessee residents, in which women were found more likely to be "at risk" for psychiatric impairment than men, and separated and divorced persons more likely than married.

Differences in age groups of women. The literature on Appalachia does not specifically address change in marital roles over time. What has been documented is the economic change from subsistence,

agrarian society to a society also supported by factory work and small business. This change, coupled with outmigration of residents and an increasing influx of outsiders and new ideas, has influenced traditional behavior roles in this culture, including the traditional role of women in marriage. This expected change may be evident in a number of characteristics, such as attitude toward divorce or different role expectations within marriage. Overall, there should be differences found between older and younger women in the areas addressed by this study.

Studies of rural mental health have also found differences among women of different ages. Older people in general are more likely to report psychiatric problems. Edgerton, Bentz, Hollister, Clements and Summers (1970), in their study of rural populations, reported that emotional disorders were significantly related to age. Older age was also a factor in Husaini and Neff's (1980) study of the mental health status of Tennessee residents. Self-reported impairment was more likely to be found among women and older women, when subjects were grouped by age.

The literature on divorce also points to differences between older and younger women in their

responses to a divorce (Nelson, 1981; Norton & Glick, 1979). Because older women are more likely to have played a traditional role in marriage and to have been married longer, they are more likely to experience greater adjustment problems as a result of the divorce. Older women are more likely to have integrated their social lives with their husbands', making it more difficult to adjust to life alone (Brown & Manela, 1978). Older women are also more likely to encounter financial problems in divorce than are younger women, because of the greater likelihood that they stayed home to raise children, or had careers interrupted by childbearing.

The differences in generations of both married and divorced women are likely to influence their experience of marriage and its disruption. Therefore, differences in age group is also a focus of this study, in combination with marital status.

Rural Mental Health

Individuals who live in rural areas may be at greater risk for development of mental health problems than urban residents by virtue of their residence. A number of studies have attempted to demonstrated these differences and to determine the correlates comprising the risk

factors. Factors which have been found to be associated with higher levels of psychiatric symptomatology are lower income and educational level, isolation, gender, and marital status.

Srole (1977) presented data indicating a higher prevalence of physical and mental health problems in rural populations than in urban residents. Schwab, Warheit, and Holzer (1974) in a report of a long-term epidemiological study of rural-urban mental health differences, found that rural residents were more highly represented in prevalence of social psychiatric impairment than urban counterparts, although this representation was confounded with low income. Edgerton, Bentz, Hollister, Clements, and Summers (1970) assessed demographic factors and responses of rural populations to stress. They found emotional disorders to be significant with age, race, rural lifestyle, marital status, education, occupation, and income, a finding that concurred with earlier studies in North Carolina and Virginia. Engelsman, Murphy, Prince, Leduc, and Demers (1972) studied psychiatric symptomatology levels among urban, suburban and rural residents and found that female reports of psychiatric symptomatology exceeded those of males, particularly in the rural groups. Eaton (1974) found that educational attainment was also found to be

related to rates of psychiatric disturbance, with lower classes having higher rates, although these rates did not differ between rural and urban areas.

Husaini and Neff (1980) surveyed rural residents of Middle Tennessee about their mental health needs and found 12% of the rural population at high risk for psychiatric illness, beyond mild or moderate stress. Impairment was more likely among females, among the separated, divorced and widowed, among those from lower SES levels, and among those with lower education levels and those with fewer external supportive ties. Symptomatology was also linked to those with a greater number of life change events in the past 12 months. In a comparison between urban and rural subjects, they found that the rural residents were significantly more depressed than urban individuals and that those more at high risk were those from lower social classes (lower income and education) and those who were unemployed. In this study, younger rural residents were more likely to have higher levels of depression. They also found that internal and external resources (individual resources and social support) operated as moderating factors between life events and psychiatric impairment, and those who had larger social networks reported less impairment. The most commonly-used

strategies employed among the rural residents to handle their problems were to: (1) discuss their problems with other family members, 67%, (2) discuss their problems with friends, 44%, (3) pray, 55%, and (4) try to work things out themselves, 60%.

Limited geographic mobility was also identified as a factor associated with mental health problems. Chesteen, Bergerow, and Addison (1970) found in a study of urban and rural residents that geographic mobility and mental illness were inversely related, and rural residents are less likely to be mobile. Wild (1974), in a study of indices of community integration and stability, came to a similar conclusion, finding high rates of neurosis among residents of economically depressed and stagnant populations, whereas high rates of nonorganic psychosis were more characteristic of populations undergoing recent economic decline. Interestingly, Srole (1977), in a theoretical look at the views of historians, psychiatric and social science research on the benefits and deficits of urban vs. country living, concluded that on balance a mobile society is psychologically eugenic, whereas an immobile one is often pathogenic. The belief that the stable, bucolic rural environment offers a more healthful life to its members is disputed by these studies.

Stressful Life Events Model

In recent years, a sizable literature has developed in which marital disruption is viewed as a specific stressor and placed within the context of the stress and coping literature. The stressful life events model (Dohrenwend & Dohrenwend, 1974) has been put forth to account for the mostly deleterious effects of separation and divorce. In this model, the effects of the crisis or stressful life event of divorce may be exacerbated or reduced depending on moderating variables, such as internal resources brought to bear or external resources, such as social support. The model is based on the assumption that changes in life patterns produce stress and posits that the greater the number of life change events, the greater the stress and likelihood that impaired psychiatric functioning will result (Rahe, 1968).

Other characteristics of stressful life events which exacerbate symptomatology may also be characteristic of marital dissolution. Abrupt stress is more likely to produce psychiatric dysfunction (Dohrenwend, 1973). Individuals undergoing undesirable (negative) events are more likely to have more psychiatric symptoms than individuals undergoing desirable events (Mueller, Edwards,

& Yarvis, 1977; Dohrenwend, 1973). It has been consistently found that a negative event, no matter how the valence is determined, either objectively or subjectively, is more often associated with pathology. Individuals with lower socioeconomic status have been found to disproportionately experience more life change events (Dohrenwend, 1973). More recent work has attempted to improve the magnitude of correlation between stress and illness¹ by specifying the properties of the event(s) which may contribute to the relationship. Among the properties of life change events which need to be better specified are the idiosyncratic meaning of the event (Hurst, 1979; Paykel, 1976) and its desirability (Dohrenwend, 1979; Gersten, Langner, Eisenberg, & Simcha-Fagan, 1977).

As will also be described in the review of literature on divorce below, mediating variables may, in the stressful life events model, either exacerbate or modify the effects of the event. Examples of mediating variables are social support, perceived control over the event, or the individual's perception of the desirability of the event. These mediators may be categorized into individual-level (e.g., age, sex, cognitive and emotional

¹Many of the correlations in research between life events and illness are only in the .30 range (Dohrenwend, 1979; Rabkin & Streuning, 1976).

development) or environmental-level (e.g., social and material support, other concurrent stressors in the environment). In addition, the interaction of the two (i.e., the employment of individual coping abilities in mobilizing the social support network to provide support) may serve a mediating role. In this case, an individual's level of social support may more precisely reflect his or her individual coping abilities to mobilize that social support network over the period of time necessary for adaptation to the life event. The directionality of this particular mediator will be an issue for future research.

Current Literature on Divorce

The problems of families and society resulting from divorce have gained greater recent attention from the research community, from educators, the media, and the public. One of the reasons is that divorce is a relatively modern social phenomenon in western society, in fact tripling in the U.S. in the last half-century.

The dissolution of a marriage has multiple impacts- on the husband, the wife and the children. Bloom, Asher and White (1978) found that divorced men and women are at higher risk for psychiatric illness, physical illness and disability, and motor vehicle accidents, and

separated persons are at even higher risk. Holmes & Rahe (1967), in their development of a measure of stressful life events based on the amount of readjustment required by each event, found that marital disruption was a major stressor. Epidemiologists have consistently found marital status to be associated with rates of psychopathology, with separated and divorced individuals having higher rates of psychopathology than their married counterparts (Bachrach, 1975). Consistent relationships have been found between marital status and morbidity as well, including acute conditions, chronic conditions, complete and partial work disability, short-term disability, and utilization of health services (Verbrugge, 1979; Renne, 1971). Deleterious effects on children have been documented by Hetherington, Cox, and Cox (1978) and Wallerstein and Kelly (1980). Immediate feelings of guilt, sadness, anger, and fear are common in children in divorced or separated families. Studies in progress (Wallerstein & Kelly, 1984) have shown effects on children to be long-lasting, particularly with pre-schoolers. If the divorce is compounded by other stressors, later disruptions are more likely to occur (Hetherington, 1979; Rutter, 1979).

Causes of divorce. Predisposing factors to divorce has been a less widely researched area than has

effects of divorce. One focus of Bloom and Hodges' (1981) study of males and females undergoing separation in Boulder, Colorado was the identification of reasons for separation. Three experiences were mentioned most often: infidelity (31%); events outside the relationship, e.g., completing school, moving to start a new job, taking a trip without the spouse (28%); and events that accumulated over time, e.g., second suicide attempt, habitual drinking or staying out late (26%). In a later study related to this one, Caldwell, Bloom and Hodges (1982) asked newly separated individuals about the reasons they separated. Women reported that communication difficulties contributed most to their dissatisfaction with their marriages, followed by differences in life style or values. The third most often mentioned reason was infidelity, followed by interest in another person and by boredom. Albrecht and Kunz (1980), in their study of the social exchange theoretical perspective on divorce identified reasons for divorce among their Western urban and rural subjects. In order of frequency of mention by respondents, they were: infidelity, no longer loved each other, emotional problems, financial problems, sexual problems, problems with in-laws, neglect of children, physical abuse, alcohol, job conflicts, communication problems, and married too young. Duncan and Morgan (1976) investigated the potency of effect

of several socioeconomic and demographic variables on marital stability. The presence of very young children (under age 2) was found to be significant in deterring both spouses from seeking a divorce or separation. Those couples with children over age 2 showed no greater propensity than childless couples to separate or divorce. Couples with plans for have more children were more likely to be stable. Wealth variables, specifically home ownership and financial assets, were positively related to marital stability and the presence of high welfare benefit levels in the area appeared to decrease marital stability. In this study, age at marriage had a negligible effect on marital status. Kitson and Sussman (1982) compared patterns of marital complaints among men and women in metropolitan Cleveland currently and with those in similar studies conducted three decades earlier. In comparison with 30 years ago, more complaints were made in the areas on personality, home life, and values. Fewer complaints were made in 1982 in the areas of drinking, non-support, physical illness, and desertion.

Differential effects of divorce on males and females. The particular focus of this study is on the wife of a marriage or divorce. The bulk of research in the area of divorce has been focused on divorce's impact on

children. Less attention has been directed toward either spouse. What research does exist on differential effects on the husband and wife in postdivorce adjustment has uncovered few consistent findings (Caldwell, Bloom & Hodges, 1984). Some studies (Chiriboga & Cutler, 1977; Raschke & Barrington, 1977) have found greater distress for women in the predivorce decision period, while others have found greater distress in males. In a review of sex differences in divorce adjustment, however, Brown and Fox (1978) concluded that in general, women experience more situational stress and more conscious feelings of subjective distress than men during a divorce. The authors qualify this difference as reflecting economic distress, child custody responsibilities, and early socialization patterns, all of which tend to be gender-linked.

One area in which there is clear disadvantage to the wife is economic. The economic problems faced by divorced women have been widely documented (Duncan & Morgan, 1976; Hoffman & Holmes, 1976). The earnings of full-time employed women lag behind men's earnings and at present have only risen to 60% of men's earnings, even in the same occupational categories. Nearly all one-parent families are headed by the mother and child care responsibilities often make it difficult for women to work

full-time. Ferri (quoted in Bloom, et al., 1978) noted that single fathers had an easier time finding substitute mothering for their children than mothers had finding substitute fathering.

Variables associated with adjustment to divorce.

As discussed above, the stressful life events model postulates that the effects of the crisis or stressful life event of divorce may be exacerbated or reduced depending on moderating variables. Individual characteristics and situational and environmental factors have been identified in earlier studies which have an influence on the adjustment of marriage partners to divorce. These include the individual variables of age (Nelson, 1981; Norton & Glick, 1979), gender (Bloom & Hodges, 1981), and cognitive factors such as perception of the situation and coping skills (Felner, Farber, & Primavera, 1980). Situational variables related to effects of divorce include length of marriage (Kitson & Raschke, 1981), cause of separation (Bloom & Hodges, 1981), and current relationship with ex-spouse (Ahrons, 1981). Environmental variables such as economic status (Bloom et al., 1978) and social support (Heller & Swindle, 1983; Caldwell & Bloom, 1982; Wilcox, 1981) are also positively correlated with adjustment to divorce. Cultural acceptability of divorce has been

examined, but most often from the perspective of acceptability among religious groups, such as Catholics or Jews. Acceptability has not often been examined in a rural population. Studies have consistently identified these factors as predicting or moderating adjustment to divorce, but again, conclusions have been based on urban, middle-class women.

Sex role in marriage and its relationship to adjustment to divorce is a factor on which a number of studies have been conducted. A nontraditional sex role, defined as one in which there is greater equality and responsibility between husband and wife, is more predictive of better post-divorce adjustment than is a traditional sex role, which places more importance on staying at home, child rearing, providing psychological support to the husband, and on the husband being gainfully employed (Brown & Manela, 1978). A social life separate from the spouse's helped women toward better adjustment. A high family-orientation was more frequently associated with poor adjustment (Bloom & Clement, 1984). Chiriboga and Thurnger (1980) found that adjustment of women was differentially associated with different roles depending on age group. For women under 40, better adjustment was found among those who had been more pragmatic, assertive, and independent

during their marriages. Among older women, adjustment was better in the case of those who had found ways of achieving a balance of dependence and control in traditional sex role behaviors.

Social support as a moderating variable has been under scrutiny for a long time, although its operational definition has varied widely from study to study. However, in general, it has long been thought that those with social ties are better off psychologically, in that those who are better integrated into society are better able to adapt to the stresses of life. Most studies have used multiple indicators of social support. The difficulty in properly operationalizing social support partly results from an inadequate definition of the construct (Thoits, 1982). Thoits suggested that social support should be considered a multidimensional concept, including the amount, type and source of support. Caplan (1976) has defined social support as:

...continuing social aggregates (namely, continuing interactions with another individual, a network, a group, or an organization) that provide individuals with opportunities for feedback about themselves and for validation of their expectations about others. (p. 19)

An important area of social support research has been the specification of the dimensions of the network. Researchers have noted that the proportion of interrelationships between members of the individual's network ("network density") can influence adaptation to stress. Bott (1971) distinguished between the "close-knit" or "high-density" social networks in which most of the members tend to know and have access to one another and the "loose-knit" and overlapping social networks containing individuals who were less likely to know one another. In her study, she determined that couples who maintained traditional, separate, complementary marital roles had separate, same-sex, kin-predominant, close-knit social networks, whereas nontraditional, joint-conjugal role couples tended to rely more on each other for support and satisfaction and to have loose-knit networks.

Support systems provide support through emotional aid, assistance with tasks and guidance and material support to facilitate the individual's coping ability (Caplan, 1976). The instrumental and affective dimensions of social support networks have been shown to moderate the effects of depression (Dean, Lin, & Ensel; Lin, Dean, & Ensel, 1979). Aspects which were related to the effectiveness of networks were also the number of years the

respondent had known the confidant and the frequency with which the confidant was used (Lin, Dean, & Ensel, 1979). A number of other studies have demonstrated the ameliorative effects of social networks (Myers, Lindenthal, & Pepper, 1975; Cassel, 1974), in the latter case, the lower incidence of physical and mental problems among groups with social ties.

The sheer size of networks and frequency of contact with others appears to contribute to well-being (Fischer & Phillips, 1979; Brown, Davidson, Harris, Maclean, Pollack, & Prudo, 1977). However, Blood (1969) postulates that there is a curvilinear relationship between closeness to kin and measures of marital solidarity, as too much closeness can be as great a problem as too little. Individuals involved more in loose-knit groups appear to be able to make permanent life and role changes without network disruption. Dense networks tend to support the status quo, therefore, members experiencing life changes may find a loose-knit network more adaptive. Women undergoing life transitions who had dense support systems, on the other hand, were found to have lower levels of socializing, reinforcement, emotional support, and cognitive guidance, as well as lower mood and lower self-esteem (Walker, MacBride, & Vachon, 1977). Spicer and

Hampe (1975) found that for a sample of divorced persons, that contact with relations was more likely to increase after divorce for women, that women had higher rates of contact with both relations and friends, and that women were more likely than men to receive financial aid from their former in-laws as well as their own kin. It has also been found that the work setting can provide social support (Bromet & Moos, 1977).

Troubled families, or those with troubled members, have generally demonstrated less participation in a social network and more insulation. Families at low risk, on the other hand, showed more initiative in generating contacts and were more likely to use friends, not just relatives, as a source of help (Wahler, Leake, & Rogers, 1977).

In summary, what has been found by research on persons who were divorced is that effects are severe and long-lasting, that certain factors weigh more heavily on women than men, most often by virtue of their being the caretaking parent, and that among women, variables such as traditional sex-role orientation, high family orientation, older age, and lower economic status predispose women to greater difficulty after divorce. Unfortunately, however,

available information about divorce is based almost entirely on findings from middle to upper-middle class, urban, white individuals.

Based upon this review of several areas of literature which provide background to this study of marriage and divorce among rural, Appalachian women, the purpose of this study is to explore the reasons for marriage and divorce, and the role expectations for married and divorced women within the Appalachian culture. Additionally, the study examines the relationship of social support and mental health to marital status and age group.

The review of literature raised the following specific questions which are the focus of the data collection and analysis:

1. Why did the subjects marry?
2. Why did the subjects remain married?
3. What are the expectations concerning the institution of marriage and the marital role for rural Appalachian women?
4. Why did women get divorced and what is the experience of divorced women in the rural Appalachian culture?

5. What is the nature of social support and its effect on married women and divorced women?

6. What is the state of self-reported mental health for divorced and married women in rural Appalachia?

CHAPTER III

METHODS

Subjects

Criteria for participation in the study were as follows: (1) born in the Appalachian area; (2) lived in the rural Appalachian counties for all but a few years; (3) married, widowed, separated, or divorced, (3) a current resident of the rural counties comprising the Appalachian mountain area.

Based on these criteria, never-married women and non-Caucasian women were excluded from the study. The subjects ranged in age from 19 to 81. Subjects were selected on a non-probability sampling basis due to the necessity of using personal contact by a community member to gain the agreement of subjects to participate in the study.

Subjects were categorized into the following four groups: the younger-married group (YM; N=16) consisted of women 19 to 39 years of age and currently married or widowed; the older-married group (OM; N=17) included women 40 to 81 who were currently married or widowed; the younger-divorced (YD; N=19) group included women 19 to 39

and currently divorced, separated, or remarried following a divorce; and the older-divorced (OD; N=15) group was composed of women 40 to 81 and currently divorced, separated or remarried.

A total of 83 women were invited to participate in the survey. Eighty-two percent (i.e., 68) completed the interviews. One subject was excluded from the final sample because she did not complete the interview. The final sample was thus composed of 67 subjects.

The demographic and marital history characteristics of the sample (including subject and spouse characteristics) are presented in Table 1.

Subject Recruitment Procedures

Most subjects were recruited with the assistance of the East Tennessee Regional Office of Child Health and Development. Other subjects were recruited through presentations to individuals who volunteered friends or acquaintances as potential subjects.

The cultural reliance upon informal rather than formal relationships precluded the use of random sampling in this study. The personal nature of the Appalachian

Table 1

Summary of Demographic Characteristics and Marital History Variables of Subjects and Spouses

	$\bar{X}$	SD	Range
Subject's years of education	11.0	2.7	3-16
Spouse's years of education	10.2	3.6	0-18
Hollingshead social class level of subjects	59.7 ^a	14.3	22-77 ^b
Hollingshead social class level of spouses	57.4 ^a	16.0	11-77 ^c
NORC occupational prestige score of subjects	26.0 ^d	15.6	12-62 ^e
NORC occupational prestige score of spouses	33.5 ^d	15.6	12-72 ^e
Subject's age at start of relationship before first marriage	17.7	2.9	12-27
Subject's age at first marriage	18.9	3.1	12-30
Subject's age at second marriage	28.5	8.8	17-46
Number of months subjects knew husbands at first marriage	41.4	71.0	<1-252 ^f
Number of months until separation from first marriage	111.0	108.1	2-348 ^g
Months until separation of second marriage	13.9	14.1	2-36 ^h

^aHollingshead score falls within Social Class IV.

^bHollingshead scores range between Social Class II and V.

^cHollingshead scores range between Social Class I and V.

^dNORC occupational prestige score falls into the lowest third of scores.

^eNORC occupational prestige scores range across high, middle, and low thirds.

^fActual time ranges from one week to "all my life."

^gN=31; 348 months is equal to 29 years.

^hN=8.

culture necessitated the intercession of a community member to introduce the study and the researcher to potential subjects. The introduction from a credible source was necessary to secure a woman's agreement to be interviewed on the possibly sensitive topics of the study.

There were no differences in subject recruitment procedures for any subgroup. The complex process of gaining entrance into the mental health and social service systems required repeated contacts with the network of potential referral sources. The purpose of the study was explained to mental health and social service professionals throughout the east Tennessee area. Subject selection criteria were explained to those willing to act as an intermediary between the researcher and potential subjects.

Agency workers or individuals approached clients, friends, and acquaintances with an explanation of the study's purposes and procedures and asked if they were interested in participating in a study of the views of rural women about marriage and divorce. If willing to participate in the study, the woman's name was given to the researcher. The researcher then contacted the subject by phone and informed her of the study's purposes and selection criteria. An appointment, usually at the

subject's home, was arranged if the subject met the criteria. The subject was informed about the identity of the interviewer if the interview was to be conducted by someone other than the researcher. On the day prior to the interview, the subject's agreement to participate in the study was confirmed by phone. Subjects were assured of confidentiality and given the opportunity before, during, and after the interview to ask questions or request clarification about any part of the study. For the 28% of subjects who had no phone, a preliminary visit was made to explain the study and solicit participation if the subject met the criteria.

Subject recruitment occurred between February and July, 1985 and interviews were conducted between March and August, 1985. The interviews were conducted by the researcher and four other women, three of whom were native Appalachians, although the researcher conducted 30 of the 67 interviews. All of the interviewers had been residents of the region for at least four years. Although subjects were assigned to interviewers by area to minimize the amount of travel necessary, subject groups were heterogeneous by age, education level, and marital status.

Design

The study is designed to examine the differences in socioeconomic and psychological characteristics between a sample of rural, married, Appalachian women and similar divorced women. Of specific interest are the characteristics which predict membership in the married vs. divorced groups. An additional focus of the study are the qualitative aspects of the lives of married and divorced women in the rural Appalachian culture. The study used a four-group static-group comparison design (Kidder, 1981) with the variables of marital status and age differentiating the comparison groups. Marital status is the major study variable. Married and widowed subjects are compared with separated, divorced and remarried subjects. These two groups (i.e. Group M and Group D) were further divided into two groups of younger and older subjects (Groups YM- younger married, OM- older married, YD- younger divorced, OD- older divorced) to provide additional data on the effects of generational differences on the study outcomes.

Instruments

The study's instruments include: (a) a structured interview schedule which inquired about topics related to experience and perceptions about marriage, divorce,

perceptions of cultural norms and characteristics of rural life; (b) a measure of socialization patterns; (c) a scale of marital sex role; (c) a measure of degree of familism; (d) a measure of psychiatric symptomatology.

Structured Interview. The structured interview (see Appendix A) was designed to collect information about characteristics of the Appalachian culture and rural life in general and characteristics of the institution of marriage and divorce in this culture. Included in the interview were questions relating to possible predictors of marital status and mediators of adjustment to marriage or divorce. These questions were conceptually categorized into three groupings, i.e., individual, situational, and environmental.

Individual level variables included socioeconomic status (education, occupation), marital sex role orientation, familism, kinship system, and perception of cultural norms and roles about marriage and divorce. Marital sex role orientation is defined as the attitudes, values, and behaviors that individuals ascribe to the role of spouse. Familism is defined as the degree of value attached to individual interests as compared to the interests of the family group of which an individual is a

part. Kinship systems concerns the structure and function of the nuclear and extended family in relation to the individual.

Situational variables measured were the length of courtship, the reason for marriage, the length of marriage before separation or divorce, and the reason for separation or divorce.

Environmental variables include social support structure (size, density, frequency of interaction), social support interaction (type of interchange between subject and network, reciprocity), social support quality (type of affect expressed between the subject and the network), function of social support (i.e. information exchange, material aid, comfort and advice) (Marsella & Snyder, 1981), and the degree of contact with the dominant culture through television, newspapers, magazines, and books.

The structured interview was developed from a pilot study conducted during a three-month period in the fall of 1984. Three divorced women were interviewed using open-ended questions about their experience of marriage and divorce. The pilot interview protocol was composed of

items that: (1) assessed the facts surrounding the marriage and divorce, including history of both the marriage and the divorce; (2) explored the individual reactions to and experience of the marriage and divorce, and; (3) explored the experience of the marriage and divorce in the context of the culture. Questions were asked that explored variables that fit into the stressful life events model, in which a precipitating event is modified or exacerbated by the presence of other variables. In this study, those variables were limited to issues of role, and the nature of integration into the family and community.

The issues identified as salient for the pilot subjects included the experience of identity and power in their marriages, the support or lack of it received from friends and family during and after the divorce, the reaction of the church to their divorce, and the reaction of the community to their divorced status. As a result of the pilot interviews, areas of inquiry were added to the interview and question wording was simplified or clarified. The salient issues within the exploratory interviews were then refined into questions which focusing more directly on them and these were included in the final version of the interview schedule.

Socialization Data Form. A version of the Socialization Data Form (Bloom & Hodges, 1978) was revised to include different formats for married women, women divorced less than 5 years, and women divorced more than 5 years (see Appendix B). The instrument collected information on aspects of social support additional to those measured in the structured interview. For divorced subjects, questions were included that explored the impact of the marital disruption on the social network.

Several revisions were made to the original Bloom and Hodges measure. A version was developed for the YM and OM groups deleting all questions pertaining to the divorce experience. In the two versions for the divorced groups, questions concerning post-separation involvement with dating were excluded, since this was not a focus of the current study. The original ordinal scaling of response choices was replaced with an open-ended response format. During the pilot study, it was found that subjects had difficulty remembering the answer choices for the verbally-presented questions. As a result, questions were reformatted.

Standardized Inventories

MAFERR Inventory of Feminine Values. The Male-Female Role Research instrument (MAFERR), developed by Steinmann and Fox (1974) (see Appendix C), was designed to measure marital sex role orientation. The instrument contains two forms, one for males and one for females. Each form is composed of 34 items that encompass five areas of male-female relationships. They are: (1) personal and social characteristics of women; (2) interrelationships between husbands and wives; (3) aspects of motherhood; (4) interrelationships of work and family responsibilities for women; (5) women's self-realization. The answer choices are on a five-point Likert scale, ranging from "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree", through a midpoint of "not sure". Scoring yields two subscores: a cumulative Self-Orientation score based on 17 items and a cumulative Family-Orientation score based on the remaining 17 items. Self-orientation is reflected by statements such as "I usually pay no attention to other people's feelings" and describe a woman who considers her own satisfactions equally important with those of her husband and family and looks for opportunities to realize ability or talent that she might have. Orientation towards family and home is represented by statements such as "An ambitious and responsible husband does not like his wife to work" and

describe a woman who sees her family responsibilities as taking precedence over any potential personal occupational activity. Marriage, child-rearing and nurturing are the main conduits of achievement (Steinmann and Fox, 1974). Additionally, a difference score was calculated by subtracting the Family-Orientation score from the Self-Orientation score.

Reliability estimation of the MAFERR yielded a correlation of .81 for split-half technique, adjusted by the Spearman-Brown procedure. The instrument's validity relies primarily on face validity, in that items have generally accepted connotations. In addition, they were categorized as family- or self-oriented by seven judges (psychologists and sociologists).

Familism Scale. According to Heller, familism refers to a set of rights and obligations pertaining to members of a given kin network (1976). The 15-item Familism instrument (see Appendix D) was designed by Heller (1970) to measure the following characteristics: (1) the feeling on the part of all members that they belong primarily to the family group and that all other persons are outsiders; (2) complete integration of individual activities for the achievement of family objectives; (3)

the assumption that land, money, and other material goods are family property, involving the obligation to support individual members and give them assistance when they are in need; (4) willingness of all other members to rally to the support of another member if attacked by outsiders; (5) concern for the perpetuation of the family as evidenced by helping an adult child in beginning and continuing an economic activity in line with family expectations and in setting up a new household; (6) mutual aid among relatives. Scoring on the measure ranges from 15 to 75, with a low score indicating lesser familism. Answer choices are on a five-point Likert scale ranging from "strongly disagree" to "strongly agree", through a midpoint of "neutral/undecided".

The scale's validity has been demonstrated using cross-validation procedures between the familism scale and six other variables expected to be highly associated with traditional familism, and additionally by showing discriminant validity among samples from widely differing ecological and socioeconomic settings (Heller, 1976). In this study, Heller demonstrated expected differences in Familism scores between subject groups in urban, suburban and rural settings.

Composite Symptom Checklist. The Composite Symptom Checklist (Bloom & Caldwell, 1981) (see Appendix E) was constructed from four slightly different short self-report measures of psychological and psychosomatic symptoms: Gurin et al. (1960), Langner (1962), MacMillan (1957), and National Center for Health Statistics (1970). The authors identified three structural factors within the 22-item Composite Symptom Checklist (CSC). Cluster I (Neurasthenia) measures symptoms traditionally associated with the concept of neurasthenia: chronic fatigue, the feeling of impending breakdown, inability to accomplish life's demands, feeling tense or nervous, and general ill health and weakness. The seven items comprising this cluster have an interitem correlation of .39. Cluster I accounts for 62% of the communality of the correlation matrix. The internal consistency of the scale as measured by Cronbach's alpha is .81. Cluster II (Anxiety) measures frequently identified physiological concomitants of anxiety. The five items of this subscale have an average interitem correlation of .35 and this cluster accounts for an additional 13% of the communality of the correlation matrix. The cluster has an alpha index of .72. Cluster III (Vascular Problems) includes the symptoms of headaches or pains in the head, fainting or blackouts, and spells of dizziness. The three items of this scale have an average

interitem correlation of .43 and account for an additional 12% of the communality. Cluster III has an alpha index of .61. Considering all the clusters, 87% of the communality of the CSC correlation matrix is accounted for by three clusters of variables, involving 15 items. There is some overlap in the three clusters- Clusters I and II are correlated .56; Clusters I and III are correlated .48; and Clusters II and III are correlated .37.

A cross-validation procedure by the authors with data from their earlier studies indicated that the first two clusters were stable (that is, consistent results were found across samples) and the third was somewhat unstable.

The response scale is a four-point ordinal scale of how often the symptom occurred in the last six-month period, with answer choices of "never"; "sometimes"; "pretty often"; or "nearly all the time".

Post-Interview Debriefing Form. This instrument was developed to record details of the setting and circumstances of each interview (see Appendix F). Circumstances of the interview included the location, identification of others present at the interview, a description of the physical setting, the interviewer's

perceived rapport with the subject, the subject's affect, perceived credibility of the subject, and attentiveness of the subject during the interview. The interviewer was instructed to derive this information from both the content and the process of the interview.

Procedures

Interviewer training. Interviews were conducted by the researcher and four female graduate student assistants. Each had previous interviewing experience either in employment settings or in previous university-sponsored research. Three of the four interviewers were Appalachian natives and the remaining interviewer had several year's experience at a social service agency serving residents of the area.

Each interviewer participated in an individual four-hour orientation session. The first two hours of the training provided a detailed review of the structured interview. The intent of each section and each question in the protocol was explained to the interviewer. Interviewers were instructed to record subject responses to the structured interview verbatim. Each additional measure was reviewed using the same procedure. Administrative procedures for data collection were also explained,

including procedures for contacting the subject, and the order of administration of the measures. At the completion of the administration of the measures, the interviewer was instructed to complete the post-interview debriefing form.

Following the two-hour orientation session, the interviewer conducted one pilot interview without supervision. (These interviews were included in the study sample.) Following this, the interviewer met again with the researcher for a two-hour debriefing. Interviewing procedures were reviewed, and the measures were examined for completeness and accuracy. Also at this time, additional observations about the subjects and interview were gathered. If coaching was needed, it was provided to ensure that any problems, such as infrequent probing or incomplete answers were corrected at the next interview.

Following completion of approximately three interviews, the interviewer met with the researcher to debrief for about 30 minutes on each interview. Additional interview observations of the subject and any special circumstances of the interview were added to the debriefing form. Coaching was provided as needed during the five-month data collection period to ensure consistency in data collection. The most frequent guidance given to the

interviewers was to encourage probing questions during the structured interview.

Data Collection Procedures. In order to minimize travel time, interviewers were assigned to subjects in overlapping 3-county areas. Each interviewer was assigned to multiple subjects within each of the four subgroups, therefore eliminating the risk of interviewer by subgroup bias. The researcher conducted interviews in 7 of the 10 counties represented in the study.

At the beginning of the interview, the interviewer briefly explained the purpose of the study to the subject, which was to learn about the opinions and feelings of rural women toward marriage and divorce, in order to help women and to prevent divorce. An informed consent form (see Appendix G) was also signed. Interviews required from 1 1/2 to 4 hours to complete.

The interviewer requested that the interview be conducted in a private location, without the presence of family or friends. Interviews were conducted in kitchens, bedrooms, living rooms and on porches of homes, wherever privacy was available. In some cases, family members insisted upon being present. They were permitted to remain

if the subject agreed to their presence. In such a case, the interviewer stressed that the subject's answers were the focus of the visit.

In all but five cases, the interviewer read the measures to the subject and recorded her answers. It was determined that the subjects' unfamiliarity with tests of this kind, and their educational level would limit their ability to complete the measures without such assistance. The five subjects who completed the standard measures unaided requested that they be allowed to do so. In some cases, language on the interview schedule and measures had to be explained to the subjects and this was noted on the debriefing form.

Comments and discussion by the subjects were encouraged and it was found that such discussion often provided important information and insight into subjects' answers.

CHAPTER IV

ANALYSIS OF QUANTITATIVE DATA

Results

The primary aim of the study's analysis strategy is to provide answers to the six research questions. These questions are:

- Why did the subjects marry?
- Why did the subjects remain married?
- What are the expectations concerning the institution of marriage and the marital role for rural Appalachian women?
- Why did women get divorced and what is the experience of divorced women in the rural Appalachian culture?
- What is the nature of social support and its effect on married women and divorced women?

■ What is the state of self-reported mental health for divorced and married women in rural Appalachia?

The answers to these questions can be gained from several types of analyses. Quantitative analyses will provide general answers to these questions through descriptive univariate statistics and a test of multivariate models which are comprised of study variables and attempt to statistically differentiate among the study subgroups (YM, OM, YD, and OD). Qualitative analyses of the interview protocols will provide an in-depth portrait of the subjects in relation to the states and issues of marriage and divorce in the Appalachian culture.

The quantitative analysis strategy can be subdivided into several sections. First, univariate descriptions of the variables of the study provide a description of the subjects as a whole. Areas in which data were collected were demographic characteristics, socioeconomic characteristics, marital history characteristics, and psychological characteristics (i.e. marital sex-role, familism, and psychiatric symptomatology). Next, comparison of differences among the study's four subgroups provide an understanding of general

similarities among subgroups that may be based on age or marital state. Based on these results, multivariate analysis are performed to test several models of the study variables in an attempt to determine which combinations of variables best differentiate among the subgroups.

Study variables were formed both by scoring the instruments that were administered to subjects, and by also transforming subject characteristics and interview answers into variables. These variables are the basis of the quantitative analysis.

Description of the sample. Subjects and their spouses were found to generally conform to expectations regarding life patterns within an economically depressed, insulated rural area. Total educational attainment was generally ended in high school, occupational level and socioeconomic status were low, and marriages were begun at an early age. Subjects were found to fall within the normal ranges of the psychological measures.

Demographic characteristics, socioeconomic characteristics and marital history characteristics of the 67 subjects are presented in Table 1 (see Chapter III,

pg. 52), which summarizes the means, standard deviations and ranges of these variables.

An illustration of the comparability of subject characteristics to those of the female population of the 10 represented counties is presented in Appendix H. Population percentages for age ranges, educational level, and occupational classification were calculated from the average of rates of the 10 represented counties. The comparison indicates that the age ranges of the subjects are comparable to those of women in the 10 represented counties, with slight variations ($X^2 = .20$, $p > .05$). The distribution of educational levels is also similar between subjects and the population of females of the represented counties ($X^2 = .19$, $p > .05$). Finally, comparison of Hollingshead (1957) socioeconomic ratings of subjects to the ratings of the female population over 16 demonstrates that subjects' socioeconomic levels are comparable to those of the female population ($X^2 = .15$, $p > .05$).

The intercorrelation matrix of all study variables is also presented in Appendix H ². Highlights of

²As this matrix contains 253 correlations, it would be expected that, at $p = .05$, one in twenty or thirteen correlations will be judged statistically significant. In actuality, 59 correlations were statistically significant.

this information which are pertinent to the research question are presented below.

All subjects were Caucasian, and ranged in age from 19 to 81 (MEAN = 41).

Subjects' and spouses' level of education was determined by number of years of formal schooling attended and ranged from 3 to 16 years (MEAN= 11.0, SD= 2.7) Spouses had a slightly lower level of education (MEAN= 10.2, SD= 3.6, range= 0 to 18 years).

Social class of subjects and spouses was classified using two methods: Hollingshead's (1957) two-factor index of social position and the Occupational Prestige rating scale of the National Opinion Research Center (1972). In this study, the two-factor index was used to calculate SES level of married couples separately for husband and wife. For families headed by a separated or divorced woman, occupation and education of that woman alone was rated to produce the SES index. When information on ex-husband's occupation and education was available from the interview, the SES index was calculated for former spouses. As Table 1 (pg. 52) indicates, the social class ratings of the subjects fell into Social Class II through

V, with the majority of subjects falling into Social Class V. The range of SES level was greater for husbands and ex-husbands: Class I through V.

Occupational prestige was calculated to yield additional information on socioeconomic status. Although occupations have been rated based on the NORC scale developed in 1972, ratings of 1985 occupations continue to be valid. Hodge, Siegal and Rossi (1964) have shown that prestige hierarchies are stable over time and across cultures.

As can be seen from Table 1 (pg. 52) the majority of the subjects fall into the lowest third of occupational prestige, similar to the Hollingshead ratings. The majority of the husband's and ex-husband's ratings also fall into the lowest occupational prestige third.

Certain aspects of subjects' marital history reveal characteristics about the institution of marriage within both the geographic area and the culture and shed light on the life circumstances of the subjects. Table 1 (pg. 52) also summarizes this data.

Thirty-three subjects were currently in their first marriage (49.3%). Eighteen were divorced and not remarried (26.9%) and 16 (23.9%) had divorced and remarried. Fifty-one subjects (76.1%) had been married only once. Of the remarried subjects, 11 (16.4%) were currently in their second marriage. Four women (6.0%) had married three times, and one (1.5%) had married five times.

Marriages of the subjects began in general at an early age (MEAN= 18.9, SD= 3.1, range from 12-30 for marriages). Nearly half of the subjects began the relationships leading to their marriages before the age of 17.

Information is also presented on the length of time women knew their spouses before marrying. Courtship of most couples was relatively short and ranged widely (MEDIAN= 12 months; RANGE= 2 weeks- "All my life"). Slightly more than half the subjects (53%) married after knowing their husbands one year or less. Eight percent of subjects knew their husbands one month or less before marriage. At the other extreme, 15% knew their husbands more than 4 years at marriage.

Among separated or divorced women, mean length of marriage to separation was moderate, with an average marriage length of 9.3 years (MEAN= 111.0 months, SD = 108.1 months). The range was from 2 months to 29 years from the date of marriage to the date of first separation.

The age at which subjects remarried ranged from 17 to 46 and averaged 28.5 years (MEAN= 8.8).

Additional tables in Appendix H present more detailed information regarding subject marital history and its relationship to other subject variables.

Subjects' scores on the psychological measures were within normal ranges. Appendix H presents a summary of mean, SD and ranges of the MAFERR Self- and Family-orientation subscales, the Familism Scale and the Composite Symptom Checklist Overall score, Neurasthenia, Anxiety, and Vascular Problems subscale scores. A summary of significant correlations between MAFERR subscale scores and other variables can also be found in Appendix H.

In summary, the subjects of the study were Caucasian, rural Appalachian mountain residents. Typically, their education levels were below high school

completion. Their socioeconomic statuses generally were in the lower Hollingshead and NORC levels. A similar profile describes subjects' spouses. Subjects generally married during their teens. If they were divorced and remarried, this occurred generally about ten years later, before they were 30. The courtship generally was time-limited since the majority of subjects knew their husbands less than one year. Marriages which resulted in divorce generally ended within 5.5 years of marriage. A range was found across subjects on measures of sex-role orientation, familism, and psychiatric symptomatology.

Univariate analyses. As described above, the study sample was divided into four subgroups for the purpose of examining similarities and differences among them that may be based on age or marital status. The four subgroups are:

- YM (ages 18-39)
- OM (ages 40 and above)
- YD (ages 18-40); and
- OD (ages 40 and above).

A comparison of demographic and marital history characteristics of the four subgroups is presented in

Table 2. A one-way analysis of variance was performed on all the socioeconomic and marital history variables, and results indicate that the groups differed on only two variables. The first, education level of subjects, differed among groups ($F = 3.85$, $p < .05$), although the practical significance of this difference is small (YM = 12.1 years; OM = 9.3 years; YD = 11.1 years; and OD = 11.8 years). The second, educational level of husbands, was also different among groups ($F = 2.86$, $p < .05$), but with a lower level of mean years of schooling completed than was completed by wives (husbands of YM = 11.6 years; husbands of OM = 8.4 years; husbands of YD = 10.0 years; and husbands of OD = 10.8 years). A two-way analysis of variance was also performed on the same variables. The groups differed on two variables using this technique: MAFERR self-orientation score and age at first marriage. The significant finding resulted from marital status differences. The effects of age group and the interaction of marital status with age group were not found to be significant. No significant differences were found among the subgroups for the Hollingshead socioeconomic level, or for the NORC measure of occupational prestige.

Subgroups did not differ significantly in marital history, including the age at which the relationship with

Table 2

Comparison of Subgroup Means on Socioeconomic Variables and Marital History Variables

Variable	Young Married	Older Married	Young Divorced	Older Divorced	F=	P=
Education level (N=66)	12.1	9.3	11.1	11.8	3.85	.014
Education level of husband (N=66)	11.6	8.4	10.0	10.8	2.86	.044
Hollingshead social class rating of family ^a (N=64)	58.9	65.5	61.1	54.6	1.75	.166
NORC occupational prestige level of family (N=66)	34.6	36.0	25.7	31.3	1.62	.195
Age relationship with husband began (N=63)	18.0	17.7	16.1	18.4	2.49	.069
Age at first marriage (N=67)	19.4	18.8	17.9	19.5	1.05	.377
Number of months subjects knew husband at marriage (N=40)	67.6	33.7	31.1	33.6	1.09	.346
Parents' marital status (N=66) ^b	1.3	1.1	1.4	1.1	2.23	.094

^aHigher scores indicate lower SES.^bParents' marital status: 1=marriage remained intact
2=marriage dissolved

first husbands began, age at first marriage, the number of months women knew their husbands at marriage, or parents' marital status, married or divorced. Additionally, comparison of the subgroups yielded no significant differences in sex-role orientation, familism, or CSC subscales (see Appendix H).

Thus, univariate analyses revealed few differences among the groups. Multivariate analyses were then performed to further consider the relationship of the study variables to the two distinguishing subgroup characteristics (i.e., age and marital status). When variables are considered simultaneously in relation to one another, a combination of variables may produce different results in terms of differentiating among the groups than when they are considered in isolation. The following section presents the results of multivariate analyses.

Multivariate Analyses

Rationale. Canonical discriminant analysis is a dimension-reduction technique used to determine whether differences exist among a classification variable based on quantitative variables which have been reduced to a smaller number of dimensions. The dimensions are canonical variables, which are linear combinations of the descriptor

variables. Canonical variables can be named in much the same way as in factor analysis. The canonical variables summarize between-class variation in the way that a related technique, principle components analysis, summarizes overall variation.

In this study, canonical discriminant analysis was performed on the set of variables formed from demographic, socioeconomic, marital history, and psychological measures to determine first whether significant differences exist among the subgroups in terms of these descriptor variables. If such differences are significant, canonical discriminant analysis will be used to identify "underlying factors" (i.e. canonical variables) which explain group differences. This explanation of subgroup differences is the second aspect of canonical discriminant analysis.

A result of the canonical discriminant analysis which will be reported is the formation of a canonical discriminant function, which is a linear combination of the

discriminating variables. It has the following mathematical form:

$$f_{kmi} = u_0 + u_1X_{1km} + u_2X_{2km} + \dots + u_pX_{pkm}$$

where f_{kmi} = the value (score) on the canonical discriminant function for case m in the group k on canonical variable i ;

X_{ikm} = the value on discriminating variable X_i for case m in group k ; and

u_i = coefficients which produce the desired characteristics in the function (Klecka, 1980).

In this analysis, the canonical function represents the three combinations of the discriminating variables which are formed from weights applied to separate the group means as much as possible. Since the rule for derivation of functions is that the maximum number of functions is equal to the number of groups minus one, there are three functions forming canonical variables since there are four subgroups.

Four models of discriminating variables were tested in this study to determine: (1) which model best

predicts marital status and age, and (2) what underlying factors can explain group differences. The four models consider simultaneously socioeconomic variables, marital history characteristics of subjects, and scores from the psychological measures. Two extra-individual influences were also included in the model: husband's education level and the marital status of the subject's parents (married and divorced). What differentiates the four models are exclusions of extra-individual variables in several combinations. Each model is presented separately below.

Model 1. The first canonical discriminant analysis was conducted using 66 of the 67 subjects³. The discriminating variables in Model 1 are:

Group membership (YM, OM, YD, OD) = MAFERR Self-orientation score + MAFERR Family-orientation score + Familism score + Composite Symptom Checklist overall score + Education level + Husband's education level + NORC occupational

³Some missing data resulted from the interviews. Several multivariate analyses were conducted to make use of the greatest amount of available data, as well as to test theoretical differences. SAS program specifications drop a case from analysis if the range of variables used in the equation is not complete for each subject.

prestige score⁴ + Age at marriage + Parent's
marital status

This model includes four "psychological" variables, three socioeconomic variables, one of which resides in the husband or ex-husband, and two characteristics of marital history: the age at which marriage began and whether the subject's own parents' marriage remained intact.

Univariate contributors to the model.

Table 3 presents the means for the Model 1 variables for each of the four subgroups. As discussed above, the greatest differences in variable mean scores among the four groups, considered univariately, are subject's education level ($F= 3.85$, $p< .05$) and the educational level of the subject's husband or ex-husband ($F= 2.86$, $p< .05$).

Table 4 presents the correlation matrix for the Model 1 variables. A high positive correlation was found between wife's and husband's educational level and between occupational prestige rating and both wife's and husband's

⁴The NORC score used in this model was the higher of husband or wife in a currently married family, or in divorced families, the score of the divorced woman.

Means of Subgroups on Model 1 Variables

Variable	Subgroups			
	Younger Married	Older Married	Younger Divorced	Older Divorced
MAFERR self-orientation subscale score	47.8	49.0	46.9	44.1
MAFERR family-orientation subscale score	49.9	46.7	49.7	51.4
Familism score	46.6	46.5	41.2	41.5
CSC overall score	42.5	41.4	47.9	45.6
Age at first marriage	19.4	18.8	17.2	19.5
Education level	12.1	9.3	11.1	11.8
Husband's education level	11.6	8.4	10.0	10.8
Occupational rating	34.6	36.0	25.7	31.3
Parents' marital status ¹	1.3	1.1	1.4	1.1

¹Parents' marital status: 1=marriage remained intact;
2=marriage dissolved.

Table 4

Correlation Matrix of Model 1 Variables

	MAFERR self-orient. sub. sc.	MAFERR family-orient. sub. sc.	Familism score	CSC overall score	Age at first marriage	Education level	Husband's education level	Occupational rating	Parents' marital status
MAFERR self-orientation subscale score									
MAFERR family-orientation subscale score	-0.34								
Familism score	-0.17	-0.16							
CSC overall score	-0.36	-0.04	-0.15						
Age at first marriage	0.32	0.05	-0.21	-0.10					
Education level	0.11	0.37	-0.40	-0.20	0.32				
Husband's education level	0.20	0.17	-0.34	-0.20	0.34	0.71			
Occupational rating	0.11	0.31	-0.19	-0.20	0.29	0.65	0.53		
Parents' marital status	-0.20	0.01	0.00	0.25	-0.09	-0.15	-0.15	-0.25	

educational level. A similar pattern of correlations is seen in the within-groups correlation matrix (see Table 5).

Subgroup Discrimination. The analysis indicates that two statistically significant canonical functions can be formed from the linear combination of discriminating variables (canonical correlations of .73 and .52). Table 6 gives these results. There are three non-zero eigenvalues, presented in the order of descending magnitude, two of which are significant. The size of the eigenvalue is related to the discriminating power of that function, therefore, the larger the eigenvalue, the greater the discrimination. The first function is the most powerful; the second function adds its discriminating power after that of the first function has been removed. The third operates similarly, after the discriminating power of the first and second functions have been accounted for. The first function is indeed the most powerful, with an eigenvalue of 1.12, and containing 67.8% of the total discriminating power in this system of equations. The second function has an eigenvalue of .38 and contains 22.6% of the discriminating power. Rather than the three maximum dimensions that could be found, the analysis yielded only two significant ones to maximize the difference among subgroups.

Table 5

Within Groups Correlation Matrix of Model 1 Variables

	MAFERR self-orient. sub. sc.	MAFERR family-orient. sub. sc.	Familism score	CSC overall score	Age at first marriage	Education level	Husband's education level	Occupational rating	Parents' marital status
MAFERR self-orientation subscale score									
MAFERR family-orientation subscale score	-0.31								
Familism score	-0.25	-0.14							
CSC overall score	-0.35	-0.07	-0.09						
Age at first marriage	0.39	0.04	-0.34	-0.06					
Education level	0.20	0.33	-0.42	-0.26	0.32				
Husband's education level	0.28	0.13	-0.36	-0.23	0.34	0.66			
Occupational rating	0.08	0.35	-0.28	-0.14	0.25	0.77	0.61		
Parents' marital status	-0.22	-0.03	0.04	0.21	0.00	-0.21	-0.20	-0.20	

Table 6

Eigenvalues, Canonical Correlations, and Tests of Significance of Three Canonical Discriminant Functions of Model 1 Variables

Canonical Discriminant Function	Eigenvalue	Relative Percentage	Canonical Correlation	Degrees of Freedom	Significance Level
1	1.12	67.8	0.73	27	0.00
2	0.38	22.6	0.52	16	0.04
3	0.16	9.6	0.37	7	0.28

The canonical correlations are formed from the correlation of the subgroups with the discriminating variables. The first canonical correlation equals .73 and the second equals .52. The canonical variables so formed are orthogonal. A two-dimensional solution therefore best explains the differences among subgroups. If the maximal relationship is disregarded (a correlation of .73), a second axis is formed which still distinguished among the groups (correlation = .52, $p = .04$). When this axis is disregarded, and the next best axis is used to discriminate among the groups, they cannot be distinguished to a statistically significant degree ($p = .28$). For this model, Roy's greatest root statistic was used to test the best dimension's difference from zero. The result indicates that the dimension is different from zero ($F = 7.00$, $p < .05$).

These results indicate that the predictor variables can be summarized into two more concise variables, the canonical variables, which predict membership in the subgroups. Further analysis described below yields detailed information about which subgroup differences and which predictor variables most strongly contribute to the significance of the canonical variables.

Two procedures were used to determine whether the four subgroups can be differentiated in three-dimensional space. Mahalanobis' distance scores indicate the probabilities for differentiating among the four groups in three-dimensional space, based on the three axes formed by the linear equations. Table 7 indicates that only the OM group can be distinguished from the other groups.

Table 7

Mahalanobis' Distance Scores Between Subgroups

SUBGROUP	YM	OM	YD	OD
YM	-	2.28*	1.47	1.17
OM	2.28*	-	2.65*	2.47*
YD	1.47	2.65*	-	1.65
OD	1.17	2.47*	1.65	-

*p< .05

Regression analysis is not a dimension-reduction technique, but it is similar in that it yields results which discriminate among the subgroups through the formation of a linear combination of variables. Regression analysis was performed as an additional procedure to indicate which subgroups can be distinguished by the

combination of the discriminating variables rather. Whereas Mahalanobis' distance scores use the three axes formed by the linear equations to distinguish among subgroups, regression analysis uses the set of independent variables, which are the predictor variables in canonical discriminant analysis. The following F values were produced when each group was compared to each other using regression analysis (Table 8):

Table 8

Differentiation Between Subgroups Using Regression Analysis

SUBGROUP	YM	OM	YD	OD
YM	-	4.13*	1.76	1.03
OM	4.13*	-	5.93*	4.68*
YD	1.76	5.93*	-	2.16*
OD	1.03	4.68	2.16*	-

p< .05

These analyses indicate that older married respondents (the OM subgroup) are different from the other respondent subgroups when compared on the predictor variables. Additionally, the two subgroups of divorced respondents can also be differentiated from each other.

However, the subgroup of young married women cannot be distinguished from other subgroups.

In summary, it is clear that the subgroups can be distinguished from one another on the basis of the discriminating variables. It appears that the differentiation of the OM group is the main contributor to this distinction. However, considering only the variables composing each group, the two divorced groups can also be distinguished from each other and from the OM group. The YM group can only be distinguished from the OM group.

Contributors to the canonical variables.

Total canonical structure (refer to Table 9) provides information on the relationship between each discriminating variable in the model and the canonical variables. The information is similar to the factor loadings in factor analysis. The socioeconomic variables load most heavily on the first canonical variable (wife's educational level, -.47; husband's educational level, -.37). The psychological

Total Canonical Structure of Model 1 Variables

Variable	Total Structure Coefficient		
	Function 1	Function 2	Function 3
MAFERR self-orientation subscale score	0.25	-0.25	0.46
MAFERR family-orientation subscale score	-0.24	0.15	-0.09
Familism score	0.24	0.12	0.51
CSC overall score	-0.25	-0.19	-0.30
Age at first marriage	0.09	0.63	0.16
Education level	-0.47	0.33	0.25
Husband's education level	-0.37	0.32	0.38
Occupational rating	0.27	0.29	0.28
Parents' marital status	-0.28	-0.44	0.14

instrument scores correlated to a lesser degree with the first canonical variable:

- MAFERR Self-orientation score, .25
- MAFERR Family-orientation score, -.24
- Familism score, .24
- Composite Symptom Checklist overall score, -.25

The occupational prestige score has a correlation of .27 and parents' marital status has a correlation of -.28 with the first canonical variable.

The marital history variables of wife's age at marriage (.63) and parents' marital status (-.44) load most heavily on the second canonical variable, which is uncorrelated with the first. Moderate correlations are found also between the second canonical variable and the socioeconomic variables of wife's level of education (.33) and husband's level of education (.32). Lower correlations were found with the occupational prestige score (.29) and MAFERR Self-orientation subscore (-.25).

Thus, if we had to apply a name to the first canonical discriminant function, it would best be described as "Family Educational Level". The best description of the

second canonical discriminant function would be "Marital History". "Psychological status" contributes heavily to the third and statistically insignificant canonical discriminant function.

Figure 1 illustrates the differences of the subgroups in space on the two significant canonical variables. The class means of the subgroups (plotted in Figure 1) on the two significant canonical variables are seen below:

	CAN 1	CAN 2
YM	-.39	.37
OM	1.72	-.14
YD	-.83	-.82
OD	-.53	.76

The standardized coefficients provide information on the relative contribution of each variable in determining the discriminant score. Coefficients have been standardized to correct for different units used in calculating standard deviation among the variables. Table 10 presents the standardized discriminant coefficients (a weights) for Model 1 variables. The a weights reflect the total canonical structure of the model variables.

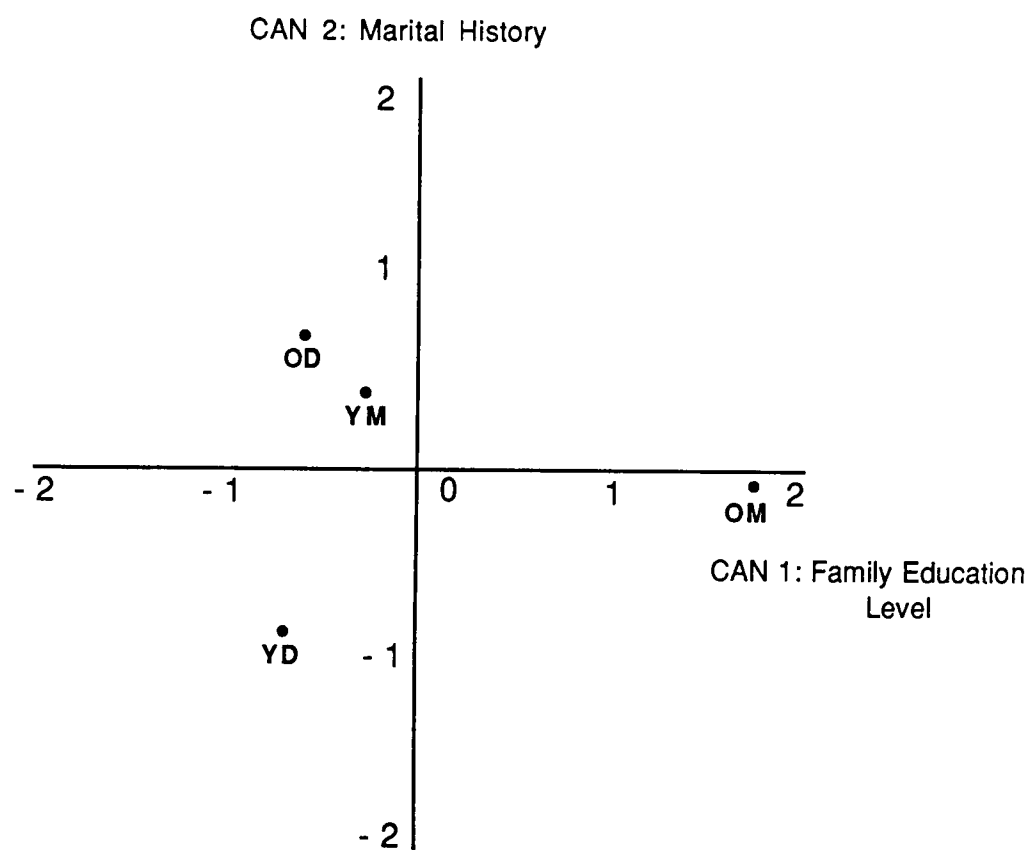


Figure 1. Subgroup class means for Model 1 plotted on canonical variables

Standardized Discriminant Coefficients of Model 1 Variables

Variable	Standardized Coefficient		
	Function 1	Function 2	Function 3
MAFERR self-orientation subscale score	0.16	-0.82	0.69
MAFERR family-orientation subscale score	-0.16	-0.19	0.11
Familism score	-0.10	0.30	0.94
CSC overall score	-0.35	-0.20	0.13
Age at first marriage	0.22	0.93	-0.01
Education level	-1.37	0.23	0.24
Husband's education level	-0.51	0.13	0.42
Occupational rating	1.37	-0.12	0.11
Parents' marital status	-0.19	-0.52	0.38

Additional analysis is applied to each subgroup by testing it for the significance of each variable in distinguishing it from each other subgroup. Below are listed the variables and F values for the variables which were found to contribute significantly to this discrimination.

YM group: Husband's education level	F=4.07, p< .05
OM group: Subject's education level	F=10.39, p< .05
Husband's education level	F=6.64, p< .05
Parents' marital status	F=34.24, p< .05
YD group: Age at marriage	F=7.44, p< .05
Occupational prestige score	F=3.93, p< .05
Parents' marital status	F=5.71, p< .05
OD group: MAFERR Self-orientation score	F=4.51, p< .05

Canonical redundancy analysis. The amount of variance among the groups was accounted for by the model through canonical redundancy analysis. An R^2 was calculated between the best canonical variable and the marital status and age groups of subjects. The R^2 of .85 indicates that the amount of variance among the groups accounted for by

the best canonical variable is 85%. For this procedure, N=67, while the canonical discriminant analysis was calculated with an N of 66.

Model 2. Model 2 is composed of the same subject variables with the exclusion of husband's education level:

Group membership (YM, OM, YD, OD) = MAFERR Self-orientation score + MAFERR Family-orientation score + Familism score + Composite Symptom Checklist overall score + Education level + NORC occupational prestige score + Age at marriage + Parent's marital status

Table 11 presents the results of the canonical discriminant analysis. Again, two canonical variables are formed (canonical correlations of .71 and .52) and the multivariate tests indicate they are significantly different from zero. The third discriminant function cannot discriminate among the groups ($p = .24$).

Canonical structure can be seen by referencing Table 12. The socioeconomic variable, education level of subjects, loads most heavily on the first canonical variable (-.47).

Table 11

Eigenvalues, Canonical Correlations, and Tests of Significance of Three Canonical Discriminant Functions of Model 2 Variables

Canonical Discriminant Function	Eigenvalue	Relative Percentage	Canonical Correlation	Degrees of Freedom	Significance Level
1	1.00	65.9	0.71	24	0.00
2	0.37	24.6	0.52	14	0.02
3	0.14	9.5	0.36	6	0.24

Total Canonical Structure of Model 2 Variables

Variable	Total Structure Coefficient		
	Function 1	Function 2	Function 3
MAFERR self-orientation subscale score	0.27	-0.27	0.45
MAFERR family-orientation subscale score	-0.25	0.17	-0.06
Familism score	0.27	0.10	0.51
CSC overall score	-0.27	-0.17	-0.30
Age at first marriage	0.11	0.62	0.19
Education level	-0.47	0.34	0.32
Occupational rating	0.29	0.28	0.27
Parents' marital status	-0.29	-0.44	0.15

All other variables load minimally on the best canonical correlation (.29 or less). The second canonical variable is most heavily loaded by the marital history variables, age at marriage (.62), parent's marital status (-.44), and is also moderately loaded by educational level of subjects (.34). Psychological variables load most heavily on the third canonical variable.

The class means of the four subgroups form the same pattern on the canonical variables as those of Model 1.

	CAN 1	CAN 2
YM	-.28	.34
OM	1.61	-.16
YD	-.84	-.80
OD	-.52	.78

Excluding the variable of husband's education has a minimal effect on the interpretation of the model. Discriminating variables loading on the canonical variables form the same pattern and are only increased slightly by excluding this characteristic of the spouse.

Model 3. Model 3 excludes the variables of husband's educational level and parent's marital status:

Group membership (YM, OM, YD, OD) = MAFERR Self-orientation score + MAFERR Family-orientation score + Familism score + Composite Symptom Checklist overall score + Education level + NORC occupational prestige score + Age at marriage

Table 13 presents the results of the canonical discriminant analysis. Two significant canonical variables are again formed (canonical correlations of .70 and .48), both significant at the .05 level. The third discriminant function cannot discriminate among the groups ($p = .25$). Table 14 presents the total canonical structure of Model 3 variables. The variable loading most heavily on the first canonical variable is subject's education level (-.49). All other variables load minimally (.29 or less). The marital history variable, age at marriage, loads very heavily on the second canonical variable (.70), and the socioeconomic variables of education level (.38) and occupational prestige (.37) load moderately. Again, as in the previous model, the psychological variables load most heavily on the third canonical variable.

Table 13

Eigenvalues, Canonical Correlations, and Tests of Significance of Three Canonical Discriminant Functions of Model 3 Variables

Canonical Discriminant Function	Eigenvalue	Relative Percentage	Canonical Correlation	Degrees of Freedom	Significance Level
1	0.97	70.3	0.70	21	0.00
2	0.29	21.2	0.48	12	0.04
3	0.12	8.5	0.32	5	0.25

Total Canonical Structure of Model 3 Variables

Variable	Total Structure Coefficient		
	Function 1	Function 2	Function 3
MAFERR self-orientation subscale score	0.29	-0.19	0.55
MAFERR family-orientation subscale score	-0.26	0.14	-0.10
Familism score	0.27	0.22	0.49
CSC overall score	-0.27	-0.26	0.23
Age at first marriage	0.08	0.70	-0.04
Education level	-0.49	0.38	0.25
Occupational rating	0.28	0.37	0.17

The class means of the four subgroups on the two significant canonical variables are:

	CAN 1	CAN 2
YM	-.27	.48
OM	1.60	-.11
YD	-.74	-.75
OD	-.63	.52

The exclusion of the variables of husband's education and parent's marital status, again, has a minimal effect on the explanation of group differences.

Model 4. Model 4 tests the same subject variables but excludes all variables pertaining to the spouse--husband's educational level and husband's occupational prestige score. (The subject's actual prestige score is used in this equation, whether she is married or divorced):

Group membership (YM, OM, YD, OD) = MAFERR Self-orientation score + MAFERR Family-orientation score + Familism score + Composite Symptom Checklist overall score + Education level + NORC

occupational prestige score (excluding that of husband) + Age at marriage + Parent's marital status

Table 15 presents the results of the canonical discriminant analysis. Two significant canonical variables are formed by the combined variables, however, in this case, the eigenvalues are significantly reduced (an eigenvalue of .43 for the first discriminant function and .34 for the second).

Table 16 presents the canonical structure of the Model 4 variables. The variables which loaded moderately on the first canonical variables were age at marriage (-.43) and parent's marital status (.55). Those loading moderately on the second canonical variable represented several types of variables, the MAFERR Self-orientation score (-.37), the MAFERR Family-orientation score (.32), age at marriage (.47), and education level (.69). Several of the remaining variables loaded heavily only the third canonical variable.

Table 15

Eigenvalues, Canonical Correlations, and Tests of Significance of Three Canonical Discriminant Functions of Model 4 Variables

Canonical Discriminant Function	Eigenvalue	Relative Percentage	Canonical Correlation	Degrees of Freedom	Significance Level
1	0.43	45.4	0.55	24	0.00
2	0.34	36.0	0.50	14	0.02
3	0.18	18.5	0.39	6	0.15

Total Canonical Structure of Model 4 Variables

Variable	<u>Total Structure Coefficient</u>		
	Function 1	Function 2	Function 3
MAFERR self-orientation subscale score	-0.08	-0.37	0.55
MAFERR family-orientation subscale score	0.16	0.32	-0.18
Familism score	-0.27	-0.04	0.57
CSC overall score	0.34	0.02	-0.37
Age at first marriage	-0.43	0.47	0.16
Education level	0.34	0.69	0.03
Occupational rating of wife only	-0.05	0.16	-0.41
Parents' marital status	0.55	-0.13	0.04

The class means of the four groups on these canonical variables are:

	CAN 1	CAN 2
YM	.12	.54
OM	-.78	-.65
YD	.90	-.40
OD	-.33	.64

The exclusion of husband's education and occupational prestige level resulted in a shift in the explanation of group differences. In this model, the best discrimination is made by the marital history variables, with some influence from education level and degree of psychiatric symptomatology. The second canonical variable is most influenced by education level, with moderate contributions from age at marriage and Self- and Family-orientation. In Model 4, the psychological variables have expressed increased influence. Occupational prestige has lost influence, apparently accounted for by husband's occupational prestige.

Discussion of Quantitative Findings

A brief interpretation of major findings is presented as an introduction to the next analytical step, the qualitative analyses.

Univariate analyses yielded differences between subgroups only in education level and education level of spouse. The expected differences in educational achievement among subgroups were a potentially longer educational career for younger subjects, regardless of marital status. Instead, what was found was that older married subjects had the least education, and younger married subjects the greatest amount of education, with divorced subjects falling in-between. It is possible that the level of education of older divorced subjects was influenced by the several older divorced women who returned to school after divorce to complete their GED degrees, thus making them unlike their married counterparts. However, the pattern of education of husbands of the subjects follows exactly the pattern of their wives or ex-wives, although the level of education is quantitatively lower. The explanation of this finding is not clear.

Univariate analyses provided a general description of subgroup differences. Only education level

and spouse education level discriminated among the subgroups. While these differences are parsimonious, they are not adequate as a full description of subgroup differences. The multivariate model was tested to determine the degree to which the subgroups could be differentiated, what variables contributed to the differentiation when considering all variables in relation to one another, and the strength of those variables.

The results of the canonical discriminant analysis indicate that the subgroups can be differentiated from one another on the basis of the measured variables. Model 1 accounts for a greater proportion of subgroup differences than did the alternatives, Models 2, 3, and 4. The exclusion of variables representing characteristics of the spouse or ex-spouse in Models 2 and 3 yielded essentially the same pattern of differences, but the models accounted for slightly less of the subgroup differences. Model 4, which excluded all husband-related variables, shows greater influence from the "psychological variables" than do the other models, although age at marriage, parents' marital status, and educational level still remain most influential in determining subgroup differences. Spouse-related variables evidently contribute to the pattern of loadings of the first three models.

The canonical variables formed indicate that the differences among subgroups can be reduced from nine dependent variables to two dependent variables. These smaller dimensions can most aptly be named Family Education Level and Marital History. Variables representing psychological characteristics do not discriminate strongly among the groups.

The models were initially evaluated in terms of their ability to discriminate among the groups. After the determination that Model 1 is the strongest model, the individual variables contributing to the discrimination were examined. These results indicate that education level of subject and spouse and marital history, including age at marriage and parents' marital status account for the greatest degree of the differences among subgroups. Age at marriage did not follow the expected pattern of differentiation by age group. Instead, older married and younger divorced subjects married at younger ages than the other subgroup members. Parents' marital status was more likely to be intact among older subjects, and separated or divorced among younger subjects, reflecting the increase in divorce rate over time. It did not seem to be the case that divorced subjects were "following in the footsteps" of

their parents, repeating family patterns. The older divorced women were just as likely as their married age peers to have experienced family life in which parents stayed together.

Of those variables which were quantified for the model testing, it was surprising that the "psychological variables" -- sex-role orientation, familism, and psychiatric symptomatology -- did not contribute significantly to the discrimination among subgroups. Previous research indicates that at least for two of these variables, specifically, for sex-role orientation and psychiatric symptom report, differences have been found between married and divorced subjects. Divorced women are more likely to be profiled as self-oriented than are married women and more likely to express higher levels of psychiatric symptomatology than are their married counterparts. Although family-orientation and familism are characteristics which, according to the literature, are likely to be found among residents of Appalachia, it was expected that the experience of marital dissolution might affect the level of these characteristics seen in separated and divorced women. The inability of these variables to predict marital status may indicate that the experience of marital dissolution does not affect the presence of this

variable, nor does cultural change, as reflected in little difference in the variables among age groups. From the report of qualitative data in the following chapter it is apparent that issues related to sex-role orientation were actively considered by those women who had divorced. The subjective experience of change from their role in marriage to their role in divorce was for many women one of becoming less family-oriented and more oriented toward self-development issues. In the report of qualitative data, it will also be apparent that a great deal of subjective stress is reported because of the marital dissolution and its aftermath, but this is not reflected in the quantitative measurement of symptomatology to a degree that could contribute to subgroup discrimination. The pattern of differences showing that divorced subjects were slightly more likely to report psychiatric symptomatology of all types was expected to be stronger, given the lack of support for this marital status in the culture. When asked about their adjustment to divorce, the subjects were quick to describe their subjective difficulties in somatic terms. The univariate differences, though in the right direction, were not strong enough to discriminate among subgroups.

Among the subgroup differences, as shown by Mahalanobis' difference scores, the older married subgroup

is the most clearly distinguishable from the other subgroups, considering the combination of variables, although it has been shown that the most influential of these variables are educational level of subject and spouse (canonical variable 1), and age at marriage and parents' marital status (canonical variable 2). The younger married subgroup appears closer to the divorced subgroups when plotted on the canonical variables. Additional analyses, revealing further information about which variables contributed to subgroup scores on canonical variables, indicate that for the younger and older married women, the match with the canonical variables is close, that is, education level and parents' marital status contribute to their scores. For the young divorced subgroup, though, occupational prestige also contributes to the discrimination, and for the older divorced subgroup, the MAFERR self-orientation score contributes to the discrimination from the other subgroups. This is the most interesting finding about the differences of one group from another. Older divorced women are most distinguishable because they have the strongest self-orientation score of all the groups. On the other characteristics, they do not appear to be that different. This distinction may reflect the greater relative change these women must make in their traditional roles which has contributed to their decision

to divorce or reflects the aftermath of their decision. Through their experience of divorce, they may have undergone changes in attitude and behavior that make them appear more like the younger women of both marital statuses.

Summary of respondent differences. The results of the discriminant analysis indicate that the four subgroups can be differentiated on the basis of the variables measured. While all the variables in Model 1 contribute to the overall discrimination, those that are most influential in contributing to the differentiation are education level of subject, education level of spouse, age at first marriage, and parents' marital status.

The older married respondents are most different from the other respondent groups. The younger married respondents appear to be more like both groups of divorced respondents. Educational level and parents' marital status contribute most strongly to the differences between the younger and older married women and the divorced respondents. Younger married women are more likely to have higher educational level and older married women are more likely to have lower educational level. Older married women are more likely to come from families with intact

marriages and younger married women from families in which there was marital dissolution. Younger divorced subjects are distinguished most from other respondents by low occupational prestige. Finally, the greater self-orientation of the older divorced women most clearly distinguish them from the other subgroups.

What is yet to be demonstrated from these findings are the more subjective experiences about the process of marital dissolution and its outcome for women in this culture which cannot be reflected in the paper-and-pencil measures administered to respondents in this study. The next chapter will present and discuss these results.

CHAPTER V

ANALYSIS OF QUALITATIVE DATA

The multivariate findings yielded information which partially answered the study's research questions. Specifically, variables were identified (i.e., respondent educational level, spouse educational level, respondent's age at marriage, and parents' marital status) which predicted marital status and age group. However, more complex information such as perceptions of respondents about expectations of the culture and the experience of respondents, whether married or divorced within the culture, cannot be fully discerned from the quantified variables through descriptive statistics or multivariate tests of equations. A fuller exploration of respondents' answers to structured interview questions follows in this section, in which interview results are reported from qualitative analysis of the interviews. By necessity, findings and discussion of data are presented simultaneously.

Results

Q1. Why did the subjects marry? The Appalachian culture expects women to marry early and remain married.

Women, especially those with less than a high school education, marry early. A section of the interview schedule explores the decisions of the women to marry and what influenced them toward this decision. Answers given by all subgroups reflected few economic resources available to women and relatedly few life choices. Sixty-three percent of the young married respondents simply answered: "Because I loved him" in response to the question "Why did you get married?" Surprised facial expressions from respondents accompanied many of these answers. It was clear that respondents felt this was a question not requiring an elaborate answer-- marriage followed and was because of love. An additional 25% of young married respondents replied that they married because they loved their husbands but also cited additional positive characteristics of the man. Absent from the answers of these young women was any indication of weighing the decision to marry. Only two women reported external influences on their decisions to marry. One married to escape family problems and the second married because of pregnancy.

From the descriptions of life circumstances and the general discussion surrounding the interview visit, a picture emerged of life for women leaving adolescence and

entering adulthood in the rural Appalachian mountains. Marriage was the next inevitable step following formal schooling. Half of the women moved directly from their parents' homes at marriage to the new homes they established with their husbands. Prior to their marriages, those who lived at home either did not work, held part-time jobs, or commuted to community college. Those who lived away from home before marriage attended college in nearby towns or worked at area jobs. However, in cases in which the women were employed or undertaking post high-school training, these activities were viewed as temporary antecedents to marriage.

The Appalachian tradition of early marriage is reflected in this group. Reportedly, the parents of the respondents often began their marriages in their teenage years. Early marriage was easily accommodated in families of the young women without the disruption of the structure of the extended family. Marriage did not usually involve a great change in the social pattern of lives. Often the young couple lived on parents' or parents-in-law's land. Frequently they were immediately next door to the family. Visits to parents and families were as usually frequent as before marriage. In many cases, these respondents were not employed before or after marriage, finishing school and

staying home until marriage and then "keeping house" after marriage.

Among the older married respondents, early marriage had also been expected. Women in this subgroup married one to two generations before the young married women previously described, embarking upon marriage between 1919 and 1963. Geographic migration and economic development of the Appalachian area was minimal during these decades, and the way of life relatively stable. During these years, alternatives to early marriage were few.

Although the range of age at marriage was greater (14 to 27) than among the young married women, 5 of the 17 respondents were married at age 16 or younger. Marriages were arranged for two of the women by their fathers at age 14 to older farmer neighbors. Seventy-two percent of the women lived at home until marriage, and sometimes after marriage with her new husband. Schooling was often curtailed for the young woman at an early age to provide needed help at home with the large families (an average of 8 children at home among these women). Completed formal education (9.3 years of schooling) was low.

Half of the older, married women answered the questions of why they married with the answer, "Because I loved him." The remaining respondents explained their decision in terms of forces external to the marital relationship, including the desire for homes of their own and pregnancy. Other answers given in response to the question were: "I thought you were supposed to marry and he lived close, and I loved him" and, "I was tired of staying home and wanted to get out."

The divorced respondents seemed to be more retrospective about the reasons they married, citing reasons other than love for their decision to marry. Problems with parents, or a desire for freedom away from home were reasons for marriage for 47% of respondents. Three younger divorced respondents said pregnancy led to their marriages. In several cases, marriage was a solution to the desire to strike out for independence. Large families (an average of 6 children among the respondents) also may have contributed to the desire of the young woman to leave her parent's home and a reason for parents to provide encouragement for this.

Among the divorced younger women, 37% of them married at age 16 or younger, much like the older married

respondents. Sixty-three percent of these women were married by age 18.

It is possible that in the face of the failure of their marriages, retrospective memory may have altered the positive reasons they had for marriage at the time. But, as with other respondents, marriage appears to have been one of the few options available.

A greater percentage of the older-divorced women than the younger-divorced or married women perceived marriage as a way to escape from home or an unsatisfactory living situation (27% vs 6% for both YM and OM). Forty percent of older-divorced women reported that they married because they loved their husbands. An additional 20% reported they married soon after graduation from high school because of the strong social expectation to do so and because friends were pairing off and marrying. Older age and a longer acquaintance with their prospective husbands was no guarantee of success for their marriages. Thirteen of the women married at age 18 or older (the remaining two married at 15 and 17). Fourteen of the 15 subgroup members had known their husbands for at least one year before marriage.

Whether the respondents were married or divorced, younger or older, there was a universal acceptance of the view that marriage is inevitable for young women. The traditionalism of Appalachian culture is evident in the expectations about sex roles, at least in terms of when and where marriage is expected to occur. Within the usual roles of women in this culture, there were few choices other than marriage to make in late adolescence or early adulthood . This fact may have contributed to the observed lack of reflectiveness in the respondents' discussion of why marriage took place. The low socioeconomic status almost universally among the women in the study and low education level (12 years of formal schooling or less among the subgroups) limited the life choices available to these women to generally minimal wage jobs or marriage. There is very little outmigration from the rural Appalachian mountain area. The physical isolation of the mountain and valley towns, coupled with the limited economic development, combined to provide limited career choices. Not only is there limited outmigration but there is little commerce with the outside to provide opportunities for challenging employment or higher education. Television and magazines carry the outside world in to these respondents, but it makes little impact on the quality of their lives by causing reflection on possibilities or expansion of the

view of the world. Few lifestyle were visualized other than traditional early marriage and childbearing.

Q2. Why do the subjects stay married? For all respondents, marriage appeared to be viewed as the formation of a new family. One source of evidence for this view comes from answers to questions about whether a wife's loyalty lies with her husband or her family of origin at marriage. Most respondents answered that their primary loyalty shifted at marriage from the family of origin to their husbands. Marriage and family was the major role for women in these communities. The combination of marriage and career was not seriously considered by many.

This commitment to the tradition of marriage was also supported by frequent contact with the family of origin. The families of the marital partners were the main source of frequent social interaction. The married couple remained absorbed into the social life of the family, just as they had been before marriage. Geographic proximity to the families of origin facilitated frequent visits. Once they bore their own children, the women visited family less frequently, staying home more with young children. Perceptions of social isolation were greater, probably because child care was a role not shared by the husband.

Family emotional support was perceived as available and it functioned also to support the existence and continuance of the marital union.

A contradictory finding in this area was a higher score on average among the younger married women on the MAFERR Self-orientation subscore than on the Family-orientation subscore. Ten of the sixteen subgroup members were more oriented towards self than family. Given the level of involvement in the extended family and the commitment to the marital union by the young married women, it would seem that a higher level of Family-orientation would be expected. Indeed, among the older married women who had married one or two generations before the younger subgroup, the level of self-orientation was slightly lower and the degree of family-orientation somewhat higher.

The women who stayed married described their marital happiness coinciding with an "opening up" of the marriage to the world outside the marriage, as compared to the "insularity" of several of the respondents' marriages. The women who described this did not feel socially restricted and decisionmaking in these families was usually shared between husband and wife. The wives reported they had a great deal of personal freedom, or "I have all I

want." Only three marriages among the young married respondents reported difficulties between spouses. In each case, the degree of the marriage's insularity from the outside, resulting in physical and social isolation, was described by the wife as an issue. Restrictions of freedom were perceived by the wife and often decisions were made solely by the husband. It was in these young marriages (all under 3 years in duration) of young partners that the greatest feelings of unhappiness among married women were heard. Each of the three women had less than a high school education, all had preschool-age children to care for, and none was employed.

Complementing the situations and variables which keep marriages intact are the cultural sanctions which prevent a marriage from ending. Respondents were aware of the circumstances which the community considered acceptable for marital separation. Adultery, or "cheating" was reported most often as an acceptable circumstance for separating. Beating the wife or children was reported next in frequency; drinking and not supporting the family were mentioned infrequently. There was some dissension on the point of whether beating and adultery should be tolerated in a marriage, with several respondents reporting their perceptions that the community felt beating and adultery

should be tolerated in a marriage. Each woman was also asked her personal reasons for leaving a marriage. In this case, a wider range of reasons was given. Adultery was again reported frequently, as was physical abuse. "Not getting along" was reported by a number of women, which had not been reported as a community standard. In terms of priority, "cheating" was nearly always given as an answer before "beating". One speculative reason for this is that cheating violates the family union, but beating might be a way to settle arguments or for the husband to assert his authority.

Some of the young women speculated that they might remain in their marriages despite unhappiness or disappointment as long as their personal rules were not broken. Underlying much of this area of discussion was a dedication to marriage as an institution rather than merely as an individual commitment to another person.

Younger and older divorced respondents were not questioned about this topic, but instead were asked why they divorced.

Q3. What are the expectations concerning the institution of marriage and the marital role for rural Appalachian women? Based on the literature about Appalachian social structure, it was expected that traditional values would underlie the structure of marriage in this community, supported by close kinship systems. What was also expected was that there would exist an underlying "matriarchal" power structure, underneath the more obvious patriarchal power, in the nature of the black urban community. The economic depression of the Appalachian area in comparison to the surrounding urbanized areas deemphasizes the role of the husband as the sole economic provider. In other cultures, this circumstance seems to shift the balance of power. Because of the breadth and depth of the kinship networks, often maintained and tended by women, it was also expected that women would form strong social support systems.

From the interviews of young and old, a different picture emerged. Key themes arising from the interviews are that limited economic choice leads to early marriage. Marriages are traditional and paternalistic in nature. Early childbearing reinforces both the traditional roles in marriages and the restriction of individual economic or career betterment for women. The most surprising finding

was the degree of paternalism in this culture, sometimes maintained through emotional intimidation and physical force. Freedom for these women was limited economically, socially and personally.

Since the opportunity for economic choices in life are limited by low educational attainment and geographically-limited employment choices, early marriage is expected. Educational attainment ranged slightly among the respondent subgroups, on the average ending before or at the finish of high school. Many marriages were entered into early in adulthood, even in mid-adolescence. One subject described how "I would still play dolls in the hayloft" after her marriage and that her husband didn't mind. Because of their attachment to the geographic area and a desire to be near their families, better-educated women chose not to seek employment in a more economically-developed area, although few jobs were available locally.

Most younger married women (more than half) live in what is considered a "traditional marriage", consisting of the husband as the primary breadwinner and a wife who remains at home to care for young children. The subjects who did work in income-producing jobs in most cases usually did so part-time. Only two younger-married women were

employed in "career" positions requiring advanced education, as teacher and dental assistant.

There is an expectation that childbearing will begin soon after marriage and for these women, it usually did so within a year or two. The number of children borne by the subjects was nearly always fewer than earlier generations, but families were started as quickly.

Another cultural expectation, as described above, is that a new family unit is formed at marriage. Friends from school or the single life are left behind for family responsibilities and child care. Many women cited Bible passages as the authority for this change. However, invariably, the social support structure with the family of origin is maintained. Although the new family unit of husband and wife is considered predominant in importance, emotional and functional obligations are continued with the extended family. As with urban culture, respondents was marriage as the beginning of an emotional maturation, of settling down to adult responsibilities. Changes in self-image as a result of marriage were discussed and respondents in their 20's and 30's almost always reported positive self-perceived changes. Many women answered with the same words: "I've grown up", "I've realized my

responsibilities, "I'm stronger emotionally". Others cited that they were less self-centered and more attuned to the emotions of others.

Experience differed concerning decisionmaking in the family and the amount of social autonomy exercised by wives. Some of the younger-married women described their husbands' attempts to assert power over family decisions early in the marriage. Most women, though, reported that decisions had been shared since the marriage's inception. A number of women took the role of compromiser and "gave in" when disagreement arose. Among the older married women, the husband's authority seemed to be preeminent in the family although decisionmaking was shared in many cases. The wife's primary responsibility was to care for the children and the household, and secondary to that, she had responsibility to her extended family. Among divorced respondents, fewer women recalled that decisions were shared in their household. Among younger divorced women, 79% said that their husbands made decisions for the family.

It was apparent that subjects was social freedom as a privilege granted by husbands, rather than inherent in the marital role. In contrast, husbands were able to preserve aspects of their freedom in the social sphere.

Mobility contributed to this freedom. Husbands frequently had possession of the only car in the family and travelled where and when they chose. A frequently sporadic work schedule enabled this mobility. There was little challenge to this activity by wives, although there were complaints that husbands should spend more time at home to help with children or household tasks. Among the divorced women, most chafed under a lack of social freedom remembered from their marriages. Eight-nine percent of the young divorced women said their freedom was restricted in some way. Complaints were made about a husband who kept possession of the car keys, told his wife what to wear, and another who required his wife to stay home in the evening while he went out. One young woman described her situation as, "I had the freedom to toe the line." The older divorced women were more likely to experience restrictions imposed by husbands at the beginning of marriage, in the nature of "getting her in line" than the younger women. Several described old friends being driven away by the husband.

Informal discussion with the respondents elicited their curiosity and wonder that there were other types of life choices available elsewhere. The daily activities of young single women or married women also pursuing careers in urban areas were surprises to many of them. Some of the

respondents were intrigued by the descriptions the researcher was asked to provide; many others expressed their imagined inability to cope with the demands and choices of urban living. Although these women were informed by magazines, and especially by television, of different ways of life, alternatives did not appear to be consciously considered.

Q4. Why do women get divorced and what is the experience of divorced women in the rural Appalachian culture? The respondents almost unanimously projected the reasons for their divorces onto their husbands. Especially among the young divorced women, divorce was attributed to observable actions of the husband, often recounted in stark terms: "He cheated on me. He was cruel to me. He said the baby wasn't his. He abused his stepdaughter by hitting her with a hanger."; "He slept around and beat me. I would have stayed with him if it weren't for the sleeping around."; "He didn't work much and wanted us to live with his parents."; "He stole from me and Mama."; "He hit me, he was like Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde-- he turned angry and mean. I lived in terror. He beat me and broke my leg. I was pregnant and almost lost the baby."; "He beat me and was abusive. He didn't even want electricity in our home." Only 15% of the divorced subjects attributed their divorces

to reasons other than external events. "There was lack of maturity on both our parts toward marriage. We couldn't give and take." "He got involved more outside the marriage, went away to school. We grew apart. We were both at fault-- I was demanding things he couldn't give."

After divorce, women turned to their families for support in most cases. If they moved from the marital home, in nearly all cases the family was relied on for immediate physical help. Women who were divorcing after long marriages more often reported they relied on friends than did younger divorced women. Older women were more likely to feel self-reliant during the process of divorce than younger women. In response to the question of who she relied upon during the divorce, an older woman said, "Me. I learned to stand on my own two feet. He was running around- that made me stand up for myself."

Adjustment following the divorce involved the change in status from marriage to divorce, a status which is not valued and not well-integrated into community life. Loneliness and stigmatization was reported by the respondents. Psychological symptoms of anxiety and feelings of vulnerability were reported by a substantial percentage of the subjects. Other psychological symptoms

reported by divorced women were loss of self-esteem and self-respect and difficulties in starting new relationships. Difficulties were also reported in rearing children without a full-time father and shouldering the responsibilities of both parents. Financial pressures often resulted from a substantial drop in income.

One of the unresolved questions is whether in hindsight, much anger is expressed by the divorced respondents about emotional and physical abuse by husbands, or whether they are accurately reflecting the state of many marriages in this culture, including those which are intact.

When the subjects were asked to describe positive aspects of their divorce, moods frequently changed and they described the independence and self-determination that were gained from divorce. Many stated that for the first time in their lives they were forced to be independent and responsible for themselves. Increased self-knowledge often resulted from the jarring change. One woman said, "(After divorce) I could think for my own and say for my own. When I was married, I had to keep my mouth shut." Respondents often reflected upon changes they perceived in themselves: "Jane was a name hung on a shell, but now Jane is beginning

to know who she is." "The best thing is the good feelings about myself and my independence."

The community's double standard regarding expectations for the behavior of divorced men and divorced women was recognized by all subjects. Behavioral standards for males were far more socially and sexually permissive than for women. During marriage, women were expected to remain married in the face of a husband's adultery. Following divorce, it was strongly expected that women would gain custody of and care for their children. Respondents stated that a woman who separated from her husband and left her children with him would be judged much more harshly than a woman who left only her husband. As one woman said, "They'll say, 'You've had these babies, you don't abandon them for the rest of your life.' And they'd call it abandon." It was generally the expectation that the husband leaves the home and has only himself to look after. There appeared to be a community norm that fathers did not have a financial obligation to support their children. The subjects strongly stated that men are free to date following divorce but women must be much more careful about their sexual conduct or they may be branded "loose" or "not a fit mother." One woman remarked, "The

woman must be the perfect 'china doll.' The same sins fit differently on men and women."

Q5. What is the nature of social support and its effect on married women and divorced women? Several dimensions of social support (Marsella & Snyder, 1981) were assessed: the structure of social support (who were the respondents in contact with and how frequently); the quality of social support (respondents' perceptions of the degree to which they could rely on network for support); and the function of social support (provision of emotional support and material aid). Table 17 compares the subgroups on the structure of social support available to them, and on the perceived quality of support and the function of support for them.

Structure of social support. An extensive network structure was reported by all respondents. There was more frequent contact with family than with friends. For all subgroups, contact with parents, either in-person or by telephone, was most frequent for all subgroups. The majority of all respondents had at least weekly contact with parents, usually their mother. The young married women had the most frequent contact with parents, most visiting them at least 3 times a week. The older

Table 17

Aspects of Social Support

		Young Married	Older Married	Young Divorced	Older Divorced
<u>Structure of Social Support</u>					
Contact with parents	≥ 1X/wk* ≥ 3X/wk*	94% 69%	29% 18%	63% 32%	53% 33%
Contact with grandparents	≥ 1X/mth* ≥ 1X/wk*	56% 31%	6% 6%	21% 16%	All Deceased
Contact with siblings	≥ 1X/wk* ≥ 3X/wk*	75% 44%	65% 12%	84% 32%	40% 13%
Contact with friends	≥ 1X/wk* daily	75% 19%	82% 29%	84% 58%	93% 40%
Contact with children	daily	100%	65%	100%	87%
<u>Quality of Social Support</u>					
Could rely on family emotionally		94%	94%	63%	80%
Would discuss personal problems with family:					
Anytime or most of time		50%	41%	26%	47%
Sometimes		19%	24%	11%	13%
Seldom or never		31%	35%	63%	40%
Could rely on friends emotionally		88%	88%	89%	93%
Would discuss personal problems with friends:					
Anytime or most of time		63%	76%	74%	87%
Sometimes		6%	6%	11%	7%
Seldom or never		31%	12%	16%	7%
					141

(continued)

Aspects of Social Support

<u>Function of Social Support</u>	Young Married	Older Married	Young Divorced	Older Divorced
Could rely on family for emotional support	88%	94%	63%	80%
Could rely on family for material support	88%	88%	58%	33%
Could rely on friends for emotional support	88%	88%	89%	93%
Could rely on friends for material support	63%	82%	58%	27%

*Categories of frequency among same sources are not mutually exclusive.

respondents were also likely to have frequent contact with parents because of their greater incidence of infirmity. Contact with grandparents by respondents was variable, mostly determined by age of the respondent. Nearly all grandparents of the older women were deceased. Young married women again reported the most frequent contact. However, young divorced women had much less contact with grandparents. Younger respondents also had more contact with siblings than did older respondents. A large majority visited at least one sibling weekly. Visiting patterns with siblings for older respondents were variable, although the majority of them still had weekly contact with at least one sibling. Siblings were more likely to be geographically scattered and contact was more likely to be regular with a selected sibling, rather than the group of siblings. Contact with friends was also more frequently relied upon for divorced respondents, than for married women. Especially notable is the large percentage of divorced women who reported having daily contact with friends. The older married respondents stand out as having somewhat less contact with friends than other respondent groups. Some women relied on the telephone to keep daily contact with friends, while family was more likely to be visited face-to-face. As would be expected, younger respondents also have more frequent contact with their

children than do older respondents, since all young women had children at home.

Overall, the major determinant of breadth and depth of social support structure appears to be age, with younger respondents having a wider and more active social support network. As noted, divorced women relied more on friends for social support than did their married counterparts. Older respondents had a more restricted network available to them, primarily because of the death of relatives. Their contact with siblings and friends was also slightly lower than the younger respondents.

An important impact upon the structure of the social support network is whether there is an opportunity to add members to it. Most respondents reported the most frequent source of meeting new friends or acquaintances is the workplace or school. The church was generally reported to be the next most frequent source and bars and parties an infrequent source. In fact, many respondents state indignantly that they didn't frequent bars or parties, or their husbands (if married) wouldn't allow them there. Especially among the older generation of women, a woman's reputation was endangered if she ventured far behind the circle of family-centered activities. The majority of the

respondent groups reported that they had the opportunity to meet many new acquaintances. From 10% to 20% of the subgroups reported they had no opportunity to meet new people.

Within the Appalachian culture, the church is a particularly influential institution. The respondents were questioned about the importance of religion in their lives, separate from the functioning of the church. In most cases, although, the churches to which the women belonged were personally-oriented, fundamentalist Protestant-sect churches with small congregations presided over by a part-time preacher. These churches were more likely from the nature of their structure to provide more opportunity for consistent interaction from members, and therefore, more social support. Respondents were also asked about the motivations for their involvement with their churches, specifically, whether for spiritual or social reasons. Table 18 summarizes differences among the subgroups on these questions.

The role of religion was an important one to the respondents. Statements such as "I am very close to the Lord"; "If it wasn't for my faith, I would be in a mental hospital"; "I have a great trust and faith in God"; "I try

Table 18

Social Support Provided by Religion

	Young Married	Older Married	Young Divorced	Older Divorced
<u>Religion Plays:</u>				
Very important role	56%	88%	47%	60%
Important role	38%	12%	32%	33%
Little or no role	6%	0%	21%	7%
<u>Primary Reason for Involvement with Religion:</u>				
Spiritual	88%	88%	74%	93%
Social	63%	53%	21%	40%

to live by the Bible"; "He's first. I always make time to read the Bible and pray onct or twict a day." illustrate the reliance of these women on personal faith for sustenance. Among the older subgroups, religion was more likely to be reported as playing a very important and enduring role in the women's lives. When asked about the reasons they were involved with religion, the overwhelming majority of the respondents cited spiritual reasons as the primary reason. A personal relationship with God is a basic element of fundamentalist religion and this is the basis of the spiritual involvement with the church. While social reasons were also cited for their involvement by a number of respondents (40% to 60% of subgroups), this was clearly a secondary consideration. Members of the young divorced subgroup, especially, expressed guilt and unwillingness to attend church because of their divorced status. In most cases, this was perceived as the woman's own discomfort, although in a few cases, the respondent described verbal attack and stigmatization by the preacher or congregation. Younger divorced women were more likely than the other respondents to report that religion plays no part in their lives.

Quality of social support. A measure of the affective quality of social support, such as the level of

friendliness, intimacy, or affection provided to subjects was gauged by questions about whether subjects could rely on emotional support from family and friends and how often they discussed person issues with these two groups. As Table 17 (pg. 141) indicates, most respondents reported they could rely on family and friends for emotional support. While there was little discernible difference among subgroups on the percentage who could rely on friends for emotional support, married women were more likely to report they could rely on family for emotional support than were divorced respondents. However, a different picture emerges when considering actually relying on these sources for support. Respondents were asked whether they would discuss personal problems with family or friends. Among all subgroups, more women said they could rely on friends anytime they needed to than family. More women also said they would seldom or never discuss personal issues with family than friends. Younger divorced women particularly were more likely to turn to friends for support than family and it can be assumed that divorce contributed to their estrangement. Divorced respondents in general were less likely to feel that they could rely on either friends or family for material support than were married women.

Function of social support. Two functions of social support were assessed: the perceived availability of material aid if needed and emotional support if needed (also reported in Quality of social support section). In general, family and friends were nearly equally perceived as a source of emotional support, with the exception, as noted, of young divorced women.

Material aid was also generally perceived as equally available from family or friends among the subgroups. A distinct split is evident between married subgroups and divorced subgroups in their perceptions regarding the availability of support. Married respondents are much more likely to perceive the availability of material support than are divorced respondents. Divorced women were especially unable to rely on others for material support, and older divorced women less likely than younger divorced women. In fact, many said they would be too proud to ask for this help.

Q6. What is the state of self-reported mental health for divorced and married women in rural Appalachia? There were no clearly identifiable sources of stress shared by the entire young and older married subgroups. However, 75% of the women below 24 years of age, at home with young

children reported a sense of isolation and lack of emotional support. Even with frequent physical contact with family, the subjects reported they felt loneliness, isolation and were overwhelmed with the responsibility of caring for young children without help from their husbands. It was clearly understood that it was the responsibility of mothers to provide all child care.

The younger women who were most satisfied with their lives were married, in their 30's and actively involved with their children's lives and activities. Sources of satisfaction were the stability and predictability of life. Religion was seen as an important source of support, originating in personal, Christian faith rather than in church attendance or guidance of a preacher. Also mentioned as an important element in the lives of both the younger and older married respondents was a commitment to the history and way of life of the Appalachian culture and to the geographic area in which they lived. Only 38% of the younger married respondents stated that they would ever consider leaving the area, and each said they would leave only if necessary to find or keep a job. A desire to be near family, to maintain the way of life and to be close to the mountains contributed to this decision. The older married women were even more strongly attached to the way

of life and the land. Although most had not spent any amount of time in cities, they described them as cold and hurried in contrast to the friendliness and helpfulness of their small-town neighbors. None of the older married women said she would voluntarily leave the area. One respondent's comment attested to the strength of attachment to place. She said she would leave only "in a pine box."

Divorced respondents encountered particular problems due to their perception of a change in their community social status as the result of their separation or divorce. Role stress and role ambiguity were major sources of stress for these women. Role ambiguity resulted from entry into a marital status uncommon in the community and one which elicited hostile feelings from community members. Role stress resulted from shouldering the responsibilities of both mother and father. Fathers often financially neglected their families after divorce, frequently defaulting on child support payments. In most families, the responsibility for child custody and care after divorce fell differentially upon the wife, with former husbands withdrawing from the family.

One result which may be associated with the role ambiguity and role stress is the greater report of

psychiatric symptomatology among the divorced women than the married women. Although statistically significant differences were not found among the subgroups on the average on the different types of symptom subscales, greater percentages of divorced women than married women reported higher levels of symptomatology on the subscales. For example, half of the married respondents reported a level of psychiatric symptomatology placing them in the lower third of all three subscales, in comparison to only 25% of the younger divorced respondents and 20% of the older divorced respondents. The overall distribution of scores on the subscales represent a quantitatively higher degree of symptom report than among the married women, whether manifesting itself as neurasthenia, anxiety, or vascular problems.

Discussion of Qualitative Findings

The non-scholarly literature on Appalachian life and culture paints a picture of the Appalachian woman as the strong member of the marriage, an independent person in an isolated geographical area who holds family life together in the face of physical and economic struggle. This portrait might lead the investigator to expect marital and family relations between men and women to appear as more equitable than not. This study revealed a very

different picture. Rather than being based on equity of roles, Appalachian culture was structured more like urban culture of several decades ago in its assignment of marital roles and expectations for women.

Cultural patterns in all the 19 communities visited across 200 miles of mountains and valleys was universally paternalistic. Men held the power both socially and economically. Economic development was minimal with men holding most of the full-time jobs and women left with the choice of part-time, minimum wage jobs. Common jobs among these subjects were part-time grocery store cashier and beautician.

The effects of holding social power were more serious and wide-ranging. What was found in the worst cases was physical abuse by husbands which retained power in the family through pure strength. In the best cases, women reported they were in good marriages, that social power in the marriage was more equitably distributed, but they functioned within the limitations of lesser economic opportunity. They reported happy marriages in which fulfillment was found in traditional roles. There was an unexpected amount of physical and psychological abuse reported by the women in these communities and a surprising

acceptance of it. A number of women reported a pattern of drinking by their husbands, followed by verbal abuse and accusations of misbehavior, which kept their lives in emotional upheaval.

The marriages of these women reflected the cultural characteristics described in research on this culture. Families were paternalistic, traditional values were important in the marriages, there were limitations to the roles of women which centered around the roles of wife and mother, and kinship systems were close and guarded carefully. When divorce occurred, it was still not approved of perhaps because it was a threat to the kinship system. The social support network gathered around the woman, the family supplying physical shelter and aid if needed, but the perception of the woman was that less emotional support was provided by the family than physical support. She tended to rely more on her friends for emotional support. They were better able to supply this help because of their disconnection to the kinship network.

Another unexpected finding was the degree of emotional isolation reported by all the women, both happily married and unhappily divorced. The extended family was the major source of social interaction and support.

Networks of friends and neighbors were not well-developed. Although family interaction was well-established and frequent, it was not reported to provide a great deal of emotional support or understanding of the particular problems of the divorced women. In fact, most women reported that they did not share personal problems with their family. When it came to confiding in their friends, problems were more likely to be shared, but active support in the way of generation of strategies for improvements or mutual cooperation to address certain problems did not often occur. There was a greater degree of social isolation than might have been expected in this culture built on personal relationships and lacking the anonymity of the big city.

This isolation probably contributed to feelings of displacement reported by divorced and separated woman. They perceived that they did not fit into the social roles accorded single or married women. They saw themselves as threats to married friends because they were unattached and also because married friends might think that they might suffer the same fate of a failed marriage. Although there were statistically as great a percentage of divorced women in the small towns of the study as in larger urban areas, they seemed unaware of each other's existence, and did not

think of each other as a support network. During the interviews, some of them were asked if it might help them to talk to other women in the same situation as they, and their responses indicted that this had not occurred to them. Mental health practitioners in the community who were providing therapy to some of these women individually did not rely on small groups to provide support or encourage network formation. In fact, one mental health worker stated that groups of this type would not be tolerated by the men in the community. Men would perceive this as a kind of community agitation and it would be stopped in some way.

The slightly higher level of psychiatric symptoms experienced by the divorced women may reflect her uncertainty about her position in the network and community. Many of them violated the cultural rules about acceptable reasons to divorce. It appeared that infidelity and abuse were in most cases the only acceptable reasons for divorce. There also was another implied cultural rule -- thinking of themselves before the family. There still seemed to be an inhibition against breaking up the family under any but the most dire circumstances.

Although emotional adjustment to this new marital status was very difficult and practical problems abundant, from many women there was a surprising amount of discussion of inner growth. Even among women with less than high school educations and little exposure to "psychologically sophisticated" ideas more characteristic of urban women, there emerged ideas reflecting psychological self-examination. A number of women described the need to establish their own identities and take responsibility for their lives and happiness. Eyes lighted and smiles accompanied reports of "I've found myself", and "I know I can run my own life now." It was only after separation or divorce occurred that women seemed to confront issues such as identity in marriage or emotional or economic dependency. Married women, on the other hand, seemed to either find a way to accommodate traditional expectations for their role in this culture or struggle with feelings of responsibility and physical isolation often brought about by caring for young children at home.

It was expected that traditional fundamental religion would serve the role only of a strong reinforcement of male and female roles and partitioning of power seen in the communities. Within this culture, the deeply held nearly universal report of a personal

relationship with God serves as a source of comfort and strength. This personal belief appeared to be a positive force in all the womens' lives, whether the religion was a reinforcer of traditional roles, or whether it provided hope through an afterlife of reward. Among the divorced women, there were a few who described unpleasant interactions with their preachers in which disapproval was expressed of their decision, and these women generally left their congregations. However, this did not undermine the strength of their personal belief in God or reliance on this belief for support. More emotional support was provided by religion than was expected.

There were some striking similarities between attitudes and behaviors of subjects in this study and those in studies of urban, blue-collar women several decades ago, such as Komarovsky (1962). Komarovsky noted that psychological relationships were not the subject of reflection, as they were for college women in a previous study in which she was involved. She explained this as a lack of psychological sophistication. Komarovsky's subjects appeared not unlike the Appalachian women, especially in their lack of introspection about the reasons contributing to their decisions to marry or divorce. Komarovsky also notes that her subjects differed from

college-educated women in another respect. The latter sought the interviewer's help with their own psychological problems, asking whether they were typical or different from other women, whereas the working-class women did not. It is striking that many of the respondents in this study asked questions more typical of college-educated women of three decades ago, indicating that change might be occurring among these women, particularly among younger women.

Among the variables measured in this study which were moderators of effects of divorce were social support and cause of separation. Age of respondent and socioeconomic status, important moderators in the literature on divorce, were measured quantitatively. The quantitative analysis did not result in an association between age and psychiatric symptomatology or occupational prestige and symptomatology. The slight differences in the subgroups on symptomatology were not powerful enough to contribute to subgroup differences.

The measurement of social support networks among subjects indicated that married subjects relied more on family members for support than did divorced subgroup members, who relied more on friends. Divorced subjects had

a particular need for material aid from the social support network, both in the crisis of the separation and divorce and in the period following this when economic status usually declined. At this time, if the subject sought a job to supplement her income, she often relied upon her family for child care. It is not entirely clear if women with larger social support networks suffer less in the divorce or whether the characteristic of dense or loosely-knit networks exacerbates symptoms. One area of social support that appeared to have a particularly strong impact on the subject's perception of her divorce is the response of the church and preacher. Support from the church seemed to be particularly valued and when criticism was communicated by the preacher or congregation, the woman often left the church or chafed under the stigma. It does appear that network structure changes as the result of marital disruption, and that family members are the focus of the change.

Reported causes of divorce were more similar to those reported in the literature of 30 years ago (Kitson & Sussman, 1982) than those reported in urban studies of the present (Kitson & Sussman, 1982; Bloom & Hodges, 1982; Bloom & Hodges, 1981; Albrecht & Kunz, 1980). Current studies of divorce reflect the greater psychological

sophistication of urban women, who are more likely to cite "communication difficulties" and "personality difficulties" as the cause of marital disruption. These responses were not given by the subjects of this study, who instead complained of their husband's behavior in the areas of physical abuse and infidelity.

A limitation to the findings on social support systems is that the measurement was conducted as a "snapshot" view, not reflecting the dynamic quality of the networks. Wilcox (1981) has pointed out that measurement of networks must reflect the changing character of networks, particularly in response to events in which individuals may use and change their networks.

It appeared that women who remained married were more likely to establish and maintain patterns of marriage that were more equitable, while those who divorced did not. Instead, to varying degrees, they described ways in which their husbands maintained power in the marital relationship. It would be expected that those married women who had successful marriages in which equity was established would appear more self-oriented in the measurement of sex-role orientation. Instead, the divorced women appeared as the most self-oriented and married women

the least. Married women are also the most family oriented in comparison to their divorced counterparts. These measures may not adequately reflect equity in marital roles, or married women may have adjusted to traditional roles in their marriages.

CHAPTER VI

DISCUSSION OF RESULTS AND IMPLICATIONS OF THE RESEARCH

This section will provide a discussion of results of the study, especially in light of their implications for further research. There are implications of this research for the women who were its subjects and others like them, and for the communities in which it was conducted. Before this is presented, elaboration will be made of the reasons for conducting this research.

The confluence of factors in the lives of these women make them unique. They lack the opportunities and flexibility to change their lives afforded most middle-class urban women, nor do they have even the economic opportunity and networks available to working-class urban women. The gap in our knowledge about rural women as they grapple with social change that most other women have already encountered is large.

Academic research in the areas of mental health and social problems has tended to focus on urban women more often than rural women. However, as noted in the literature review, there is reason to look closely at the

experience of rural women undergoing divorce. Women undergoing divorce are more likely to experience emotional distress, psychiatric symptomatology, and physical illness than men. Research on factors which are more often associated with difficult adjustment to divorce have identified characteristics which are a part of this culture: traditional sex-role, high family orientation, lower socioeconomic status, a social life integrated with the husband's.

The results of this exploratory study provide a portrait of marriage and divorce for women in the Appalachian culture. Among the socioeconomic, marital history and psychological variables measured in the study, it has been shown quantitatively that the primary variables differentiating the subgroups are educational level and spouse's educational level. Secondly, age at marriage, and parent's marital status are influential in predicting marital status and age group. Psychological states were not found to be strongly predictive of marital status or age group.

The quantitative analyses yield information which partially answer the aims of the study by identifying the characteristics contributing to the differences among the

subgroups of women. The findings from the quantitative analyses are extended by the qualitative results, which provide the most vivid description of the Appalachian culture as a whole- women's early marriage and childbearing, the limited options for women's work, the expectations for a traditional role in the society and family, the difficulties divorced women have in finding a valued role in the social life of their communities, the differing sources of social support for women at different life stages, and the types of problems reported by married and divorced women and their emotional responses to them. The qualitative analysis also identified similarities and differences among the subgroups and these are discussed below.

Differences Among Subgroups

The older married women are clearly the most unlike the other respondent groups in the study. The variables which contributed to this difference were their own lower educational level, their spouses' lower education level and parents' marital status (more likely to have an intact marriage). These variables were extended in the interview results. Analysis of the interviews provides a description of a culture, although it has undergone recent change, in which schooling was not valued highly because it

did not lead to economic benefit. Taking on marriage and family responsibilities, on the other hand, were encouraged for several reasons. There were few other available life choices, and in the often large families, it was economically beneficial to launch children out of the house into their own lives as soon as possible. Because education did not have a strong tie to economic self-sufficiency, formal education was often curtailed in order for the young woman to help out at home. The older married women were more likely to have been reared in families in which the marriage remained intact because the incidence of divorce was still relatively low during their childhoods in comparison to present rates. The taboo against divorce was still powerful in the Appalachian area until recent decades.

Younger married women differed from the other groups on the basis of the contribution of a higher level of spouse education. There was no information in the qualitative analysis which elaborated on this finding, although in the Appalachian area, younger people currently have a higher level of completed formal education than older residents.

Younger age at marriage and lower occupational prestige scores were characteristics which differentiated the younger divorced respondents from the other subgroups. Many of them described marriage as a way of escaping unhappy home situations. Many divorced women who, while married, stayed home with their young children found they were forced to take part-time jobs to provide more economic support to their families after their divorces. The part-time jobs available usually required low levels of skill and therefore, were of lower prestige.

The variable which contributed to the differentiation of the older divorced women from other respondents was their degree of self-orientation in marital role. This was consistent with their descriptions in the interview of development of an identity and gaining knowledge about self-reliance and independence after their divorce. Many of these women recalled feelings of being dominated by their husbands or of being ill-used by husbands during their marriages. Their greater degree of self-orientation in the marital role may have developed out of these experiences in marriage or as a result of the divorce. They perceived that after the divorce their status in the community was lowered. Their reaction to this change in status may have also contributed to their

high degree of self-orientation in sex-role, which was a more non-traditional response in the culture than a high degree of family-orientation in sex-role.

Values and Characteristics of the Appalachian Culture

The literature about Appalachia describes the culture as one based on traditional values of the integrity of the family and strongly-felt religious ideals. Change within the region has also been recorded in recent decades. More women are entering the work force, women are having fewer children and these factors have brought some change to traditional roles in marriage. This circumstance was reflected in the results of this study. Women in the study still continued to bear their children early, but were more likely to have two or three children rather than the larger number borne by their mothers' generation. As the economy now provided more opportunities for part-time employment, they were also more likely to work outside the home than were their mothers. Employment was still seen as secondary to the primary role of family life, rather than as a career to be developed. The cultural characteristics chronicled in the historical writings on Appalachia (Shackelford and Weiner, 1977; Caudill, 1962), such as traditionalism and individualistic lifestyle, and religiosity still influence current social interactions and behavioral expectations.

They are especially visible as underlying community norms. Historical literature paints a picture of women subordinate to men (Stolz, 1985) in a family structure which is based on gender and age differences (Peters, 1983). This traditionalism is still evident today. Traditionalism is evident in the division of labor among married couples, as are expectations that home-related tasks should be performed by women and bread-winning and interaction with the world outside the family should be the responsibility of men. The individualism of the culture was evident in the limited social support networks available to women in great need of emotional support, even when in crisis. Religion remains an important part of the culture, serving as the bedrock of many women's lives, and providing them with enduring support in the face of difficult lives. The belief in religion, not necessarily the church, was indeed a sanctuary for believers (Coles, 1971), both married and divorced. The emotional support emanating from the familism of Appalachia (Peters, 1983) was available to women when they met the traditional social expectations to marry and stay married, but was disrupted when an unexpected divorce occurred. Religious beliefs still provided support to the women experiencing stresses for which family might have difficulty providing support.

Marriage and Divorce Within the Appalachian Culture

As a group, the women reported that they felt a strong expectation to marry because there was very little else to which to aspire in this culture. Many did not finish high school because of the low expectations for achievement in education or career. Within this culture, family life was important and early marriage and childbearing was the usual course of life for young women. These expectations have not changed much over the decades of time for which information can be gained in the study. While Appalachia has developed economically beyond a purely agrarian society, the culture has retained its traditional behavioral expectations, influenced by strong religious strictures. This is the area in which the experience of rural women seems most divergent from the lives of many urban women.

The respondents who remained married did not experience the prevalence of physical and mental abuse that divorced women had experienced in their marriages. They were more likely to describe equity of roles within their marriages or to have come to acceptance of the more dominant male role in their marriages.

The literature on causes of divorce, mostly conducted in urban areas, indicated that the major causes of divorce were infidelity and events outside the relationship such as completing school and taking a job in another area (Bloom & Hodges, 1981), infidelity and loss of love (Albrecht & Kunz, 1980), and communication difficulties (Bloom & Hodges, 1982). On the other hand, Duncan & Morgan (1976) found that the presence of very young children at home tended to inhibit the seeking of divorce. The situations encountered in the dissolved marriages of the respondents were different. Women overwhelmingly attributed the divorce to actions of their ex-husbands, usually physical or psychological abuse. The presence of young children also did not have a deterrent effect on divorces, since all the young divorced woman had children at home. In this area, the study sample appeared more like urban women of several decades ago in their focus on events external to themselves as the causes of their divorces.

For the majority of the women in this study, the reasons that women divorced were reported to be physical or psychological abuse by husbands, or infidelity by husbands. Overt attempts by husbands to assert their authority throughout the marriage was also a theme in the marriage

before divorce. The younger women were more likely to seek divorce more quickly, while the older women, as a group, endured difficult marital situations longer. Older women also provided historical information about their mother's and grandmother's generations in which separation or divorce was not often sought to escape such situations. Divorce or permanent separation was more likely to occur at present than in decades past. However, while divorce presently occurs more often, its societal consequences are still negative.

Within social institutions, there was certainly more support for remaining married than divorcing. Social activities revolved around extended families. While a new nuclear family was formed at marriage, the extended family also grew, encompassing the spouse's family of origin. Participation in the fundamental Christian churches was customary for families, but especially for women. Few churches were tolerant of divorce, which was seen as a violation of Biblical injunctions. Some erosion of this belief appeared to have occurred in recent years. It was reported by a few women that they received support from their churches through the period of their divorces and were still accepted as members afterwards, when the impetus for divorce was their husbands' abuse or infidelity.

Divorce was more likely to be thought of as justified in such a case.

Following divorce, the community clearly communicated to the divorced woman that she was the parent charged with the responsibility to care for her children and that remarriage was the preferred state. The role stress and role ambiguity resulting from these expectations may have contributed to the greater report of psychiatric symptomatology among divorced women than married women. Social isolation probably exacerbated feelings of depression and anxiety. Divorced women perceived themselves as struggling alone to adjust to the new status and deal with the financial hardships of single parenthood. They rarely expressed recognition that there were other women like themselves in their community to whom they might turn for understanding or support. Divorced women were somewhat more likely to rely on friends for emotional support than family. Married women were closely tied to their extended families for emotional support. Divorced women were more likely to rely on friends as confidants. All women, however, still relied on family for needed financial aid, reflecting the independence of Appalachian families.

Divorce as a Stressful Life Event

In the study, there is some evidence that mediating variables may reduce the deleterious effects of the stressful life event of divorce on an individual. Social support is one of these mediating variables. Result of the qualitative analysis indicated that the reliance of the divorced woman on the family to provide financial aid was important in helping her through the difficult financial transition. Emotional support appeared, on the other hand, to be more often gained from friends, but most often from a close female confidant, rather than from groups of friends. Because few women worked at full-time jobs, there was little opportunity to form support networks of women. The setting in which the greatest number of women might be encountered is the church, and respondents did not perceive this as a potential resource, due in part to the sensitivity of their marital status in the church setting. There was also little opportunity to develop other sources of support in the small communities. Women reported that the source of most of their new acquaintances was school or work, and much less often were new acquaintances met in the small churches, few community organizations, and rarely-frequented bars or parties.

It was not clear from the qualitative analysis what variables might be associated with positive effects of the divorce. A number of women described gaining self-knowledge and "an identity of their own", and this circumstance seemed to be occur more often with older women and also among those who were in psychological therapy.

Further investigation could identify other variables which might serve as effective mediators of the stressful life event of divorce. An example of such a variable is cause of the divorce. There might be a difference in the effects of divorce if other than external causes, for example, were attributed as the causes of the divorce. One hypothesized mediating variable was age of the respondent. No clear differences emerged regarding age differences. The only indication of difference was the higher level of psychiatric symptoms among younger divorced respondents than older divorced respondents.

The literature on the effects of divorce also identifies variables which mediate the nature of a woman's adjustment to divorce. Shorter length of marriage and younger age have been associated with more positive adjustment to divorce (Nelson, 1981; Kitson & Raschke, 1981). In this study, however, adjustment did not seem to

be unitarily associated with these factors. It was more likely that other factors, such as cognitive ability to analyze the marriage or divorce or self-orientation in marital role was more likely associated with better adjustment. Degree of acceptability of the divorce to the social support system seemed to also be related to perceived adjustment. The close-knit familial networks of these women nearly always provided financial aid and shelter immediately following the divorce, which was critical to the immediate needs of the respondent. Following the crisis, however, support was not always provided to the woman in her pursuit of the divorce. It was at this time that there was some indication that the loose-knit networks among some younger divorced women may have provided greater emotional support following the divorce. Family networks tended to support the status-quo, which was to remain married even in a difficult situation. Networks of friends tended to be more empathic to the divorced women because divorced respondents tended to seek out women as confidants who had experienced similar situations. It did appear that this study confirmed the findings of previous studies (Bloom & Clement, 1984; Chiriboga & Thurnger, 1980) in regard to the association of nontraditional sex role with better post-divorce adjustment and high family-orientation with poorer adjustment. The

study did not attempt to investigate in depth the magnitude of adjustment to divorce. From the limited findings in this area, it did appear that those women who described themselves as most resolved to their divorce were those who left their marriages after a long period of difficulty and those who were abused in their marriages. This is an area which could be explored further.

Conclusions which can be drawn about mental health status are limited by the lack of a comparison group with men or urban women. It was found that both young and older divorced women had greater self-reports of all types of psychiatric symptoms than did married women. Analysis of results did not yield significant levels of differences although they were in this direction. This finding warrants further investigation in light of the consistent perceptions of divorced women about role stress and role ambiguity.

Areas for Further Research and Practical Implications of the Research

The results of the quantitative analysis of the data yielded some information which may be applied to the area of research on women and divorce. The identification of educational level, age at marriage and parents' marital

status as the most powerful predictor variables of a woman's marital status among those measured does confirm the findings of previous studies of urban populations.

The prediction of divorce by lower educational attainment and younger age at marriage might be explained by a number of related circumstances: these characteristics might be associated with other characteristics of low socioeconomic level groups; they may cause strain in a marriage through recognition by the wife of her limited opportunities for self-development; they may reflect the more limited life experiences of young people who leave high school and marry young in comparison to young people who have more experience with potential mates before marriage. The mechanism by which these variables might affect marital status was not clearly identified in this study.

Certain differences in the more interesting aspects of the research (e.g., the marital history and psychological variables) did emerge among the subgroups, but they were not distinct enough to contribute strongly to the prediction of marital status. It may be that the cultural change that these differences may reflect is not polarizing enough for differences to be distinct enough to

influence a complex variable such as marital status. An alternate explanation is that additional influences on marital status were not measured by this study.

In addition to further research indicated by the quantitative data, the qualitative data also provide some direction. The married women in the study who reported they were happy more often had marital relationships built on greater equity in the balance of power. The women who reported they were unhappily married more often reported themselves to be neglected, abused, or controlled by their husbands. Dissatisfaction with this situation was verbalized; this type of treatment was no longer acceptable as it seemed to have been among the older respondents or as it had been in their memories of the families in which they grew up. Many of the respondents extricated themselves from marriages like this and encountered a different set of problems to which to adjust. Their place in this culture was undefined, their social support networks were more limited, their anxiety level was higher, and they were expected by their communities to remarry, although they were also expected to limit their social life with men.

The women's movement in urban areas has had very little impact upon the experience of divorce among

Appalachian women but has changed women's lives radically in urban areas. It has been the characteristics of Appalachian culture which have influenced the experience of divorce for the women of this study. What Appalachian women must contend with at divorce is the continuing expectation for traditional sex-roles, and expectations for involvement in the important institutions of the culture-- family and church. Their ability to cope with the stressful life event of divorce occurs within the traditional, male-dominated institutions of this culture.

The results of the interviews of this study, though, indicate that the culture of Appalachia is in transition. The pace of change may slow the farther one travels from the metropolis to more isolated rural areas and may have differing impact on individuals depending on their exposure to influences that speed or slow that change. It may be that because of the transition state and the different course of change for each individual, there were no striking differences between the subgroups of married and divorced, and young and old respondents in the qualitative analysis. The results of the research more clearly illustrates the progression of change and transition rather than strong existing differences.

The movement of change from urban areas to rural areas provides researchers and practitioners an opportunity to anticipate effects of change and problems which may occur in the rural areas. One aspect of the change is in the economic structure of the area, which has diversified from a subsistence farm economy to one with more on small industrial concerns. A change in the occupational structure of the culture has an impact on the social roles of men and women. The social structure supporting farming is based more on a traditional division of marital responsibilities in which the husband provides the primary labor and the wife cares for the home and children. Small industry more often employs women, and this employment outside the home will affect the balance of roles in the home.

Further research will be useful in tracking the progress of change, the ways in which it is manifested, and the ongoing reconciliation of the conflicting characteristics of the urban and Appalachian culture.

There are practical results of this study which may benefit members of the social service and mental health community. The study may provide fuller knowledge of the characteristics of the Appalachian culture which predict

the occurrence of divorce and the effects of divorce on women in this culture. As discussed, the most powerful predictors of divorce are lower educational level and marriage at a younger age and parents' marital status. The most wide-ranging intervention that would change these circumstances is economic development of the region, giving young women greater motivation to stay within the educational system longer and as a result postponing marriage to an older age. Without economic development, more education will continue to be meaningless in the absence of increased opportunity for jobs or higher education. Economic development also encourages the migration of outsiders to the area, who may serve as sources of alternative life choices and who bring new perspectives and ideas which can serve as initiators of change.

Some incidence of divorce is inevitable, no matter what change comes to this culture. Women who are divorced can be assisted with adjustment through manipulation of characteristics which are associated with better adjustment. Specifically, the encouragement of divorced women to share emotional support and especially needs such as child care will be useful in supporting women through a difficult adjustment. As women begin to discuss

with one another their experiences and especially their place within the community, they will begin to change their status as a group within the close-knit communities. This is one way in which social change occurs, from the inside out, from change in small groups to change on a larger basis. This method of change originating in small-scale grass-roots organizations responding to a common need is traditional in this country. A grass-roots approach to change may also result in increased attempts to change the attitudes and behavior of men, of social structures and institutions, and redistributing power within the culture. In doing this, women also develop their own capabilities as individuals and leaders.

It seems a simple step for individuals experiencing the same event to share with others to gain support. But because the social status of the divorced woman is troubled, the individual is left with uncertainty and anxiety about how to behave. There is little cultural support for the need for marital dissolution, creating an additional strain on the individual because of the dissonance between individual experience and cultural expectation. Women who are married also do not provide strong support for divorced women, perhaps because divorced women are threatening to the security of their own

marriages or because they also do not see a role for divorced women. An intervention which would create artificial opportunities for women experiencing divorce to interact would aid the integration of divorced women into the community. However, the promotion of social support as an intervention or introduction of any other intervention by advocates or mental health professionals must be subtle. Many programs and social action efforts have been introduced in Appalachia. In the name of social improvement, these interventions have polarized communities into factions: power holders (mine owners and managers, factory owners), government officials, the "do-gooders" (VISTA workers), and the people. There is a history of outsiders who have come to Appalachia, argued that the people are in need, started a program, and then left for various reasons, often as a result of political change at the federal level. The communities of Appalachia are so small and homogeneous that they are less able to tolerate purposeful factionalization. It appears that attempts to empower women from within, rather than intervention from without will have the greatest chance of long-lasting and owned change. Therefore, techniques of education, of modeling change and transferring it to those involved is preferable to more polarizing change methods. A movement for change that arises from within may be the most

effective one. However, whatever intervention is made must be evaluated for intended and unintended change, a responsibility that has not been exercised to a great extent in the past..

Women might be "empowered" to take action to improve their situations. They might seek a job, learn to take more control over their lives, or seek a relationship with greater equity. Many women discussed their discovery and treasuring of independence and knowledge gained about themselves from their experiences with divorce. These insights might lead to actions to change future relationships and improve the quality of lives ahead.

It is significant that these women agreed to participate in this study. They are struggling within two worlds - Appalachia and the world of the encroaching urban culture. It is not surprising that some women have changed their marital roles and some exist within what appear to outsiders to be punitive, restrictive marriages. This study provides a glimpse of a culture in transition. There is an unwritten collusion between the women and the culture, an implicit agreement to continue to meet the older norms of the culture in most regards. This agreement

produces conflict and that conflict is still internal, not yet externally expressed.

This study attempted to provide a clearer portrait of the divorced woman living in rural Appalachia. To accomplish this, the individual was examined within the culture in which her psychological life took place and from where its shape was drawn. Sarason has reminded us to "inform (them with) overarching conceptions of what our society has been and is and the ways it works." Problems in society must be seen "in relation to the nature of our society and its communities" (Sarason, 1983). In this study, the present state of marriage and divorce among women in Appalachia has been traced through their history and shown to be in a continuing state of change.

The future of Appalachia will bring different role models for children, and perhaps a culturally-sanctioned role for young, unmarried women. For now, the uncertainty and discomfort of young and especially older divorced women in this role is evident. Women used to rely on their husbands for identity, now they must find new identities apart from their men. The kind of roles which will develop in a culture so much based on tradition and history of patriarchy are yet to be imagined.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A
STRUCTURED INTERVIEW

READ:

I'M GOING TO START WITH SOME GENERAL QUESTIONS ABOUT YOUR ACTIVITIES AT HOME AND THEN GO ON TO MORE SPECIFIC QUESTIONS ABOUT YOUR MARRIAGE AND YOUR OPINIONS ABOUT MARRIAGE.

Q.1 What television programs do you watch?

PROBE: What kind of programs do you watch?

PROBE: What programs do you watch regularly?

Q.2. Do you think the characters in the programs are like you or are they different from you?

CODE NUMBER _____

201

Q.3. How are they like you or different from you?

Q.4. What newspapers do you read?

Q.5. How often do you read...

(NAME OF NEWSPAPER 1) _____

(NAME OF NEWSPAPER 2) _____

(NAME OF NEWSPAPER 3) _____

Q.6 What magazines do you read?

CODE NUMBER _____

202

Q.7 How often do you read...

(NAME OF MAGAZINE 1) _____

(NAME OF MAGAZINE 2) _____

(NAME OF MAGAZINE 3) _____

Q.8 What kinds of articles or stories do you generally read in
magazines?

PROBE: What else do you like to read about?

Q.9 What kinds of books do you read?

Q.10. How do you think life here in (NAME OF TOWN) is different from
life in Knoxville or Atlanta?

Q.11. How do you think life is the same?

Q.12. In what ways do you think your life would be different if you
lived in Knoxville or Atlanta?

PROBE: Any other ways?

READ:

NOW, I'D LIKE TO ASK YOU SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT YOUR MARRIAGE (your former marriage).

(NOTE: If remarried, get information on both marriages.)

Q.13. How old were you when your relationship with your husband (YOUR FORMER HUSBAND) began?

Q.14. When did you get married?

Q.15. Can you tell me why you got married?

IF DIVORCED, ASK Q. 16- Q. 23
IF REMARRIED, ASK Q.16, Q.20-23
IF MARRIED, SKIP TO Q.24

Q.16. When did you first separate from your husband?

Q.17. Are you divorce now?

YES-----> SKIP TO, Q.20.

-----NO

Q.18. Do you plan to file for divorce?

YES-----

NO _____

Q.19. When?

Q.20. When was your divorce final?

Q.21. Could you tell me a little about why you separated from your husband (YOUR EX-HUSBAND)?

PROBE: Are there any other reasons?

Q.22. Where did you go when you separated from your husband?

Q.23. Who would you say helped you the most through the separation?

CODE NUMBER _____

207

READ:

NOW WE'RE GOING TO MOVE ON TO SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT YOUR FAMILY
AND FRIENDS.

Q.24. Do you think a wife's loyalty to her husband becomes more
important than loyalty to the family she grew up in at some
point in her life?

Q.25. Do you see or visit your mother?

YES _____

NO _____

Q.26. How often?

Q.27. Do you see or visit your father?

YES _____

NO _____

Q.28. How often?

Q.29. Do you see or visit your grandparents?

YES _____

NO _____

Q.30. How often? And, where do they live?

Q.31. How about your brothers and sisters, do you visit or see them?

YES _____

NO _____

Q.32. How often?

Q.33. And your children, how often do you see them?

Q.34. Do you think you could rely on your family (the family you grew up in) for financial help, if you needed it?

Q.35. Do you think you could rely on your family (again the family you grew up in) for emotional support, if you needed it?

Q.36. Do you think you could rely on your friends for financial help, if you needed it?

Q.37. Do you think you could rely on your friends for emotional support, if you needed it?

Q.38. Have any of your brothers or sisters moved away from where you grew up?

YES _____

NO _____

Q.39. Do they come back to visit?

YES _____

NO _____

Q.40. How often?

Q.41. Do you think you would ever move away from (FILL IN)?

CODE NUMBER _____

211

YES _____

NO _____

Q.42. For what reasons would you move away?

Q.43. Which is more important, your opinion on something or what the whole family has to say about it?

PROBE: (If she refers to nuclear family)

How about the family you grew up in?

Q.44. What would happen if the family disagreed with a decision you made?

PROBE: (If she refers to nuclear family)

How about the family you grew up in?

Q.45. What does your community say about the reasons a woman can get separated or divorced? What are acceptable reasons for separating from a husband?

Q.46. What do you think are reasons a woman can decide to leave her marriage?

Q.47. What do you think about a person dating after getting separated?

Q.48. Let's say a woman decides to separate from her husband. Would people approve of the husband looking after the children while the woman makes a separate life for herself? (IF YES OR NO)
Could you tell me a little about that?

Q.49. Would you approve of it?

Q.50. Are the rules that people make or the community makes about
divorce the same for both men and women?

IF DIVORCED, ASK ONLY Q.51.
IF REMARRIED, ASK ONLY Q.51.
IF MARRIED, ASK ONLY Q.52.

Q.51. Think of a friend whose marriage you envy. How is that marriage
different from your own?

CODE NUMBER _____

215

Q.52. Think of a friend who is separated or divorced. How was her marriage different from your own?

READ:

THE NEXT SET OF QUESTIONS HAS TO DO WITH YOUR OWN MARRIAGE.

(NOTE: If remarried, get information on both marriages.)

Q.53. How did your life change socially when you got married?

Q.54. How did your own friendships with others change or did they remain the same after you married?

PROBE: Did you keep the friends you had before your marriage? Did your husband's friends become your friends? Do you have friends of your own?

Q.55. Tell me a little about decisionmaking in your marriage. Is (WAS) it shared or is (WAS) one person responsible for decisions?

Q.56. Did that change over time in your marriage?

Q.57. Can you tell me something about the amount of freedom you feel
(FELT) in your marriage?

PROBE: Who makes (MADE) the decisions about what
and when you do things, like see your
friends, or go to church, or join a club?

CODE NUMBER _____

218

IF DIVORCED, ASK Q.58 - Q.60
IF REMARRIED, ASK Q.58 - Q.61
IF MARRIED, SKIP TO Q.61

Q.58. How have you changed (HOW DID YOU CHANGE) emotionally as the
result of getting divorced?

Q.59. What has been the worst thing that has resulted from your
divorce?

Q.60. What has been the best thing that has resulted from your
divorce?

CODE NUMBER _____

219

IF MARRIED:

Q.61. How have you changed emotionally as the result of getting
married?

READ:

NOW, I HAVE A FEW LAST QUESTIONS ABOUT YOU.

Q.62. How old are you?

Q.63. How far did you go in school?

Q.64. How far did your husband (EX-HUSBAND) go in school?

Q.65. What does your husband (EX-HUSBAND) do for a living?

Q.66. What do you do for a living?

Q.67. Tell me a little about your life since you were a child.

Where did you grow up?

Did you move around at all?

Who lived in your household as you were growing up?

Were you on your own at any time before your marriage or did you live with your parents or with someone else?

CODE NUMBER _____

221

PROBE: (GET LOCATION AND SITUATION
FROM CHILDHOOD TO PRESENT)

Q.68. How long were your parents married?

IF PARENTS SEPARATED OR DIVORCED

Q.69. When did they divorce? How old were you?

END OF QUESTIONS FOR MARRIED WOMEN AND REMARRIED WOMEN

IF DIVORCED

Q.70. Do you expect to get remarried?

CODE NUMBER _____

222

Yes _____ -----> GO TO Q.71.

No _____ -----> GO TO Q.72.

Q.71. In what ways will the new marriage be different from the old marriage?

PROBE: (CHOICE OF PARTNER, TYPE OF RELATIONSHIP)

Q.72. Could you give me your reasons why?

PROBE: (CHOICE OF PARTNER, TYPE OF RELATIONSHIP)

APPENDIX B
SOCIALIZATION DATA FORM

2. How often do you see or talk with the following people?
 - A. People you work with
 - B. In-laws
 - C. Close friends
9. Compared to five years ago, do you now have many more friends than before or fewer friends than before?
10. How often do you feel free to discuss your personal fears, problems, and hopes with your close friends?
11. Compared to five years ago, do you feel that your relatives are closer than before or less close than before?
12. How often do you feel free to discuss your personal fears, problems, or hopes with your relatives?
15. How often do you do things alone that people often do together such as eating, watching TV, going to movies or to parties?
16. How comfortable are you with this amount of doing things alone?
17. Do you feel a particular sense of loneliness or being without friends?

18. Do you have opportunities to meet people:			225
	Many (1)	Some (2)	None (3)
on the job or at school?	-----	-----	-----
in church?	-----	-----	-----
at bars or parties?	-----	-----	-----

20. Do you have any opportunities to meet people through clubs or organizations?

21. If so, which ones?

22. What other ways do you have to meet people?

32. In general, how satisfied are you with your sexual life?

33. What role, if any, does religion play in your life?

34. Has this role changed in the past five years?

35. If you are involved in religion, what are the major reasons for that involvement?

Spiritual support ___yes (1); ___no (2)
Social support ___yes (1); ___no (2)
Other _____ ___yes (1); ___no (2)

38. Any other comments about your social life?

APPENDIX C

MALE-FEMALE ROLE RESEARCH INSTRUMENT

MAFERR Inventory of Feminine Values

Instructions: Please place a check mark after each item in the box that most accurately reflects the degree to which you agree or disagree with each statement. This is an opinion scale -- there are no right or wrong answers.

	Strongly Agree (1)	Agree (2)	Not Sure (3)	Disagree (4)	Strongly Disagree (5)	
1. An ambitious and responsible husband does not like his wife to work.						____ (1)
2. I usually pay no attention to other people's feelings.						____ (2)
3. A woman who works cannot possibly be as good a mother as the one who stays home.						____ (3)
4. I would like to do something that everybody knows is important.						____ (4)
5. I try to do what I think people want me to do.						____ (5)
6. A woman has a conflict in what she has to do as a woman and what she wishes to do for herself.						____ (6)
7. A woman should get married even if the man does not measure up to all her hopes.						____ (7)
8. I sometimes feel that I must do everything myself, that I can accept nothing from others.						____ (8)
9. The needs of a family come before a woman's personal ambitions.						____ (9)
10. I am not sure that the joys of motherhood make up for the sacrifice.						____ (10)

	Strongly Agree (1)	Agree (2)	Not Sure (3)	Disagree (4)	Strongly Disagree (5)	
11. I like listening to people better than talking.						(11)
12. I argue with people who try to give me orders.						(12)
13. Marriage and children should come first in a woman's life.						(13)
14. When I am with a group of people, I usually become the leader.						(14)
15. I worry about what people think of me.						(15)
16. I express my ideas strongly.						(16)
17. Single women need personal success, but all a married woman needs is her husband's success.						(17)
18. I would not get married if I had to give up what I really believe in order to get along with another person.						(18)
19. It is up to the woman to make a marriage work.						(19)
20. A working mother can get along as well with her children as can a mother who stays at home.						(20)
21. The greatest help a wife can give her husband is to encourage his progress.						(21)
22. It is unfair that women have to give up more than men in order to have a good marriage.						(22)
23. I can put myself in the background and work hard for a person I admire.						(23)

	Strongly Agree (1)	Agree (2)	Not Sure (3)	Disagree (4)	Strongly Disagree (5)	
24. A wife's opinion should be as important as the husband's opinion.						(24)
25. My main interest is to raise normal, well-behaved children.						(25)
26. How I develop as a person is more important to me than what others think of me.						(26)
27. If we disagreed, I would give in to my husband more often than I would expect him to give in to me.						(27)
28. The greatest satisfactions in life come from what you do yourself.						(28)
29. I would like to marry a man whom I could really look up to.						(29)
30. A woman should have interests outside the home.						(30)
31. I am sure that what a woman gains from marriage makes up for sacrifices.						(31)
32. Modern mothers should bring up their boys and girls to believe in absolute equal rights and freedoms for both sexes.						(32)
33. A woman's place is in the home.						(33)
34. I would rather be famous, admired, and popular throughout the nation than have the constant affection of just one man.						(34)

35. Project ID Number _____

1977-78

Date: 11/17/77

APPENDIX D
FAMILISM SCALE

These questions ask you about the relationship between an adult child and his or her family.
Please indicate how much you agree or disagree with each statement.

(Please circle your answer)					
	STRONGLY DISAGREE	DISAGREE	NEUTRAL/ UNDECIDED	AGREE	STRONGLY AGREE
1. A married person should be willing to share his home with his spouse's brothers and sisters.					
2. Married children should live close to their parents so that mutual aid and cooperation might better be carried out.					
3. If a member of the family were done an injustice, you should feel the injustice with much greater intensity than if the person were not a member of the family.					
4. It is the responsibility of married children to be with their parents in time of serious illness even if the children have moved some distance away from the parents.					
5. Children owe it to their parents to place family wishes above personal wishes.					
6. If a family group has strong, common political and moral views, a member of the family should not let himself be influenced by people outside the family to change these views.					
7. As many activities as possible should be shared by married children and their parents.					
8. If a person finds that his job runs so much against family values that severe conflict develops, he should find a new job.					

9. As much as possible, a person should talk over his important life decisions with family members before taking action.	STRONGLY DISAGREE	DISAGREE	NEUTRAL/ UNDECIDED	AGREE	STRONGLY AGREE
10. Marriage should be viewed as extending families rather than creating a new one.	STRONGLY DISAGREE	DISAGREE	NEUTRAL/ UNDECIDED	AGREE	STRONGLY AGREE
11. It is important that the family name be carried on.	STRONGLY DISAGREE	DISAGREE	NEUTRAL/ UNDECIDED	AGREE	STRONGLY AGREE
12. Children of elderly parents have as much responsibility for the welfare of their parents as they have for the welfare of their own children.	STRONGLY DISAGREE	DISAGREE	NEUTRAL/ UNDECIDED	AGREE	STRONGLY AGREE
13. Carrying on the family is a major reason why sons and daughters should expect to marry and have children.	STRONGLY DISAGREE	DISAGREE	NEUTRAL/ UNDECIDED	AGREE	STRONGLY AGREE
14. At a community or social affair, a family should participate pretty much as a group rather than allow members to go their own way with their personal friends.	STRONGLY DISAGREE	DISAGREE	NEUTRAL/ UNDECIDED	AGREE	STRONGLY AGREE
15. If a person's father has a medical bill of \$1500. which he cannot pay, the son is morally obligated to pay the debt.	STRONGLY DISAGREE	DISAGREE	NEUTRAL/ UNDECIDED	AGREE	STRONGLY AGREE

APPENDIX E
COMPOSITE SYMPTOM CHECKLIST

SYMPTOM CHECKLIST

Instructions: Please check one of the boxes after each symptom to indicate the frequency with which it occurred during the past six months.

1. Today's date _____ (1-4)

	Never (1)	Some- times (2)	Pretty Often (3)	Nearly all the time (4)	
2. Did you ever tend to lose weight when you had something important bothering you?					_____ (5)
3. Were you ever bothered by having an upset, acid, or sour stomach?					_____ (6)
4. Did you ever feel you were bothered by all sorts of pains and ailments in different parts of your body?					_____ (7)
5. Did you ever tend to feel tired in the morning or find it difficult to get up in the morning?					_____ (8)
6. Did you ever have loss of appetite?					_____ (9)
7. Were you ever troubled by your hands or feet sweating so that you felt damp and clammy?					_____ (10)
8. Were you ever troubled by headaches or pains in the head?					_____ (11)
9. Did you ever feel that you were going to have a nervous breakdown?					_____ (12)
10. Did you ever faint or black out?					_____ (13)
11. Were there ever times when you could not take care of things because you just couldn't get going?					_____ (14)
12. Were you ever bothered by your heart beating hard?					_____ (15)

	Never (1)	Some- times (2)	Pretty Often (3)	Nearly all the time (4)	
13. Were you ever bothered by shortness of breath when you were not exercising or working hard?					____ (16)
14. Did you ever have any nightmares?					____ (17)
15. Did your hands ever tremble enough to bother you?					____ (18)
16. Were you ever troubled by "cold sweats"?					____ (19)
17. Did you ever have any trouble getting to sleep or staying asleep?					____ (20)
18. Were you ever bothered by nervousness, feeling fidgety, or tenseness?					____ (21)
19. Did you ever have spells of dizziness?					____ (22)
20. Did any ill health ever affect the amount of work you did?					____ (23)
21. Did you ever feel weak all over?					____ (24)
22. For the most part did you feel healthy enough to carry out the things you wanted to do?					____ (25)
23. Did you have any particular physical or health problem?					____ (26)
24. Did you speak to a physician about it?					____ (27)
25. What was wrong? _____ _____ _____					____ (28-29)

During the past six months, did you ever have -	No (2)	Yes (1)	
26. Acute indigestion or heartburn?	_____	_____	_____ (30)
27. Shortness of breath?	_____	_____	_____ (31)
28. Hay fever or any other allergy?	_____	_____	_____ (32)
29. More than one cold?	_____	_____	_____ (33)
30. Repeated attacks of sinus trouble?	_____	_____	_____ (34)
31. Stomach ulcers or any other stomach trouble?	_____	_____	_____ (35)
32. Chronic diarrhea or constipation?	_____	_____	_____ (36)
33. Any skin disease?	_____	_____	_____ (37)
34. (For women only) menstrual problems or (for men only) prostate problems?	_____	_____	_____ (38)
(Ask project participant to scan the remaining items on the list)			
35. Chest pains	_____	_____	_____ (39)
36. Heart palpitation	_____	_____	_____ (40)
37. Asthma	_____	_____	_____ (41)
38. Tuberculosis	_____	_____	_____ (42)
39. Rheumatic fever	_____	_____	_____ (43)
40. Hardening of the arteries	_____	_____	_____ (44)
41. High blood pressure	_____	_____	_____ (45)
42. Heart trouble	_____	_____	_____ (46)

	No (2)	Yes (1)	
43. Stroke	_____	_____	_____ (47)
44. Trouble with varicose veins	_____	_____	_____ (48)
45. Hemorrhoids or piles	_____	_____	_____ (49)
46. Tumor, cyst or other benign growth	_____	_____	_____ (50)
47. Chronic gall bladder or liver trouble	_____	_____	_____ (51)
48. Kidney stones or chronic kidney trouble	_____	_____	_____ (52)
49. Arthritis or rheumatism	_____	_____	_____ (53)
50. Diabetes	_____	_____	_____ (54)
51. Thyroid trouble or goiter	_____	_____	_____ (55)
52. Epilepsy	_____	_____	_____ (56)
53. Chronic nervous trouble	_____	_____	_____ (57)
54. Cancer	_____	_____	_____ (58)
55. Hernia or rupture	_____	_____	_____ (59)
56. Cirrhosis of the liver	_____	_____	_____ (60)
57. Other (specify) _____	_____	_____	_____ (61)
_____	_____	_____	
_____	_____	_____	
58. Project ID Number _____			_____ 16 (73-80)

APPENDIX F
DEBRIEFING FORM

Context of the Interview

Instructions to the Interviewer: After completing the interview, leave the interview setting and complete this form.

1. Where did the interview take place? _____

2. Who was present besides the interviewer? _____

3. Describe the physical setting. _____

4. Describe your degree of rapport with the interviewer. _____

5. Describe the interviewee's affect (cheerful, depressed angry, etc.).

6. How credible was the interviewee? _____

7. Describe the interviewee's attentiveness or distractability. _____

Comments _____

APPENDIX G
INFORMED CONSENT FORM

Participant Consent Form

This project involves helping us understand more about women's experiences in marriage and divorce. If you decide to participate in this study, you will be asked a variety of questions about your life. Some of these questions will be personal in nature. The results of the interview will be completely confidential and information about your responses will not be given to anyone outside this project. The forms I fill out during the interview will not have your name on them, but instead will be coded with a special number. The list of the names of women I interview and the matching code numbers will be kept in a locked file cabinet and will be destroyed after the interviews are all completed.

Your participation in the interview is completely voluntary. You may choose not to answer any question you are asked and you may withdraw from the project at any time.

Some women have been referred to this project by another agency or group. However, no other agency or group is sponsoring this study and will not be given any information about your specific answers in the interview. If you decide not to participate or to withdraw from the project, that will not affect any services you may be receiving from an agency.

If you have any questions at this point or at any time later in the interview, feel free to ask them. You will be given a copy of this form to keep in case you need to contact me later about this research project.

Shelley Perry, Doctoral Student in
Psychology
Department of Psychology
Austin Peay Building
University of Tennessee
Knoxville, TN 37996-0900
(615) 974-2165

I have read the above and agree to participate voluntarily in this project.

Date: _____

Signature: _____

Name Printed: _____

APPENDIX H

ADDITIONAL ANALYSES OF SUBJECT CHARACTERISTICS

Comparison of Subjects to Female Population of Represented
Counties on Age Ranges, Education Level, and Hollingshead
Occupational Classifications

243

	Subjects	Population

Age Ranges		

15-19	1.5%	11.4%
20-29	26.9	21.0
30-39	23.8	18.6
40-49	22.4	14.3
50-59	10.5	13.7
60-69	6.0	12.0
70-79	7.5	7.4
80-89	1.5	1.7

	100.1%	100.1%

$\chi^2=.20$ p > .05

Years of Education

0-4	3.8%	6.2%
5-7	5.8	12.5
8	11.5	14.9
9-11	19.2	16.9
12	34.6	32.6
13-15	19.2	9.3
16	5.8	4.8
17+	0	2.8

	99.9%	100.0%

$\chi^2=.19$ p > .05

Occupational Classification

244

Class 1-Higher executives, proprietors of large concerns, and major professionals	0.0%	3.0%
Class 2-Business managers, proprietors of medium-sized businesses, and lesser professionals	4.6	4.3
Class 3-Administrative personnel, small independent businesses, and minor professionals	7.7	2.6
Class 4-Clerical and sales workers, technicians, and owners of little businesses	6.2	6.3
Class 5-Skilled manual employees	7.7	5.7
Class 6-Machine operators and semi-skilled employees	18.5	16.2
Class 7-Unskilled employees**	55.4	61.8
	100.1%*	99.9%*

$\chi^2 = .15$ $p > .05$

* Percentages do not add up to 100% due to rounding.

** Class 7 includes unemployed females.

	$\bar{X}$	SD	Range
Spouses' age at wives' first marriage	23.8	6.1	18-24
Subject's age at second marriage	28.5	8.8	17-46

	Educational level of wives	Educational level of husbands	Hollingshead rating
Age subject's relationship began	.29*	.32*	n.s.
Age at marriage	.30*	.34*	-.24*
Husband's age at wives' marriage	n.s.	-.48*	n.s.
Parents' marital status	n.s.	n.s.	.24*

* $p \leq .05$

	$\bar{X}$	SD	Range
MAFERR Self-orientation subscore	47.0	6.2	33-63
MAFERR Family-orientation subscore	49.2	8.8	30-66
MAFERR Difference score	-2.2	12.4	-31-30
Familism score	43.9	9.9	40-63
Composite Symptom Checklist (CSC) Overall score	44.6	11.3	22-86
CSC Factor I	14.8	3.0	9-25
CSC Factor II	9.9	3.0	5-20
CSC Factor III	5.6	2.3	3-12

	Education Level	Hollingshead Score	NORC Score	Age at Marriage	Husband's Age at Marriage	Length Time Wives Knew Husbands at Marriage
MAFERR Self-orientation subscore	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	.28*	-.30*	.38*
MAFERR Family-orientation subscore	.36*	-.35*	.32*	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
MAFERR Difference score	n.s.	.24*	-.25*	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.

* $p \leq .05$

Comparison of Subgroup Means on MAFERR Subscales, Familism Scale and CSC Subscales

Variable	Young-married	Older-married	Young-divorced	Older-divorced	F=	P=
MAFERR-self-orientation (N=67)	47.8	49.0	46.9	44.1	1.85	.148
MAFERR family-orientation (N=67)	49.9	46.7	49.2	51.4	.80	.50
MAFERR difference score (N=63)	-1.73	2.29	-4.53	-8.43	2.34	.082
Familism score (N=66)	46.6	46.5	41.2	41.5	1.58	.204
CSC Overall (N=67)	42.5	41.4	48.8	45.6	1.57	.204
CSC Factor I (N=66)	14.1	14.8	15.6	14.9	.73	.535
CSC Factor II (N=66)	9.8	8.8	10.7	10.3	1.34	.269
CSC Factor III (N=66)	5.4	4.8	6.3	5.5	1.43	.242

VITA

Margaret Shelley Perry was born in Cincinnati, Ohio, in 1953. She attended Elmira College, Elmira, NY, where she received her B.A. in psychology and sociology in 1974, summa cum laude. She was awarded a Master of Arts degree from Temple University, Philadelphia, PA, in 1980, after completing the program in Clinical/Community Psychology. In 1980, she entered the doctoral program in Community Psychology at the University of Tennessee. She was awarded the Ph.D. degree in 1987. Her professional training has included research and evaluation positions at community mental health centers in Tennessee, and at Tennessee Valley Authority. She also worked for Xerox Corporation as a consultant in management training. She is presently employed as a senior research analyst at Westat in Rockville, MD. She lives in Warrenton, Virginia.