The Impact of Marital Dissolution on Personal Distress and Child Rearing Attitudes of Mothers

Julie Cohen, Ph.D.¹

Social trends of the last several years point towards increasing dissolution of the traditional two-parent model of the family. The US Census figures for 1977 report that the rate of divorce, per thousand married women, jumped from 9.6 percent in 1963 to 19.3 percent in 1974, and has continued to rise in the last several years. Each year from 1972 to 1979, a million children under the age of eighteen were also affected by divorce, and this number is expected to rapidly increase in the 1980s.

The problem of marital dissolution has been accompanied by a growing body of literature. Much of this literature consists of anecdotes and descriptions of people involved in divorce and of clinical theory and practice (Bowlby and Parkes, 1970; Weiss, 1975). By contrast, empirical studies are much fewer. Those that have been done have tended to focus on identifying the characteristics of mothers and children from divorced homes or on the short-term impact of divorce on families (Biller, 1974; Lyn, 1974). Seldom has the research design included a comparison group of married women or women separated for over two years. In addition, the influence of separation on child rearing attitudes, and the relationship between female adjustment and child rearing attitudes, have been virtually overlooked as subjects of inquiry.

Marital dissolution often precipitates profound disturbance and disorganization in those who must face and cope with it. Several authors describe the sense of crisis experienced as familiar instrumental and affectual bonds are disrupted, whether in childhood, adolescence, or adulthood (Rohlich et al., 1977; Sorosky, 1977; Weiss, 1975). The grief reactions, in response to the initial trauma of the marital separation, may be further compounded by the difficulties of the subsequent single-parent life style. The standard of living may be drastically reduced, especially for the mother of young children with few marketable skills. Facing multiple responsibilities alone and on a daily basis may result in chronic feelings of anxiety, resentment, and despair (Weiss, 1975, 1979). Empirical study also supports that marital

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dissolution causes critical disruption in psychological, interpersonal, and parental areas of functioning. In an extensive two-year longitudinal study by Hetherington, Cox, and Cox (1978) the findings showed that, after one year of divorce, parents suffered acute disturbances in self-concept, lacked behavioral routines in daily living, and were involved in self-defeating and destructive patterns of interaction with their children. By the end of two years, however, problems in each of these areas had largely diminished, and the attitudes of the divorced parents began to approximate those of the married comparison group. These findings suggest that the process of recovery following divorce may be time-limited, and that the self-perceptions and activities of separated mothers become similar to those of married mothers over time.

Other studies, however, suggest a less optimistic picture. Kelley and Wallerstein (1980) found, in their sample of separated families, that the majority of parents experienced marked turmoil and instability well into their third year of separation. By the fifth year, roughly one-third still reported severe unhappiness and dissatisfaction as single parents. These latter findings seem to support Jacobson's (1979) notion of single-parenthood as a crisis matrix. This term refers to the increased vulnerability of separated parents which results in the likelihood of involvement in recurrent crisis.

The impact of separation on maternal attitudes or response seems less apparent in the divorce literature than on adult personality and functioning in general. Clues as to this impact may be found in discussions of family dynamics. For example, if the child is viewed as an unwanted reminder of the ex-husband, then the mother may feel bitter and resentful towards her offspring. On the other hand, with the departure of the ex-husband, she may also regard the mother-child relationship as a primary source of comfort and company (Cline and Westman, 1971; Cull and Hardy, 1974).

The few empirical studies which focus on child rearing attitudes and practices following separation tend to show a strong correspondence between a mother's personal status and her ability to remain attentive and responsive to her children. Jacobson (1978) observed in her sample of recently divorced parents that the more highly distressed were also the least able to help their children cope with the consequences of the divorce. Many of the case studies of Kelley and Wallerstein (1980) also illustrate this relationship.

The relationship between a mother's personality attributes and her parenting attitudes and practice has been well documented in the parent-child literature (Walters and Stinnett, 1971). This concept has also served as an implicit assumption underlying a number of studies whose explicit focus is on the relationship between parental personality and child adjustment (Biller, 1974; Medinnus and Curtis, 1963). The unstated but assumed link is, of course, that a parent's personality influences child rearing attitudes and behavior, which in turn affect child development.

Some of the more refined psychometric measures of parent attitudes are also based on the assumption that a parent's personality plays a large role in child rearing attitudes and practice. For example, items on the U.S.C. Parent Attitude Scale (PAS) (Shoben, 1949) and the Parent Attitude Research Instrument (PARI) (Schaefer and Bell, 1958) reflect a mother's sex-role conflict, anxiety, resentment, marital adjustment, and tension in the home. These factors were felt to represent deep-seated and persistent attitudes involved in the etiology of child disturbance. The influence of marital dissolution on such established attitudes was not ascertained.

The objective of this study was, then, to examine the impact of separation and divorce on mothers with young children over time. Specifically, the study attends to the ways in which separation influences personal distress and child rearing attitudes, and to the relationship between personal distress and child rearing attitudes.

For the purposes of the study, women separated for 15 months or less are designated as the short-term separated and women separated for 24 months or more are viewed as the long-term separated. This classification is consistent with the results of Hetherington, Cox, and Cox reported elsewhere in this paper. A group of married women served as a source of comparison.
for the separated group as a whole.
The following hypotheses were tested: (1) married women are less distressed than separated women; (2) the child rearing attitudes of married women are more favorable than those of separated women; (3) women separated for 24 months or longer are less distressed than women separated for 15 months or less; (4) women separated for 24 months or longer show more favorable child rearing attitudes than women separated for 15 months or less; and (5) the lower the level of personal distress, the more favorable are the child rearing attitudes for both married and separated mothers.

METHODS
Sample Selection
The sample is composed of 79 separated and 52 married women. The separated women were required to live in residences separate from the ex-husbands and to be involved in marital separation for at least one week. Each mother had to have one or more children between the ages of 4 and 12 years living with her throughout the week of the school year. The married subjects had to be living with their spouses and have at least one child between the ages of 4 and 12 years at home.

Subject Description
The age of the separated subjects ranged from 25 years to 48 years, with a mean age of 33.6 years. The married subjects ranged in age from 27 years to 47 years, with 36.1 years as the mean age. The mean education of the separated and married groups was two to three years of college. The percentage of each group employed outside of the home was 94 percent of the separated and 79 percent of the married. The majority of separated and married subjects were Protestant although Jewish, Catholics, and agnostics were also represented. The range of the length of separation extended from one week to ten years, with a mean length of 3.5 years.

The separated and married groups were determined to be essentially comparable with respect to all demographic variables except husband's education and occupation as measures of socio-economic status. A chi-square analysis of husband's education is presented in Table 1 and of husband's occupation in Table 2. Both analyses confirm the difference in social class membership in favor of the married group. A central question, then, has to do with the extent to which this difference exercises an influence on the measures relevant to the substance of this study. The necessary analyses and discussion of the relationship between socio-economic status and substantive variables are presented in the section on results.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 1 Husband's Education in Separated and Married Groups</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Husband's Education:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married N  %       Separated N  %       Total N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less than 10 Years   3  5.8         3  3.8       6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-12 Years         5  9.6         27 34.2      32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Year College      2  3.8         8 10.1       10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Years College     9  17.3        16 20.3      25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Years College     2  3.8         3  3.8       5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Years College     16 30.8        7  8.9       23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Completion of Postgraduate Study</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 28.8             15 19.0        30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52                 79            131</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chi-Square = 19.68 with 6 degrees of freedom p < .01.
Table 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Husband's Occupation</th>
<th>Married</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Separated</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Husband's Occupation:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Executive — Professional</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>32.7</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>17.7</td>
<td>31</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Businessman — Lesser Professional</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>19.0</td>
<td>28</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Administrator — Small Businessman</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>21.2</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>22.8</td>
<td>29</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical — Sales — Technician</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled Manual — Machine Operator</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>25.3</td>
<td>24</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi-skilled Manual</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>52</td>
<td></td>
<td>79</td>
<td></td>
<td>131</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Chi-Square = 11.28 with 5 degrees of freedom p < .05.

Instruments

Two research instruments were used, the Adjustment Inventory and the Maryland Parent Attitude Survey (MPAS) (Pumroy, 1966). The Adjustment Inventory, presented in Appendix A, consists of items designed to measure the degree of distress experienced in daily living. Distress is measured by two separate subscale scores; the first is obtained from an adjective checklist of predominant mood states and the second from statements eliciting information about the personality and functioning.

The mood scale is composed of ten adjective pairs which represent polar opposites on dimensions of emotional states, including fatigue. These particular pairs are of a variety of commonly experienced moods associated with marital distress: anxiety, guilt, low self-confidence, depression, fear, and hostility. For every negative emotion of the pair selected, a point is added. A higher mood score is indicative of higher personal distress.

The second measure of personal distress includes items which tap different facets of personality and functioning. Questions were obtained from the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory and the Tennessee Self-Concept Scale. Selection was based on ostensible power of the items to elicit information relevant to post-separation recovery. Subjects were given from one to four points for each item based on their degree of agreement. A higher score represents higher personal distress.

Additional items were also included on the Adjustment Inventory given to the separated subjects in order to measure the experience of threat, hardship, and resources following the marital separation. Findings generated from this portion of the Inventory will be reported in a subsequent publication.

The Adjustment Inventory was devised for the present study for the following reasons: (1) no appropriate instruments seemed directly applicable to the immediate problems under investigation, (2) the requirement was not for a formally scaled "test" but for a set of relevant observations,
and (3) items were easily generated from the literature on divorce and from pools of items defined by well constructed and much analyzed psychometric devices. The result was, of course, a form of mensuration without known reliability or validity in the technical sense but one that appeared germane to the domain under inquiry. The determination of utility in the current context rests entirely on the results achieved in light of the judgment of substantive suitability that represents its fundamental justification.

The Maryland Parent Attitude Survey (Pumroy, 1966) was employed to measure attitudes towards child rearing. These attitudes are measured by items which are representative of four parent types — Rejecting, Disciplinarian, Indulgent, and Protective — conceptually derived from a large body of parent-child literature. The format of the MPAS is that for every question, a statement which reflects one of the parent types is paired with a statement reflecting another type of parent. The more statements chosen within each pair which fall into any particular category of parent type, the more the respondent reflects the attitudes and presumably the behaviors of that type. The higher the score on any subscale, the more extreme or unfavorable the attitudes are considered with respect to the particular type of parent represented.

The MPAS was chosen for this study because: (1) it is short and therefore easy to administer without making excessive demands on the respondent, (2) the variables assessed by this instrument seem relevant to a mother's experience of marital separation, (3) the reliability of the MPAS scales, measured by split-half and test-retest methods, ranges from .62 to .83, which is considered adequate for an instrument of this kind. In addition, the MPAS is based on a long history of refined scales of parent types, including the PAS (Shoben, 1949) and the PARI (Schaefer and Bell, 1958).

Procedures
Subjects were recruited from a variety of service agencies in Los Angeles and Orange counties during January through May of 1981. Procedures for subject recruitment and data collection varied by agency. Key personnel within five of the organizations located qualified volunteers, and then distributed and collected questionnaire packets which were later retrieved by the investigator. Regarding two other organizations, the investigator attended meetings where the study was made known. Qualified persons were given questionnaires and instructed to return them at a later meeting. By attending workshops at a local singles convention, several more subjects were recruited. Questionnaires were given out with instructions to mail them in a stamped, addressed envelope provided. Finally, friends of the investigator identified eligible persons who agreed to participate in the study. After a telephone follow-up, questionnaires were sent along with an addressed, stamped envelope for return by mail.

Each subject was given a packet of materials. The packet contained a synopsis of the study, a consent form, the Adjustment Inventory, and the MPAS. Assurance was given that identity would be protected as much as possible.

As is evident, these procedures and methodological approaches entail certain limitations and constraints. Unequal sample sizes and divergent social class levels illustrate two of these conditions. In addition, no attention was paid to the conditions of the marital dissolution — whether the decision to separate was mutually arrived at or initiated by one or the other partner — which could prove determinative. Also, the recruitment of both the separated and married samples may have put a special premium on active women of high initiative and with the social skills that make institutional membership successful and rewarding. To the extent that skewing of this kind actually occurred, it makes for difficulty in specifying the populations that the samples represent and constrains the generalizations that might otherwise be drawn from the results of this inquiry.

RESULTS

The Relationship between Demographic and Substantive Variables
As indicated in the section on methods, the sample of married mothers in this study is somewhat higher in socio-economic status than the sample of separated mothers. A
central question has to do with the extent to which this difference exercises an influence on the measures relevant to the substance of the present study. To address this issue, the correlations of all demographic variables with mood and personality and with the four dimensions of child rearing attitudes in each of the samples are presented in Tables 3 and 4.

For the married subjects, low correlations and the absence of any meaningful pattern of covariation suggest little substantive basis for the likelihood that demographic variables account significantly for mothers' mood, personality, or attitudes towards child rearing. The magnitudes of correlation between demographic variables and the variables of mood and personality are all below .30. Only five of twenty-five correlations between demographic variables and child rearing attitudes achieve conventional levels of significance and only husband's occupation correlates significantly with more than one dimension of child rearing.

For the separated subjects, the magnitudes of correlation between demographic variables and mood and personality are, with one minor exception, uniformly nonsignificant. Only ten of the twenty-eight correlations between demographic and child rearing variables achieve conventional significance levels. Relationships are clearly weak, but five of the ten significant correlations involve indices of socio-economic status — occupation, education, and ex-husband's occupation. Unlike the situation with personal distress, child rearing attitudes in the separated group seem to reflect, significantly though undramatically, the social class membership of the mothers.

In the light of these findings, it seems appropriate to regard the samples of married and separated mothers as essentially comparable. The dependent variables of personal distress and child rearing attitudes seem to be influenced only rarely and then in only minor ways by such factors as age, number of children, length of marriage, and even socio-economic status. The last item, though its influence has a degree of consistency, never appears to determine a very high proportion of the variance in any of the substantively critical variables in either sample.

### Table 3

**Pearson Product-Moment Correlations between Demographic and Dependent Variables for Married Subjects**

N = 52

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Mood</th>
<th>Personality</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Disciplinarian Scale</td>
<td>Indulgent Scale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>-.28*</td>
<td>-.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupation</td>
<td>-.13</td>
<td>.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>-.16</td>
<td>-.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Length of Marriage</td>
<td>-.05</td>
<td>-.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of Children</td>
<td>-.24*</td>
<td>-.25*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Husband's Occupation</td>
<td>.02</td>
<td>.22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a For occupation, N = 43; nine women reported no occupation. * p < .05 ** p < .01
Testing of Hypotheses

The first hypothesis of this study holds that married women differ from those who are separated on personal distress. As predicted, married women show significantly lower indices for both mood, \( t(129) = -6.04, p < .01 \), and personality factors, \( t(129) = -2.90, p < .05 \).

The hypothesis relating child rearing attitudes to membership in the separated and married groups, however, was not supported. The results of the t-Test for each of the categories of parent types are as follows: disciplinarian, \( t(129) = .98, p > .05 \); indulgent, \( t(129) = .70, p > .05 \); protective, \( t(129) = 1.62, p > .05 \); and rejecting, \( t(129) = -3.21, p > .05 \).

The hypothesis linking distress to child rearing attitudes in separated and married populations was similarly not confirmed. The relevant results are presented in Tables 5 and 6. For the married group, only two out of eight correlations achieve conventional significance levels, and four correlations are in a direction contrary to expectation. For the separated group, only three of eight correlations achieve conventional levels of significance; three are in directions opposite to that predicted.

It was also hypothesized that, because of the processes of recovery from the separations, women separated for 24 months or longer show lower indices of personal distress and more favorable child rearing attitudes than those separated for 15 months or less. The mean age was 34.3 years for the short-term separated and 33.2 years for the long-term separated. Educationally, the mean for both groups was approximately three years of college. A chi-square analysis, presented in Table 7, indicates the comparability of the separated groups with respect to husband's occupation. The t-Tests relevant to the hypotheses indicate the following: mood, \( t(72) = .90, p > .05 \); personality, \( t(72) = -1.63, p > .05 \); disciplinarian, \( t(72) = -1.71, p > .05 \); indulgent, \( t(72) = 1.64, p > .05 \); protective, \( t(72) = .41, p > .05 \); and rejecting, \( t(72) = -.57, p > .05 \). Neither of the hypotheses may be regarded as confirmed.
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**Table 5**

Pearson Product-Moment Correlations between Mood, Personality, and Four Child Rearing Scales for Separated Subjects

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Mood</th>
<th>Personality</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Disciplinarian Scale</td>
<td>-.03</td>
<td>.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indulgent Scale</td>
<td>-.18</td>
<td>-.31**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protective Scale</td>
<td>-.01</td>
<td>-.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rejecting</td>
<td>.24*</td>
<td>on***</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* p < .05 **p < .01 *** p < .001

**Table 6**

Pearson Product-Moment Correlations between Mood, Personality, and Four Child Rearing Scales for Married Subjects

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Mood</th>
<th>Personality</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Disciplinarian Scale</td>
<td>-.33**</td>
<td>.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indulgent Scale</td>
<td>.17</td>
<td>-.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protective Scale</td>
<td>-.14</td>
<td>-.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rejecting</td>
<td>.25*</td>
<td>.08</td>
</tr>
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</table>

*p < .05 **p < .01

**Table 7**

Husband's Occupation in Relation to Length of Separation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Husband's Occupation:</th>
<th>15 Months or Less</th>
<th>16-23 Months</th>
<th>24 Months or More</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Executive — Professional</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Businessman — Lesser Professional</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Administrator — Small Businessman</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical — Sales — Technician</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled Manual</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Machine Operator — Semi-Skilled Manual</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>26</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>79</td>
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</table>

Chi-Square = 13.26 with 10 degrees of freedom \( p = .21 \)
DISCUSSION

The prediction that separated women experience greater personal distress than married women was supported by the findings of this study. The prediction that women separated for 24 months or more experience less personal distress than women separated for 15 months or more was not confirmed.

This finding of difference between the personal distress of separated and married women is discrepant with the results of studies often reported in the divorce literature. Various facets of adjustment are described by a number of authors as approaching those of married women within the first one or two years after the marital dissolution. (Hackney, 1975; Hetherington, Cox and Cox, 1978). In one such study, the authors add, however, that after two years of separation, mitigating circumstances such as a satisfying sexual relationship and a supportive network of friends may be more determinative of adjustment than any further passage of time (Hetherington, Cox and Cox, 1978).

Although not disputing the importance of mitigating factors such as close relationships and helpful resources, the results of the present study suggest that the personal experience of turmoil, which distinguishes the separated mothers from the married mothers, may be attributed to the often inordinate and conflictual role demands of single-parenthood. Furthermore, this distress may continue as long as the demands persist. Evidence for this interpretation can be found in a study by this author, to be reported in a subsequent article, that hardship in daily living accounts for a significantly greater proportion of the variance in personal distress than resources among separated mothers. Other problems which continue to confront the separated mother include challenge to her authority, loss of status, and sense of failure (Brandwein, Brown and Fox, 1974).

Nonetheless, for some substantial proportion of separated women, the difficulties of single-parent living may seem preferable to the heartache and disruption of a troublesome marriage. This conclusion was supported by the majority of responses to an item presented to the subjects in this study. When asked if the divorce resulted in a more satisfying or less satisfying life style, 74 percent of the respondents indicated greater satisfaction with their post-divorce life style than their life style while married. The reasons given for greater satisfaction fall into the following categories: diminished tension and fighting caused by marital friction, increased freedom and opportunity for self-expression and growth, improved self-confidence and self-reliance, increased control of decision-making, rid of husband's problems such as alcohol or drug abuse, improved social life and relationship with one's child.

The life style led by the majority of separated women may be characterized by achievement of a new sort of equilibrium. This new and different equilibrium of the separated subjects may be viewed as a sort of accommodation to the unique problems and demands of everyday living as a single parent. Accommodation may involve two processes: One entails a concentration on the more urgent and pressing problems such as meeting job, household, financial, and childcare obligations. The other may take at least the temporary form of a kind of resignation or giving up on less immediate or important concerns. These latter concerns may include initiation or reciprocity in social relationships, unresolved psychological conflicts related to the separation or single-parenthood, personal interests such as adequate rest, relaxation, exercise, and educational or occupational advancement.

These dual functions may occur simultaneously and outside of the individual's awareness. Their outcome may include the development of a predictable and stable routine in which states of panic and extreme disorganization, associated with crisis, rarely occur. Even though troublesome reactions, such as tension, self-disparagement, and anger, may be frequently experienced, their impact on personal and family functioning may be considerably less disruptive and disheartening than the affects and defenses precipitated by the dissolution of the marriage.

The concept of accommodation raises a serious question: While the adjustment patterns of separated women may differ
from those of the married, are they necessarily inferior? It seems at least arguable that the implication of inferiority, found often in the literature, may reflect only the culture's conventional wisdom rather than anything founded in factors of psychological significance. The quality of life styles associated with single and married parenthood may differ so drastically that to judge the adjustment of women in either group according to the same criteria may result in a psychologically meaningless exercise.

The prediction of relationship between personal distress and child rearing attitudes for both the separated and married women was not borne out by the results of this study. These findings are contrary to the results generally reported in both the divorce and the parent-child literature (Walters and Stinnett, 1971). They raise a number of serious issues which can only be disposed of here by the following reflections:

First, there may simply be no significant differences in child rearing attitudes as a function of the separated-married dimension. Marital status and a mother's personal distress may simply not be useful bases for distinguishing the ways in which mothers feel and respond toward their children. Second, variation in the motivations underlying child rearing attitudes, and the subsequent attitudes and behaviors of separated mothers, may produce central tendencies in aggregated data that superficially resemble those characteristic of the married group, whereas substantively the child rearing attitudes may be quite different.

Third, the discriminatory power of the Maryland Parent Attitude Survey may have been insufficient to elicit differences between the married and separated women on child rearing attitudes for the following reasons: (1) the MPAS may lack both the substantive range and the psychometric reliability to distinguish between groups that differ on the married-separated dimension; (2) the categories of the scale, though of proven utility in situations of intense parent-child conflict, may not focus on the appropriate dimensions of child rearing which differ in this rather different context. Perhaps, the complex problems of the mother assuming the role of father as well as her own may be more germane than the dimensions embodied in the MPAS; (3) the separated mothers may have carried over from their marriages the verbal expression of their attitudes towards child rearing, regardless of any modification in their mothering behavior. If this was the case, then the scale would, in effect be assessing the natural language of two functionally married groups.

With respect to the unconfirmed relationship between personal distress and child rearing attitudes for the married and separated groups, at least two explanations seem paramount. The first has to do with insufficient reliability and limited discriminatory power of the MPAS. For example, the attitudinal categories identified on the MPAS may not be those most likely to covary with the post-divorce adjustment of mothers. A second explanation is that the personal distress experienced by mothers may not, in fact, be an adequate indicator of child rearing attitudes. This view runs counter to the long-established assumption of relatedness between a mother's personality factors and maternal attitudes and practices, and has serious implications for the revision of parent attitude measures. Further studies are needed to support or reject these assertions, and to further clarify the impact of marital dissolution on other domains of parent attitudes and care.
Appendix A

The Adjustment Inventory

You will find a list of adjectives below. Check one of the pair opposite each number which most applies to you. Although you may feel that both adjectives apply to you some of the time, check only the one which applies to you the more often.

1. calm       anxious       2. depressed       happy
3. frightened   confident     4. optimistic       pessimistic
5. friendly   angry           6. guilt-ridden   care-free
7. attractive   unattractive   8. relaxed       nervous
9. energetic   fatigued       10. unsuccessful   successful

Indicate your response to the questions below by circling your response on a four point scale following each question. Your choices include strong disagreement (SD), disagreement (D), agreement (A), and strong agreement (SA).

1. I am a decent sort of person. SD D A SA
2. Often I can't understand why I've been so cross and grumpy. SD D A SA
3. Life is a strain for me much of the time. SD D A SA
4. Most of the time I feel blue. SD D A SA
5. I like my looks just the way they are. SD D A SA
6. In my work, I feel tense a great deal of the time. SD D A SA
7. I cry easily. SD D A SA
8. At times I feel like smashing things. SD D A SA
9. I feel satisfied with my present behavior and life style. SD D A SA
10. I feel insecure. SD D A SA
11. I seldom worry about my health. SD D A SA
12. I have not lived the right kind of life. SD D A SA
13. I feel optimistic about the future. SD D A SA
14. I am certainly lacking in self-confidence. SD D A SA
15. I face up to difficulties and crises. SD D A SA
16. I feel irritable and angry at times for no apparent reason. SD D A SA
17. I feel that I am living a worthwhile life. SD D A SA
18. I feel weak all over much of the time. SD D A SA
19. By and large, the world seems to me to be a helpful place. SD D A SA
20. I believe my sins are unpardonable. SD D A SA
21. I am the kind of person I would like to be. SD D A SA
22. I sometimes feel that I'm about to go to pieces. SD D A SA
23. Most often I am comfortable with my standards of conduct. SD D A SA
24. I frequently feel overwhelmed. SD D A SA
25. I do not tire easily. SD D A SA

This is the end of this questionnaire. Please check over all of the items to make sure that none have been omitted. Thank you.
References
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