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Women's Experience of Divorce: Developmental Tasks of Female-headed Single Parent Families

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Introduction

The definition and functions of the family has varied throughout history and between cultures. The determination of family composition and assignment of responsibilities have changed according to the time period and the societal structure. Some twentieth century Western theorists ideas about the definition and functions of the family will be briefly discussed.

What is the family? According to C. H. Cooley (1909) the family is both a societal institution and a personal relationship. Because the family is important to a society as an organ of cultural transmission, the society uses laws, traditions, public sentiment, and economic interdependence to exert pressure on the family to conform to cultural expectations. The personal relationships which join family members together are those interactions based on affection between the parents themselves, and between parent and child. In addition, common interests in the children promote family unity.

With the focus on the personal aspect, E. W. Burgess (1939) defined the family as a "unity of interacting personalities." Communication within the family is the process which makes the unity possible. He states that the attitude and behaviors of others who regard the family as a unit provide reinforcement for the feelings of unity within the family. In this statement he acknowledges the societal influence on the family.

Taking a cross-cultural approach, Ogburn (1922) found that

in his interpretation of family structure the nuclear family was a universal human social grouping. He describes the nuclear family as a social group which typically consists of a married man and woman and their offspring. He specifies that marriage forms the basis of the nuclear family. In his view, marriage exists only when the economic and sexual functions along with residential cohabitation are combined into one relationship.

Similarly, George Murdock (1949) defines the family as a "social group characterized by common residence, economic co-operation, and reproduction. It includes adults of both sexes, at least two of whom maintain a socially-approved sexual relationship, and one or more" of their own or adopted children.

In contrast to Ogburn's and Murdock's assertion that the family universally conists of two adults of opposite sex plus their children, Jesse Bernard (1953) states that "the only universal biological relationship basic to the family is that of mother and children." She determined that the personnel of families beyond the mother and children unit is prescribed by the society in which the family resides, and is, therefore, an institutional aspect of the family. At the personal level, Bernard describes families as "primary groups characterized by intimate face-to-face association and co-operation." Other societal institutions such as the government, educational system, and corporations have formal definitions of membership,hierarchical structure, governing boards, and written rules of operation specifying objectives and procedures. In contrast the family

depends upon the interplay of the personalities of the family members to determine structure, duties, goals, objectives, and procedures for the family unit.

To carry this idea a step further, the family not only depends on the members' interplay of personalities for determining the direction of and cooperation between family members, but this group is considered a family because it is dependent for its existence on the interaction and affection of its members. According to Terkelson (1980) the uniqueness of the family is that unlike other organizations which emphasize instrumental functions, the family places its highest value on attachment, loyalty, and caring. Terkelson defines the family as a "small social system made up of individuals related to each other by reason of strong reciprocal affections and loyalties, and comprising a permanent household or cluster of households that persist over years and decades." He includes in his definition "any subdivision of this kind of social unit which itself possesses these same attributes of affection, loyalty, and durability of membership." (pp. 23-24).

Systems family theorists have considered the family in terms of a structured system (Minuchin, 1974) consisting of interdependent parts interacting in patterns prescribed by unwritten but mutually understood rules. A rule, in family systems terminology is an implicit unwritten law, an inference or an abstraction. It is repetitious and redundant over time and self-perpetuating. It is also a parsimonious way of dealing

with much data, and it takes on the style of the system in which it is found (private conversation with Baruch Schulem, instructor, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo.). An example of a rule is "always be sure to ask father first, but he will then tell you to ask mother who makes the final decision when father tells her to do so." In this case if someone would break the rule by asking mother first, she would ask if the person had first asked father, then send the person to ask father, Father would send the individual to mother with a message for her to decide. At this point she would make a decision. In family systems theory, boundaries of varying degrees of permeability separates the individual members from each other and the family unit from other parts of society.

The family's interaction and rules may be formulated from the interplay of personalities within the family. However, the functions of the family are almost completely determined by society. Historically, the family was the primary and at times the sole provider of many functions. William Ogburn (1922) delineated the functions of the family as: 1) education; 2) economic provision; 3) recreation; 4) religious training; 5) protection; 6) social status; and 7) affection and procreation.

In preindustrial society the family was the central focus of life for all its members. It was usually the place of production of goods as well as the location of consumption. Because the family controlled most of the resources and rewards available, it was able to exercise a great amount of control over the

behavior of its members (Scanzoni & Scanzoni, 1976). Currently, although there are remnants of all the above functions, the family has lost a large portion of its controlling influence in each area of functioning. Ogburn (1922) believed that the family now retains only the functions of affection and procreation. The affection provided in families is still an extremely important function. "The future stability of the family will depend . . . [largely] . . . on the strength of the affectional bonds" (Ogburn, 1922, p. 295). But even this function has undergone change. Because extramarital sexual gratification, one component of affection available within the family, has become increasingly accepted even this bond has weakened. Divorce is increased because certain functions and traditions which operated to hold even an inharmonious family together have now weakened or disappeared (Ogburn, 1922). In child rearing and bearing, both of which Ogburn includes in the category of procreation, "No society has succeeded in finding an adequate substitute for the nuclear family to which it might transfer these functions." (Ogburn, 1922, p. 163).

Glasser and Navarre, (1969) delineate the present functions of the family as: 1) reproduction; 2) physical maintenance (housing, housekeeping, laundry, health care, etc.); 3) socialization; 4) determination of status; 5) affection; 6) security; 7) guidance; and 8) sexual gratification. Similarly, Scanzoni and Scanzoni (1976) group the functions of the family as 1) reproduction; 2) socialization of children; 3) producing and

consuming foods and services; 4) maintaining the physical and emotional well-being of its members; and 5) performing specified tasks within the home and community.

N. Epstein, et al. (1978) describe the family functions as the performing of basic material tasks such as provision of food, shelter, and clothing, supporting developmental tasks related to both the growth of individual family members and the transition through the stages of the family life cycle, and finally, sustaining the members through hazardous tasks such as loss of income, illness, death, and moving to a new residence.

Terkelson defines the family's functions as providing a context that supports the need attainment for each of its members and as fostering lifetime affectional relationships between its members (Terkelson, 1980).

Psychologists in various schools of thought have unanimously emphasized the family function of socialization of the young. Sigmund Freud stressed the importance of the influence of the early family relationships on the entire life of the individual.

> The first relationships, those that occur within the nuclear family, are the defining ones; all later relationships relate in various ways back to the ways those initial relationships were formed and maintained. The basic patterns of child-mother, child-father, and child-sibling are the prototypes against which later encounters are unconsciously measured. Later relationships are, to some degree, recapitulations of the dynamics, tensions, and gratifications that occurred within the original family. Our choices in life--lovers, friends, bosses, even our enemies--are derivatives of the parent-child bonds. The natural rivalries are recapitulated in our sex roles and in the way

> we accommodate to the demands of others. Over and over again, we play out the dynamics begun in our homes, frequently picking as partners people who reawaken in us the unresolved aspects of our early needs. For some people these are conscious choices, for others it is done in ignorance of the underlying dynamics. Relationships are built on a foundation of the residual effects of intense early experiences. All social relationships of any intensity are reworking the unresolved facets of childhood beginnings." (Fadiman & Frager, 1976, p. 185).

Alfred Adler believed that a parent's style of child-rearing practices strongly affected a child's ability to learn healthy social survival skills. He stated that the three major life tasks: work, friendship, and love are all based on cooperation which is social behavior that must be learned in the family (Adler, 1956).

B. F. Skinner (1954) acknowledges that the family is a large force in shaping the members' personality through reinforcement and punishment. He defines personality as a collection of behavior patterns which are shaped by conditioning. Much of the individual's conditioning is determined by the family where a large part of the individual's experience takes place.

Wilhelm Reich (1942) believed that children learn patterns of behavior in their relationships with their parents. The tensions generated in family relationships are held in the children's bodies in specific patterns which they carry with them to adulthood. These patterns of muscular tension determine individuals' posture, breathing, and movement. The chronic tension patterns resulting from locked up emotions become chrystallized into what he called character structure. Then people react in

all relationships in specific patterns predetermined by the boundaries of their character structure (Reich, 1949).

Carl Rogers (1961) takes the position that the family is important in deciding how children define themselves. Children need love or positive regard. According to Rogers' interpretation, when children see disapproval of their actions they apply the disapproval to their own sense of self worth. To regain a feeling of approval from their parents, children seek to please the parents even if this means acting in ways that are unhealthy for the children. To be pleasing the children must repress and deny parts of themselves. Carl Rogers calls this process acquiring conditions of worth. The denial that must continue in order to maintain conditions of worth obstruct accurate perception and realistic awareness. Growth is impeded to the extent that the person distorts experience to support the artifically pleasing self concept. The misconstruction of a false self image carried to extremes may result in psychosis. Rogers believed that health returns when people are able to reclaim their repressed and disowned parts. The family's attitudes and behavior sets the emotional tone for children's degree of acceptance or denial of self and experience.

Others agree with Rogers'(e.g., Erikson, 1956; Mead, 1934; Sullivan, 1953) contention that people's sense of interpersonal competence and power may be fostered or inhibited by the family. The family is the site of development of the psychosocial self (Fadiman & Frager, 1976). The family is the origin of one's

self identity, i.e., the concept of oneself and others initially emerges from the interactions of family members. Children learn not only their self-identity but their sex role identity within the family. They are taught the sex-appropriate attitudes and behaviors. Research has shown that boy and girl infants receive different attention and handling from their mothers (Weitzmann , 1979). Another study found that at age three children showed incomplete recognition of sex differences and were unaware of the appropriateness of sex-typed toy objects. However, by the age of six they are able to distinguish the male and female role clearly, and to identify themselves, know the kinds of behavior expected of members of each sex, and behave in accordance with sex role standards (Weitzmann, 1979). As children grow, they receive reinforcement and encouragement for sex-appropriate behavior. They are discouraged from developing opposite sex traits (Cameron, 1963; Gecas, 1974; Komarovsky, 1953; Miller, 1978; Oakley, 1972).

The child at each stage of development acquires skills and competencies through family living which permit increased mastery over his/her environment. This is the definition of developmental tasks (Havighurst, 1953). Families, as well as individuals have specific developmental tasks. "Mastery of the tasks of later stages of development often depends on the successful acquisition of earlier and simpler skills," (Newman, & Newman, 1976 , p. 2). Family developmental tasks, too, must be mastered at certain points in the family life cycle. Hill, 1964, states that there are distinctive role complexes for family members to

learn at each stage of the family life cycle. Carter and McGoldrick, 1980, further develop this idea, hypothesizing that there are emotional tasks to be fulfilled by the family system at each stage of the family life cycle, that these emotional tasks require a change in status of family members, and that family members must go through a complex emotional process in making the transition from phase to phase. J. Haley (1973) contends that stress is greatest at the transition points and that when families experience problems that bring them into therapy, they are usually in need of help because they have been unable to resolve the issues necessary to pass through the transition point into the next stage of development. Minuchin (1974) believes that the family life cycle is a key component of the family systems viewpoint, so much so that family therapy will not be successful if the therapist disregards the family's developmental stage in the life cycle. Neugarten (1976) suggests that major life cycle transition events such as marriage, birth of a child, or death of a parent are much more likely to be traumatic if they occur at an off-time in the life cycle. Watzlawick (1974) concurs with the above theories. He concludes that at the transition points individual psychological change is not enough, that life cycle transitions create the need for system change.

Early theory concerning family developmental tasks assumed that all families were intact nuclear families (Duvall, 1952). However, the intact nuclear family is no longer the experience for an increasing number of people.

Divorce is becoming increasingly prevalent in the United States. In fact, the divorce rate doubled between 1965 and 1975 to reach the rate of more than one million divorces in 1975 (Norton & Glick, 1979). "Approximately nine million minor children (or one in seven) have experienced at least one parental divorce," (Kressel & Deutsch, 1977). In 1976 alone over three million people were living in families which were separated by divorce in that year. This number of families affected by divorce in the one year of 1976 includes more than one million adults and over two million children, or 1.5% of the total population (Bloom, Asher, & White, 1978). The total number of marriages for 1978 was 2,243,000, while the divorces for that year numbered 1,122,000. This is 10.3 marriages for every 5.1 divorces (U.S. National Center for Health Statistics, 1979). According to Bloom, et al. (1978) the marriage rate has decreased while the divorce rate has increased. More divorces take place between couples under 30 years of age, and this age group is experiencing the greatest increase in divorce rates. In fact, "According to the U.S. Census Bureau, 'persons who marry when they are relatively young are about twice as likely to obtain a divorce as persons who marry when they are older,'" (Scanzoni & Scanzoni, 1976). The large number of divorces in conjunction with the customary practice of awarding custody of children to the mother results in an increasingly greater number of female-headed single parent households. In 1974 over 85% of single parent families were headed by women (Brandwein, Brown, & Fox, 1974).

This large number of female-headed families face specific problems not encountered by male-headed families (Brandwein, et al., 1974; Ross, & Sawhill, 1975). Due to sex role socialization factors which affect every facet of family life, female-headed families are a special population which undergoes unique but predictable adjustments (Bloom et al., 1978; Fisher, 1973; Krantzler, 1974, 1977; Kressel & Deutsch, 1977). The subsequent adjustment and reorganization necessary for the female-headed single parent family can be viewed as an alternate set of developmental tasks which the family must master in order to restabilize and procede developmentally. These crises and adjustments will be discussed in more depth in the following pages.

Even though the adults of the single parent family are living separately, any study of the single parent family must consider the interactions of all the people who were members before the divorce. In spite of the fact that the act of divorce has legally severed the marital relationship, a family may continue to act as a system in sharing responsibility for the care and rearing of the children. The father may provide some financial support and have visitation privileges. The mother may continue to supply the daily needs of the children. Each person in the family constellation is inevitably affected by the maturity and competency of the others (McDermott, 1970; Sorosky, 1977). The best interests of the child cannot be considered separately from those of the mother and vice versa. Even the absent father continues to play a part in the family

development. His actions and degree of interest have a definite influence in the developmental process (McDermott, 1970). Effects of the father's absence have been well-documented in the literature (Bach, 1946; Biller & Baum, 1971; Carlsmith, 1964; Earls, 1976; Hetherington, 1965, 1972; Hetherington & Deur, 1971). Little investigation, however, has been focused on the mother's development as an individual and as a single parent, the effect of her development on the children and family unit. This paper will explore the neglected area concerning the development of the woman as a single parent head of household.

Specifically, the developmental tasks that the woman must complete are described by Bohannan (1971) as the six stages of divorce. These are: 1) emotional divorce; 2) legal divorce; 3) community social divorce; 4) economic divorce; 5) co-parental; and 6) psychic divorce. In the emotional divorce the woman must accept the couple's inability to resolve marital tensions sufficiently to continue their relationship (Carter & McGoldrick, 1980), resolve her attachment to her spouse, begin to accept her part in the breakup of the marriage, begin to rationally determine her and her children's needs, and to assess the strengths and resources she has available to apply to rebuilding her life as a single person and as a single parent. The legal divorce dissolves the legal bonds of matrimony. Legal determinations are made concerning child custody, support payments, visitation rights. The marital property is divided. Community/social divorce recognizes the change in status of the woman from a

wife to a single person in her community and social relationships. She must accept the ramifications of the legal divorce in her social relationships. In order to proceed through the following stages the woman must reorganize and rebuild her social support system. The economic divorce consists of realizing the barriers which have kept women from desiring and achieving financial self-sufficiency, actually developing a career, establishing credit and managing money. In the co-parental divorce, the mother must deal with the tasks of being a single parent and head of household. She must help her children understand the divorce according to their stage of development. Finally, she needs to establish a working relationship with the visiting parent to facilitate the children's separate relationships with each parent. Psychic divorce entails the development of self-esteem and identity formation. Decisions are made about values, goals, and purposes. Finally, ideas and experiences are integrated. At this point the woman has developed her own sense of self-definition and has developed the skills necessary to sustain the family so that it is self-sufficient yet in contact with significant others, social support systems, and the community. The single parent family has completed its developmental tasks.

Emotional Divorce

Emotional divorce is the first stage in the process of separation and divorce. The situation of emotional divorce may develop for several reasons. The couple may have unresolved conflicts which permeate and poison their relationship. They may have grown apart so that they no longer share the same goals, values, interests, and ideals. Or they may feel that they cannot reach their important goals together. They may no longer create love, tenderness, and meaningful moments together. Instead their daily living experience may consist of a constant series of irritations, annoyances and conflicts with each other. In this stage few positive emotional exchanges relieve the pain, anger, hurt, and/or hate that they have built between themselves. Mutual love and cooperation have degenerated into indifference and even destructiveness. In this environment one or both parties withdraw from the emotional commitment to the relationship. Instead, they invest their emotional energies in someone or something other than the spouse. The chosen focus may be work, a hobby, community activities, a sexual affair, the child or children, friends, alcohol, drugs, or any number of things. One explanation of people's choice of focus may be that they transfer their emotional energies to whatever activities provide them with more fulfillment than their relationship with their spouse.

When an emotional divorce takes place, the marital partners may choose to remain married for reasons of convenience or

dependence, and continue to live in this state. Also, they may decide that they want a better relationship between themselves and agree to work together to resolve conflict and improve the existing marriage. On the other hand, they may unilaterally or mutually decide to legally dissolve the marriage. However, the rational decision is usually much easier to accept than the emotional aftermath which is likely to follow.

Writers discussing the pain of divorce state that "when the decision is made to separate or divorce, the couple is likely to face an emotional accommodation that is far more difficult than is the 'rational' decision to live separately. Much of the fear of divorce is justified. It can be painful, irrevocably destructive and, as a cure, worse than the disease." (Welch & Granvold, 1977). When a person is suffering the pain accompanying the task of separation s/he may regret the decision to divorce. Because the person has these feelings does not mean that the decision was a wrong one. Divorce is difficult even for well-adjusted and independent people who make a rational decision that divorce is the best alternative to their troubled marriage. When a person loses a significant relationship whether through death or divorce, the individual experiences a period of grief and mourning for both the lost relationship and the unfulfilled promises (Gollman & Sams, 1978; Krantzler, 1973; Weiss, 1979; Willison, 1980). Even in the case where the person chose to initiate a divorce, the

grieving process still occurs (Morris & Prescott, 1975).

Some of the stages of grief that one must go through in the dying process are also experienced when one divorces. Divorce is a crisis, a turning point for which former ways of coping are inadequate. As Bohannan (1971) describes the trauma,

> the emotional stimulation is so great that accustomed ways of acting are inadequate. The usual way for the healthy mind to deal with trauma is to block it out, then let it reappear slowly, so it is easier to manage. The blocking may appear as memory lapses or as general apathy.

The five stages of grief the individual will be likely to experience are 1) denial, 2) anger, 3) bargaining, 4) depression, and 5) acceptance.

Shock and denial are the first reaction one feels when one is considering divorce or when one hears of one's spouse's desire for a divorce. At this point the individuals often feel a great amount of ambivalence. The couple may separate and reconcile several times. This may occur over a short or long period of time. Even after an extended period of separation one or both spouses may still be unable to accept the reality of divorce. On the other hand, they may have made the decision mutually and both agree that divorce is the best step.

In some manner the final decision to divorce is definitely made. As the reality of the situation becomes more concretized, the predominant emotion felt is anger. The anger can be expressed, repressed, or turned against oneself. The spouses may experience the impact of the decision to divorce in the form

of physical illness, sleeplessness, loss of appetite, exhaustion, anxiety, violent outbursts, destructiveness, fear withdrawal, overactivity, a sense of omnipotence, regressive behavior, apathy, crying, screaming, feelings of insecurity, possible suicidal or homocidal thoughts and/or actions (Bowlby, 1973; Krantzler, 1973; Pincus, 1974).

Such intense pain for a woman at the loss of a relationship that is central to her definition of herself is not unusual. The woman feels as if half of herself has been severed, ripped apart from the core of her being. One woman, Nora P., experiencing this emotion, said

> I feel as if an arm or leg has been ripped off. I guess I don't know where I stopped and he began. We had grown together in the years of our marriage. Intellectually, I could free myself, but I didn't realize how much my emotional being had come to encompass and include him. I thought about the poor quality of our marriage, its destructiveness to all of us, and I thought I could tell him to get out, repair the damage, and continue my life with the children in a new and happier frame of reference. No one told me that the pain would be so excruciating. I'm bleeding emotionally. I am surprised at some of my own murderous thoughts and hateful ways.

The feelings toward her husband that she has denied and repressed in order to play her stereotypes "good, helpful, always considerate" role are expressed as anger (Holroyd, 1976; Willison, 1980). In attempting to keep the semblence of composure, she may find that her moods swing quickly from one extreme to another. She has little control over herself or her world. These are all expressions of grief. At such a

period the grieving person needs the care, empathy, and attention of others. Loving care must be given to support the individual on to health and growth. Lack of care at this time may result in a prolonged period of regression, getting stuck until one's needs are met (Pincus, 1974). This uncertain time is also a time when the divorcing person can test the limits of her strength and stretch herself to new limits.

The divorcing person will usually want to talk over the details of the marriage and breakup as she sees it. She will be working out her own understanding of the events as she talks about the details with others. She will be giving structure and continuity to what may feel like an overwhelming chaos. She must put the situation in some order in her own mind, assign and accept responsibility for the events before she can put them to rest.

The second stage of grief, the one following anger is bargaining. In the divorcing process, in contrast to stages of grief surrounding death, there are actually some tangible material rewards to be gained from effective bargaining. Depending on how much one of the spouses still hopes to salvage the marriage, one of them may be bargaining with the other to return home. If both have accepted the decision of divorce, negotiations may be centered around property division, children, and money.

After the bargaining stage of grief, the individual has little personal reason to directly participate in a relationship with the former spouse unless the children are the reason. The

finality of the divorce, and the accompanying aloneness, and lack of connectedness with the former spouse becomes painfully conclusive. Depression, emptiness, and a sense of loss will probably be felt. These feelings are likely to happen also upon the remarriage of the ex-spouse. The last hope of reconciliation is cut off by the remarriage. Also, the inclusion of the new wife makes any type of negotiations more complex (Beal, 1980; Willison, 1980). After the woman works through the fourth stage of grief, depression, she reaches the stage of acceptance. She is more able to think of herself as a separate, single person rather than as a ex-spouse. She now has the possibility of building her life around her own interests. If she reaches the stage of acceptance, she has learned to evaluate objectively the kind of person her ex-spouse is; why she married that person in the first place; what were her expectations and disappointments in the marriage; who left whom and when; and what part each one played in the departure. She may be aware of the remaining feelings toward the former spouse and what it would mean should either remarry; and finally, she may understand what it will mean to continue to be parents to their children (Fisher, 1973). At this point the past has been put to rest.

According to Max Krantzler (1973) one knows when the mourning process is ended when:

> resentment and bitterness towards your former mate have subsided from twenty-four-hour obsessions to occassional flashes of anger; you spend less time complaining about problems and more time trying to solve them; you begin calling up old friends and making

> new friends, in recognition of the fact that you have nothing to be ashamed of; you begin making decisions based on your interests and pleasure--taking a course, attending a play, entertaining friends; the opposite sex is no longer stereotyped as threatening or despicable, and statements lumping all men or women together no longer seem accurate to you; you realize that you are not the only person ever to have been divorced, that other normal people have had the courage to end an unhappy marriage; you come to accept divorce as the only possible solution to a self-destructive marriage, and not a punishment for having failed. p. 945

Individuals take different amounts of time reaching the stage of acceptance. Some never do complete this stage. One of the factors determining how long the process of adjustment takes and the degree of difficulty experienced is the individual's state of personality adjustment before divorce. In the past, the divorced were considered mentally ill (Lehrman, 1939; and Blumenthal, 1967). However, now the divorced population is seen as coming from all levels of mental health (Fisher, 1973).

Certain factors will cause a prolonged grief period, or perhaps even a lack of resolution and acceptance of divorce. The type of relationship the individual had with the former spouse will affect the process and pattern of grieving. Relationships based on projection and identification cause a more difficult adjustment (Pincus, 1974). Projection is the process by which a person imagines specific impulses, wishes, and aspects of the self to be located in some person or object external to the self. Identification is the process by which a person either extends his/her identity into someone else,

borrows his/her identity from someone else, or fuses his/her identity with someone else (Pincus, 1974). In these types of relationships when spouses separate the person who identified with the former partner experiences the sense of losing a large part of him/herself through the departure of the spouse. She will have to regain the lost parts of herself in order to function adequately. She may slow her adjustment even more by seeing the lost partner as the one who deprived her of part of herself, who took away something that belonged to her. With this frame of reference, she will push herself into an extended period of anger. The mourner who cannot become separate enough, does not allow herself to see her own collusion in the projection and identification. The mourning becomes pathologically prolonged, then the person is unable to begin life anew for herself (Bowlby, 1970; Pincus, 1974).

However, identification and projection are just a part of the reasons that some women do not wish to give up a marriage or that they take an extended period of time for recovery. Women may be more resistant to divorce than men for reality-based reasons. According to Kessel & Deutsch,

> Typically, unequal motivation to divorce was linked not only to a changing balance of affection but to a realistic imbalance in postdivorce prospects. A divorced man of thirty-eight or forty, for example, may be just reaching the peak of his professional and financial attainments. Such a man may have reason to believe that, in the event of divorce, his social and sexual horizons can, with some minor time-out for readjustment, be easily and gratifyingly extended. Not so for his homemaker wife with custody of their two minor children. She may have cause to suspect that her postdivorce social and

> financial situation will be far less easy to arrange and far less satisfying. When, in addition to differing levels in postdivorce marketability, the less marketable spouse has been rejected for a new lover, the barriers to a constructive divorce can be considerable.
>
> Low marketability was viewed primarily as a problem for the older woman who has been a traditional homemaker and the younger woman with custody of minor children. (p. 423)

Although about four out of five divorced persons eventually remarry, younger persons are more likely to remarry than older ones, and men are more likely to remarry than women. Divorced and widowed men are much more likely to remarry than women in the same categories (Beal, 1980). "About 13% of eligible men remarry each year, compared with 4% of eligible women. Remarriage rates are highest in the youngest age groups and decline steadily with increasing age. The peak age of remarriage for women is 20-24 and for men it is 25-29. Persons under age 30 make up more than half of all remarriages (Bloom, et al., 1978).

Researchers have found that wives who had the most difficult post-divorce adjustment were those 1) who were older at the time of divorce, 2) had been married longer, 3) had been divorced for a shorter period of time, 4) had low self-esteem or high levels of anxiety, 5) whose husband had suggested the divorce, 6) who had family opposition to the marriage, and 7) who had an inadequate economic status (Bloom et al., 1978). Some of these factors were duplicated in other research. In contrast, Bloom et al., (1978) reported that adjustment was more satisfactory in younger women, those without dependent children,

women with nontraditional sex role orientations, and women who had played an active role in the decision to separate.

Traditional vs. nontraditional sex role attitudes play a large part in the psychological outcomes for women experiencing marital distress. "Traditional women reported significantly lower self-esteem, inner directedness, and internal control, more distress and less well-being, and less personal growth than nontraditional women." (Brown, Perry, & Harburg, 1976, p. 549). The traditional women gained their sense of worth through fulfilling the roles of wife and mother, taking care of the needs of other family members. They received a sense of vicarious gratification through the achievements of their husbands and children (Bell, 1979; Lipman-Blumann, 1974). With the departure of their husbands, these women lost a primary source of gratification. The traditional women frequently feels a loss of meaning and may experience depression upon the breakup of the family (Bell, 1979). All of the factors mentioned by Bloom et al. (1978) must be taken into consideration. For example, Gloria and Cathy were both traditional women whose families were their central focus throughout their marriage. Gloria, however, was 45 years old, had five children, had been married for 26 years, had one year of college, but had never been employed outside the home. When she became divorced, she had no skills or desire to be anything but a housewife. She felt worthless, a burden to herself, and experienced frequent, long-term depressions and illnesses. Cathy, in contrast, was 26 years old, married for 5 years, with two young children.

However, out of financial necessity, she had held a job outside of the home since she graduated from high school. She felt a blow to her sense of self-worth when she was divorced and feared that she would never be loved again. She, too, suffered with depression and loss of self-worth. However, she decided to go to night school to obtain a degree with the intention of gaining a higher paying job in the future. Although both women were traditionally oriented, Cathy, the younger one, was able to make some necessary adjustments more quickly than Gloria who was older and had been married longer.

Traditional women who do not remarry shortly after divorce are likely to find the need to question their whole ideological framework relating to sex role structure, traditional marriage, and typical life plan centered around the family (Brown, et al., 1976). Sometimes women who wish to continue in the traditional feminine role remarry as soon as possible and work even harder to fulfill their wifely duties. For example, Martha, now 39, was married at the age of 17 to a boy of the same age. Their marriage lasted for seven years during which they had one child. Martha also went to college, got a degree, and then took a full time job. The couple was divorced. Martha felt guilty and blamed herself that she was not a good wife because she had not kept house or cooked well enough for her family. Within nine months she had met and married another man. This time she was determined to be the perfect wife. She cooked delicious meals regularly and kept her house very clean. In some cases second marriages are successful when the people involved contribute

more to the relationship because they have grown and matured. However, Martha, overindulging in self-blame for the failure of her first marriage and, lacking in self-esteem, was so determined to prove herself a good wife that she neglected to consider the qualifications necessary for a good husband. She married an alcoholic. After three years that marriage, too, ended in divorce. In the ensuing years since the end of the second marriage Martha has undertaken personal therapy to develop her present adaptive, independent lifestyle. She does not feel that she must prove her femininity through marriage, cooking, and cleaning. Instead, she has become much more self-sufficient. She works a full-time and part-time job in order to pay for her recently purchased house, her late-model sports car, and her enjoyment of restaurant meals and out-of-house entertainment.

In her first, traditional feminine approach, Martha felt incompetent and incomplete, dependent on her husband's approval of her "feminine virtues." In her more recently acquired non-traditional sex role orientation Martha has a wider range of behavioral alternatives and can allow herself to become a self-respecting and autonomously-functioning person. She has successfully completed the stages of the grieving process.

To summarize, as mentioned above, the healing process can be slowed down by many factors. If the marital relationship has been based upon projection or identification, the individual will need time to learn to claim the lost parts of him/herself (Pincus, 1974). Women who had their identity and economic

security wrapped up in the marriage had a more difficult adjustment than their more marketable husbands. Women who had the most difficult time adapting to postdivorce life were the older women, those with minor children (Kessel & Deutsch, 1977), those who held traditional sex role attitudes (Brown, et al., 1976), women who had low self-esteem or high levels of anxiety, those whose husbands had suggested the divorce, those whose family opposed the marriage, and very importantly, those whose economic status was inadequate (Bloom, et al., 1978). The healing process proceeded more rapidly when the woman had adequate financial means to provide for herself and her children, emotional support from friends and family, and personal psychological maturity which includes the inner resources to sustain her through difficulties. The optimal combination of adjustment factors includes sociological, psychological, and economic ones. Some of these factors, the woman can provide through her own efforts, others will require broad social change.

On the road to adjustment from divorce the individual has passed through a period of shock, denial and emotional upheaval to a controlled phase in which she made the necessary arrangements for herself and her children. She experienced pain, misery, and abandonment as she withdrew her attachment from the lost mate. She found that as she put more distance between herself and her former husband, he appeared in her memory when she least expected him to be there. This is all a part of ending an important relationship and a period of her life (Pincus, 1974). A part of the process is to replay many of the

marital scenes in her mind, then analyze the situation to take responsibility for both her constructive and destructive contributions to the relationship. In a larger sense she must accept both the positive and negative aspects of the marriage. In the natural healing process the woman will continue to have moments of anger and hostility against the ex-spouse. She may possibly feel times of great relief that she is no longer restrained by the relationship.

The grieving individual experiences some guilt, self-hate, and self-accusation because s/he knows her own imperfections and idiosyncrasies caused some of the problems in the relationship. But, because she is now aware of herself to a greater degree, she can make changes which will have the possibility of changing her life for the better. Relapses of depression and dispair come and go, but as time passes she has more successes and triumphs to displace the bleaker moments. The woman, at the end of the healing process, has a new zest for life and a new sense of her own identity.

As the normal process of healing progresses, the mourner makes a transition from the examination of the past to a concern with the present.

> This is the time in the postpartnership adjustment when . . . a person comes to perceive him/[her]self as a single individual rather than as an ex-spouse. As one reaches this period in the adjustment there is a greater acceptance of the changes in his or her life situation, and a readiness to begin coping with the practical problems of living (Morris & Prescott, 1975, p. 329)

The final step of the healing process occurs when the

individual can look to the future and make broad-based plans. The individual experiences fewer inner conflicts, and gives indications of better management in her personal affairs. Planning becomes more specific. The woman begins to invest herself in her plans and the new directions she has chosen. She is more in charge of her life (Morris & Prescott, 1975). When she finishes the grief work she is more able to progress to the next stage, the legal divorce.

Legal Divorce

When a woman has reached some emotional resolution, she is ready to approach the legal divorce in a rational manner. The legal divorce dissolves the marital relationship between husband and wife. The property is divided and alimony, or maintenance as it is called in Missouri, is determined. Child custody, child support, and visitation rights are decided upon. The decisions of the court have powerful, long-lasting effects on the family. The courts and legal justice system are the only sources empowered to determine and enforce decisions concerning custody of the children, fitness of the parents, visitation rights, support and alimony or maintenance payments, and property division (Bohannan, 1971).

Some women have little or no knowledge of the legal justice system. If they are housewives or in traditionally female occupations, they are not as likely as business and professional men to have had much contact with the courts or litigation process. Lack of familiarity combined with the decisive power the court exercises over the life-changing decisions of the divorce process may make the lawyers, judges, and courts seem threatening to the woman who is not sure how to promote her welfare. Among the possible reactions, one choice is withdrawal. Martha chose to allow her lawyer to make all of her decisions for her. She did not even ask for or receive a copy of the divorce decree. She was not aware of her rights in relation

to the divorce and the legal system, nor could she remember important stipulations in relation to child support. She was too intimidated to go back to the court house to request a copy. Yet Martha is a woman who later worked her way through college, eventually getting a Masters degree in her field. Martha received her divorce in 1966, before women were encouraged to be aware of their rights.

Women have other alternatives. They may choose to participate fully in making these far-reaching decisions. To do so, the woman must prepare herself with facts and figures. In terms of dollar amounts, she must anticipate possible future needs for herself and her children. To get an idea of what types of things she must consider, the woman can read some of the books published in this area, she can attend legal symposiums discussing divorce, and she can gain some practical insights by discussing the process with others who are divorced. Although divorce laws vary in detail from state to state and from one situation to the next, there are many general principles which are similar (personal communication with attorney Louis Vlasati who is certified to practice before the bar in both New York and Missouri).

Nora, a 28 year old woman, read extensively to learn about the legal aspects of divorce. She attended workshops and symposiums to understand as much as she could. When she talked with her lawyer she discussed her situation with him including educational goals for her child, future orthodontist bills, and possible long range housing needs (she anticipated the

possibility of replacing the furnace the following winter). The lawyer explained to her what were typical financial arrangements made between divorcing couples which would be likely to be approved by the judge who reviewed all property agreements. She and her husband negotiated most of the settlement themselves using information received from their respective lawyers. On the day of the divorce hearing, her husband made some last minute changes of demands which Nora had not anticipated. But in the years following the divorce, Nora has felt that her own research, self-education, informed discussions with her lawyer, and rational negotiations with her husband provided her with the tools to make the most satisfactory arrangements possible in her circumstances.

If the woman has prepared herself so that she has anticipated possible housing, medical, dental, educational, clothing, transportation, child care, educational extra curricular, and entertainment expenses for the future and she has some general information about the legal aspects of divorce, she will be able to knowledgably discuss her specific circumstances with the lawyer she chooses. She is likely to be able to achieve legal arrangements that are satisfactory.

On the other hand, if the woman and her husband cannot work out mutually agreeable arrangements, her husband is more likely than she to have the financial resources to pay for expert legal services, private detectives, mental health professionals, and perhaps even extensive time off for court dates. She will be at some disadvantage if she personally does not

have the means to pay for the legal services. She may not be eligible for government-assisted legal aid if her husband's salary is above a specific level, even if he is living at another residence unless she is already legally separated (personal communication with legal aid in St. Louis County). In some places legal aid is not available for domestic problems (personal communication with Legal Aid in St. Charles, Mo.). The woman may also have difficulty obtaining a lawyer who will take her case on a contingency basis if her husband is the petitioner until the divorce papers are actually filed and served (personal communication with attorney Edwin Roesel of St. Louis city/county). In the time between her husband's decision to divorce and the papers being filed and served, she may not have the protection of legal advice, while her husband usually does. Harmful and irreparable actions may be taken during this unprotected time.

Gloria wanted to obtain a divorce from her husband who was a prominent businessman in their community. He did not want the divorce, contested it and held it up in the courts for several years. During this time Gloria exhausted her small reserve of cash which she had saved over many years. Her husband continued to receive substantial earnings from his business while remaining in control of the jointly owned income producing property. Gloria eventually went to another state where she received the divorce. However, she was not able to settle the property or child custody in the out-of-state divorce.

If either party feels cheated by the settlement, both

s/he and the children are likely to suffer ill effects. As a result of trying to live with an unrealistic settlement, bitterness may result, psychiatric problems may develop in the children, and additional lawsuits are likely to be brought (Westman, Cline, Swift, & Kramer, 1970) further straining the already stressed family's emotional and financial resources. The ability of the divorcing parties to come to agreements between themselves will have a profound effect on the outcome of their case. An attitude of informed cooperation between the parties and an assertive insistance that the lawyers serve them by providing information, will allow the clients to make their own educated and viable decisions based on individual needs and the best interests of all family members. This approach to the legal process will have a better chance of a long-term, satisfactory settlement than decisions based on revenge or appeasement (Kessel & Deutsch, 1974).

Community/Social Divorce

As the woman dissolves emotional and legal ties with her husband, she changes her status from being one-half of a couple to becoming a single person. This action has ramifications in her community associations and in her social life. She is no longer the wife of Mr. X, whether he was a doctor, lawyer, businessman, mechanic, or assembly line worker. The divorce eliminates her participation in any of the privileges associated with her husband's occupation which might include membership in the country club (at some country clubs membership can only be taken in the husband's name with the wife only allowed to be an associate--personal communication with employee of local country club) to receiving a ham from the company for Christmas. She may have been asked to be on the steering committee or board of directors of a community organization because she was the wife of someone prominent in the community. In another case, she may have been able to be active in volunteer organizations because her husband was providing her financial support while she donated her time (Bohannan, 1971; Ginzberg, 1966; Krantzler, 1973).

After divorce she may no longer be able to continue in her previous positions because she may need to find herself a job, or because she was only included on the basis of her husband's position. If she is no longer his wife, the organization may no longer desire her services.

In addition, her social life may change. She will no longer be invited to accompany her husband to functions in which he is involved. For some women this may be a relief. She will no longer be required to entertain her husband's business associates, or be expected to attend business-related functions. Perhaps she did not really want to be involved in certain volunteer activities, but participated because it was expected. Whether the woman is relieved of unpleasant duties or saddened because she must leave meaningful activities, she will find her activities and social circle changing. After the divorce her social life may change in still another way if she finds that she does not have the time or money available to participate in many of her former community or social activities.

As their life style changes divorced women will probably find that they aren't as comfortable with their married friends as they previously were. Divorced women may find themselves feeling as if they were on the outside of their former circle of friends, the odd one in a couple's world (Krantzler, 1973, 1976). Friends, feeling awkward and unsure of how to respond to the divorce, may react by withdrawing from the divorced individual. This is a time of stress, upheaval, confusion, feelings of abandonment, disapproval and possibly even ostracism for the formerly married (Kessler, 1976; Welch & Granvold, 1977).

A further area of change which may intensify the above feelings is the transformation of the woman's relationship with her in-laws. On the other hand, no longer having to be in contact with former in-laws, if the quality relationship was

already conflictual may result in less stress. The circumstances are so dependent on the combination of individuals involved. If the in-laws promote battling between the former spouses, the added stress will affect both their present and future relationship to the former wife and the grandchildren. Estrangement from and conflict with former in-laws may be a contributing factor to divorced mothers statistically poorer adjustment to single parenthood when compared to widowed mothers who are more likely to have the support of former in-laws (Beal, 1980).

The relationship which the woman delineates with her own parents is fundamental to her adjustment to single parent living. According to Beal (1980), adults who maintain contact with their families of origin are much better equiped to cope with crisis than those who cut themselves off from such association. E. Lindemann (1980) states that involvement in the family network rather than adequacy of previous stress-coping mechanisms was the predictive factor in determining whether the individual experienced a normal grief reaction rather than an abnormally prolonged one.

Acceptance by and assistance from her parental family can be positive and helpful to the divorced mother as long as the aid is given while at the same time the integrity and independence of the single parent and her family unit is respected (Dell & Appelbaum, 1977). In some instances of deeply enmeshed family networks, the parent's emotional support becomes more of a developmental hindrence rather than a help. In a study of families with trigenerational enmeshment, Dell and Applebaum

(1977) found that the mother and daughter were over-involved while the father remained perephial and emotionally distant. Frequently the formerly married daughter, who typically had only one child, returned to live in or near the parental home. Eventually, though not without an ensuing struggle, the adult daughter becomes the child of her mother again along with the daughter's own children. This blurring of parental roles is confusing to the child who tends to become unruly and overbearing.

When adults have not achieved independence from their own parents, but instead have become over compliant or rebellious, they can use the period when they are single and divorced as an opportunity to achieve a solid independence. Then they are capable of fully parenting their own children. Clear boundaries must be established between generations to allow each age group to accomplish their own developmental task, while at the same time assisting each other in a growth enhancing manner(Minuchin, 1974).

Another developmental need for the divorced woman is to go beyond her family to rebuild her social support system. She needs to find friends with whom she can share common interests. She may choose to develop a hobby, talent or special interest with others of similar inclination. She may find a common bond with others who are also divorced single parents. Social and educational organizations for single people can serve as a meeting ground. Some divorced individuals may want to participate in structured groups which focus on the divorce experience covering specific topics, and sharing personal experience with other group

members (Kessler, 1976; Krantzler, 1973; Morris and Prescott, 1975; Welch and Granvold, 1977). University extension services, community mental health services, mental health professionals in private practice, women's informal groups, women's organizations all offer divorced women opportunities to participate in groups whose process involves self help, "consciousness raising", and personal and social awareness.

The final area of social growth for women is dating. Women have various reactions to their newly single status. Those who have been married for many years may find that they are nervous and unsure of themselves in a dating situation. Gloria was one of these women. She had been in a traditional lifestyle for many years, quilting, redecorating her home, acquiring antiques, working for the church women's annual bazaar. She did not enjoy attending work connected functions with her husband. They had not had an active social life, so these things she did not miss. She had built her own circle of friends before she was divorced, so she had a social group which was able to provide her the needed emotional support during and after the divorce. She had a definite, secure value system which provided her with an inner source of strength. Her parents and siblings were also supportive and helpful. However, she found that she was not in contact with any unmarried men. She didn't even know how to begin dating. She said, "I feel like a teenager all over again." When she did meet single men she frequently found that their values were too different from hers to permit any more than an emotionally distant and casual relationship. She felt isolated and lonely,

especially on weekends and holidays. This is a typical experience for the divorced (Aslin, 1976; Fruedenthal, 1959). Eventually, through her religious group, she did meet someone she dated for an estended period of time, though she decided that she was not interested in marrying the man.

Women who are used to seeing themselves as wives and mothers may find that their self-images are resistant to change (Coopersmith, 1967) even if they want to experiment with new roles and relationships. Their conditioning may go against the new consciousness which they are acquiring, producing psychological stress (Halleck, 1976).

Other women have a different experience. They may become involved in a whirlwind of dating, going out almost every evening as if they were addicted to their newly found freedom and their ability to be the focus of male attention, but perhaps later feeling guilty that they have not spent enough time with their children (Weiss, 1979). Some women may feel that their supposed liberation becomes the freedom to be exploited since they have lost the social supports which encouraged them to resist becoming sexual playthings for men (Hite, 1976) but the women themselves and women as a group have not developed the power necessary to avoid exploitation (Chessler and Goode, 1976; Halleck, 1976).

Martha was a woman who dated someone almost every evening. Her social life became her raison d'être. In addition to her many dates, Martha spent time with women friends and participated in several social organizations. Although her parents constantly criticized Martha's social life, they were eager to have her move

back into their home. They encouraged her to sell her home to a real estate agent for 200 dollars and to move herself and her daughter into their home. Martha did so and lost her independence as the head of her own single parent family. Her mother eagerly took over the parenting role in a situation of trigene-rational enmeshment (Dell and Appelbaum, 1977).

Nora, on the other hand, was able to accept the support of her large family without the problems of enmeshment. She had parents and nine siblings living within the metropolitan area. Her family's presence and understanding acceptance of her helped her through many stressful periods. She also developed close friendships through a group of people who met to participate in a hobby. She enjoys her friendships and dates which she manages to balance with her parenting obligations.

As women emerge from their mourning for the lost relationship, they need to accomplish the developmental tasks of accepting their changed status in the community and with their in-laws, developing and maintaining social support groups, establishing a close yet independent adult relationship with their parents and developing heterosexual relationships. This constitutes the community/social development stage for the female-headed single parent family.

ECONOMIC DIVORCE

The developmental task of economic divorce is to achieve financial stability by acquiring and managing the economic resources necessary for the survival of the family. Statistics on the cost of raising a child can give a partial idea of how much income is required. For the one year of 1980 families on the subsistance level spent $1,390 whereas those with the more comfortable means spent $8,540. From birth to 18 years of age families spend about $33,000. When the costs of college, inflation, and the value of parental time are included the figures rise to $85,000 to $125,000, depending on the mother's level of education. The reason for the difference is that women with higher education pay more in lost earning opportunities. The costs quoted are for a two parent family. The single parent families must pay more because they have expenses that are hidden and indirect in two parent families. For example, child care costs where there is at least one child under age six average $844.00 a year more (M. Edwards, 1981; K. Moore and I. Sawhill, 1978). The two parent family with children under age 18 have the highest income for any type of family group. Their median income was $18,646 in 1977 (U.S. Census Report, 1981) whereas the median income for the female-headed family with children under 18 was $6,502 in 1977. The majority of the income is earned by the husbands. Wives account for only 26 percent of the families' total income. Obviously when the parents divorce and the husbands leave,

the wife and children will experience a financial crisis.

Achievement of Financial Stability in Female Headed Single Parent Families

There is a common myth that women "clean up" in the divorce settlement. However, statistics contradict this assumption. Of the 7.1 million women living with children under 21 years of age whose fathers were not present, only about 60 percent had a voluntary or court ordered agreement for child support payments (U.S. Census Bureau Report, 1980). Of these women approximately one half actually received the full amount of child support payments due. Partial payments were received by 23 percent of the original 60 percent and 28 percent of these received no payment at all. This means that of the total number of women with children under 21 years of age whose father was absent, only about 44 percent actually received any child support payments whatsoever. The majority received no child support payments at all.

This lack of child support payments by the fathers is a trend of long standing. Goode (1948) stated that only two-thirds of the fathers are ordered to pay child support. Of the ones who are ordered to pay child support, 11 percent were irregular payers and 40 percent never or rarely paid (R. Brandwein, C. Brown, and E. Fox, 1974). This means that only about 34 percent of fathers actually contributed to the support of their children. Approximately 66 percent, over

the majority of them, did not. In a 1970 study, Kriesburg found that only one-third of ex-husbands contributed to their ex-wives and children. In a national study judges were found to order the fathers to pay less than 35 percent of their income to their children and former wives (Citizen Advisory Council on the Status of Women, 1972). When fathers do not pay the amount ordered "the courts are generally apathetic or opposed to taking legal action against men for nonsupport" (R. Brandwein et al., 1974).

Of those families which received child support in 1977, the average amount was $1,800 per year. This represented 20 percent of the total income of the mothers involved (U.S. Census Bureau Report, 1980). The women most likely to receive child support were white women with four or more years of college education. The reason for this more probable receipt of money is that they were likely to have been married to the more highly paid college educated men. Educational attainment of husbands and wives is positively correlated (U.S. Census Bureau Report, 1980). These are the women who had the highest mean income for all women compared. Their 1977 mean income was $7,140 annually. Women who had some type of child support agreement, but did not receive the child support payments had a mean annual income of $6,220. Women who were not awarded any child support had $4,840 as their mean yearly income.

Women whose age was between 30 and 49 were more likely to receive child support then those who were still in their 20's, with the child support amounts higher for each decade

of the woman's age. Again the amount of child support probably correlated to the income of the absent father. His earning power increased as his career became more established. This is reflected in the increased amount of child support awards (U.S. Census Bureau Report, 1980). Women who lived in the suburbs were more likely to receive child support awards than women who were city dwellers. Homeowners received higher payments ($1,970 annually) than renters ($1,550). Seventy percent of white collar workers were awarded child support. In contrast only 38 percent of blue collar or service workers received an award.

Whereas a minority of women can rely on child support payments to ameliorate their financial situation, even fewer can expect alimony to help them. According to the U.S. Census Bureau only 14 percent of ever divorced or separated women had an alimony award or agreement. The average amount received, $2,850, was 26 percent of the woman's total income. Only 41 percent of women awarded alimony received full payment. Twenty-eight percent of ever divorced or separated women have received the total alimony they were supposed to have. Only a total of 10 percent have received any or all of their alimony. In a more recent study (M. Bane and R. Weiss, 1980) the authors found that alimony was virtually non-existant. Only four percent of the single parents in their study reported receipt of any alimony. Opinion of both women and judges no longer favor the award of alimony. Sixty percent of women sampled in the 1974 Virginia Slim Roper poll do not favor seeking

alimony. Judges do not see a need to award alimony to an able-bodied woman under 50 with the exception of a limited period of time for vocational training or education for a woman who does not have job market skills (St. Louis University Law Conference, 1976).

Most women cannot count on a sizable property settlement to compensate for the deficiency in child support and alimony awards. Less than one half of divorced women receive some form of property settlement, as of Spring 1979 (U.S. Census Bureau Report, 1980). Those who are awarded property settlements receive an average of about $4,650. Women with 4 years of college and at least one child in their custody were the ones more likely than average to receive a property settlement. Women who were divorced in a recent year regardless of their age were most likely to have gotten a property settlement. Also women who are currently divorced more than those who are currently remarried were ones who gained a property settlement (U.S. Census Bureau Report, 1980). Perhaps some financial assets of their own made remarriage less of a financial necessity.

Inheritance is an inadequate source of income except for a small portion of the population. The wealth in the United States is concentrated in the coffers of a small number of men who control the economy (P. Chessler and E. Goode, 1977). The most affluent one percent of U.S. families receive 47 percent of divident income and hold 51 percent of the market value of stock owned by all families. Ten percent of the

wealthiest Americans receive 71 percent of divident income and 71 percent of market value. Fifty-eight percent of adult women shareholders are listed in uncompensated occupational categories, 70 percent of them being housewives (P. Chessler and E. Goode, 1976). Stocks are put in women's names by their husbands to secure tax advantages. The woman's name on the stock does not necessarily indicate that the women acquired the stocks themselves or that the women control the stocks. As discussed above, women generally do not receive a large property settlement through divorce. It is likely that they do not retain control of stocks that they "own" in the process of divorce. Women are less likely than men to receive substantial estate inheritances (P. Chessler and E. Goode, 1976). Girls generally receive fewer financial gifts than boys. Male children own 60.6 percent and female children own 39.4 percent of the individually owned stock held by non-adults (Chessler & Goode, 1976). In addition, the rate of stock holdings by boys has increased faster than the rate for girls (Chessler & Goode, 1976). Inheritance is not a means for most women who head single parent families to acquire financial stability.

As an alternate means of establishing financial stability, some women move back with their parents. This may lessen financial strain, but in gaining some financial help, the women may lose their independence. They may also encounter the problem of trigenerational enmeshment which has been discussed in the Community Divorce section.

Less than one percent of the population chooses to live

with other non-related people according to the 1980 Virginia Slim-Roper poll. However, living with a male is the choice of an increasing number of divorced mothers (A. Norton & P. Glick, 1979; S. Hite, 1976). Living together arrangements may be more tolerable than marriage for those who are discouraged by the prevalence of bad marriages and do not want to risk the total emotional commitment demanded by marriage. Living together can also be a method for prolonging courtship before deciding whether or not to marry.

Remarriage is the only way economically for the majority of women to come close to the level of income they had enjoyed in their former marriage (M. Bane and R. Weiss, 1980). This is due to the economic discrimination practiced against women (M. Gunderson, 1978; A. Young, 1979).

Remarriage is a favored choice, as 90 percent of women prefer marriage over any other lifestyle (Virginia Slim-Roper, 1974). Other studies confirm that people prefer marriage to being single (M. Melko & L. Cargan, 1980). Although remarriage may be the favored end result for many divorced people, too hasty remarriage does not allow the divorced families the requisite time to complete their grieving for the intact family and to resolve the developmental tasks concerning their identity and functioning without the absent parent. A new person cannot "fill the gap" left by the father. Instead a different man must be seen as a unique individual with his own assets and liabilities. The family needs adequate adjustment time so that they do not set up another situation that

nearly duplicates the problems present in the original family. Divorce rates for second marriages are higher than those for first marriages (B. Bloom, S. Asher, and S. White, 1978). Time is needed for the participants to evaluate their contributions to the family and to learn more productive and harmonious behavior patterns where needed to allow a remarriage to have a better opportunity to survive and benefit the participants.

Although single parents may look to child support, alimony payments, property settlements, inheritances and even remarriage as a solution to their economic needs, for the majority of single parents the chief source of their income is from their own earnings. Almost 90 percent of divorced mothers have their own earnings by the first year after divorce (M. Banes and P. Weiss, 1980). Women's employment and career development will be discussed in a later section below.

Male-Female Differences in Economic Divorce and Single Parenting

Economic divorce and single parenthood are very different experiences for men and women. One of the dissimilarities is that men usually have a shorter length of separation before remarriage and a higher rate of remarriage than women (U.S. Census Report, 1980). "About 13 percent of eligible men remarry each year, compared with 4 percent of eligible women." (B. Bloom, S. Asher, and S. White, 1978). As stated above, two parent families have higher incomes than single parent

families and female-headed single parent have the lowest income of any family. Because of these facts, men who are remarried are generally in a better economic position than most divorced women.

Women are also at an economic disadvantage compared to men because 50 percent of women have been working in the unpaid occupation of housewife (J. Vanek, 1978). In contrast, men would have been in the paid labor force except for schooling. The men would either be established in the work world or would be well along their way in their career development. Men may also have had the benefit of their wife's support in their career preparation. Young wives often invest their time and wages in their husbands' education and training. In doing this the women are increasing their husbands' potential lifetime earnings while they are decreasing their own (E. Rosenthal, 1978). The investment in the one person's earning potential is at the expense of the other's (C. Bell, 1978). The wife's career was possibly limited by the loss of opportunities for herself as she performed duties needed for the maintenance of the family, including bearing and caring for children, providing for the comfort and well-being of her husband. She spent her time advancing his career through serving as hostess for the requisite social and business entertaining, enabling the husband to enjoy leisure time. She would also have taken care of all duties necessary for the geographic relocations which advanced the husband's career (M. H. Stevenson, 1978; E. Rosenthal, 1978).

Most geographic relocations are undertaken because of the work-related needs of a male wage earner (E. Rosenthal, 1978), but the costs of the move fall most heavily on the wife. She does the planning, packing, househunting. She is the one who must seek new employment, having lost job seniority and pension rights and her valuable contact networks (E. Rosenthal, 1978). Job quits and unemployed periods reduce the wife's potential market wages. In addition, she is likely to experience difficulty finding highly satisfactory employment, especially if her job is skilled and specialized work (E. Rosenthal, 1978; L. Long, 1978).

Another major difference in men's and women's economic experience after divorce is caused by the disparity in the income earned by men and women. Women earn substantially less than men in every occupational category.

According to the March 1981 Census Bureau Report men's median income for 1980 was $19,173, for women $11,591. As a whole women are earning 60 percent of what men earn. When men and women's earnings are compared for similar categories of full time year around work women earn 49-76 percent of the salary earned by men depending on the occupational classification.

TABLE 1

Selected Characteristics of Persons 15 Years Old and Over Working Year Round Full Time—Number With Income and Median Income in 1980 by Sex

	NUMBER WITH INCOME (THOUS.)	MEDIAN INCOME	
		VALUE (DOLLARS)	STANDARD ERROR (DOLLARS)
MALE			
ALL MALES	41 903	19 173	94
AREA, RACE, AND SPANISH ORIGIN[1]			
UNITED STATES: ALL RACES	41 903	19 173	94
WHITE	37 805	19 720	97
BLACK	3 188	13 875	274
SPANISH ORIGIN	2 128	13 790	398
NORTHEAST: ALL RACES	9 306	19 299	198
WHITE	8 591	19 764	201
BLACK	588	13 372	612
SPANISH ORIGIN	328	13 385	725
NORTH CENTRAL: ALL RACES	10 833	19 849	165
WHITE	10 136	20 045	142
BLACK	603	16 890	427
SPANISH ORIGIN	184	16 903	1 130
SOUTH: ALL RACES	13 815	17 264	139
WHITE	11 981	18 213	195
BLACK	1 665	12 006	228
SPANISH ORIGIN	747	13 205	512
WEST: ALL RACES	7 949	20 819	155
WHITE	7 098	21 095	172
BLACK	332	16 981	551
SPANISH ORIGIN	869	16 340	544
RELATIONSHIP TO FAMILY HOUSEHOLDER			
IN FAMILIES	35 991	19 658	102
HOUSEHOLDER	31 174	20 626	78
WIFE PRESENT	30 136	20 708	80
NO WIFE PRESENT	1 038	17 669	512
HUSBAND OF HOUSEHOLDER	934	19 094	577
OTHER RELATIVE OF HOUSEHOLDER	3 883	11 272	132
IN UNRELATED SUBFAMILIES	33	(B)	(B)
UNRELATED INDIVIDUALS	5 879	16 725	176
AGE			
15 TO 19 YEARS	605	7 753	249
20 TO 24 YEARS	4 049	12 109	121
25 TO 34 YEARS	12 609	17 726	131
35 TO 44 YEARS	9 781	21 777	151
45 TO 54 YEARS	8 129	22 323	204
55 TO 64 YEARS	5 926	21 053	218
65 YEARS AND OVER	843	17 307	652
OCCUPATION GROUP OF LONGEST JOB[2] (EARNINGS)			
TOTAL WITH EARNINGS	41 881	18 612	95
WHITE-COLLAR WORKERS	20 166	21 880	121
PROFESSIONAL, TECHNICAL, AND KINDRED WORKERS	7 388	23 026	212
SALARIED	6 822	22 693	202
SELF-EMPLOYED	566	32 353	1 942
MANAGERS AND ADMINISTRATORS, EXCEPT FARM	7 625	23 558	277
SALARIED	6 488	24 781	305
SELF-EMPLOYED	1 138	16 558	577
SALES WORKERS	2 567	19 910	413
CLERICAL AND KINDRED WORKERS	2 586	18 247	264
BLUE-COLLAR WORKERS	17 310	16 806	94
CRAFT AND KINDRED WORKERS	8 994	18 671	167
OPERATIVES, INCL TRANSPORT WKRS	6 432	15 702	147
OPERATIVES, EXC. TRANSPORT	4 249	15 651	172
TRANSPORT EQUIP. OPERATIVES	2 183	15 817	281
LABORERS, EXCEPT FARM	1 884	12 757	339
SERVICE WORKERS	2 916	13 064	251
PRIVATE HOUSEHOLD WORKERS	10	(B)	(B)
SERVICE WORKERS, EXCEPT PRIVATE HOUSEHOLD	2 906	13 097	251
FARM WORKERS	1 489	7 815	364
FARMERS AND FARM MANAGERS	1 043	7 482	451
FARM LABORERS AND SUPERVISORS	446	8 402	502
EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT			
TOTAL, 25 YEARS AND OVER	37 249	20 297	89
ELEMENTARY: TOTAL	3 256	13 117	250
LESS THAN 8 YEARS	1 624	11 753	227
8 YEARS	1 631	14 674	321
HIGH SCHOOL: TOTAL	17 287	18 869	126
1 TO 3 YEARS	3 878	16 101	202
4 YEARS	13 369	19 460	138
COLLEGE: TOTAL	16 746	23 854	156
1 TO 3 YEARS	6 672	20 909	155
4 YEARS OR MORE	10 075	25 849	203
4 YEARS	5 501	24 311	302
5 YEARS OR MORE	4 574	27 690	345

[1]PERSONS OF SPANISH ORIGIN MAY BE OF ANY RACE.
[2]AMOUNTS SHOWN ARE MEDIAN EARNINGS.

	NUMBER WITH INCOME (THOUS.)	MEDIAN INCOME	
		VALUE (DOLLARS)	STANDARD ERROR (DOLLARS)
FEMALE			
ALL FEMALES	22 967	11 591	52
AREA, RACE, AND SPANISH ORIGIN[1]			
UNITED STATES: ALL RACES	22 967	11 591	52
WHITE	19 676	11 703	57
BLACK	2 696	10 915	150
SPANISH ORIGIN	1 011	9 887	353
NORTHEAST: ALL RACES	4 929	11 830	104
WHITE	4 348	11 831	113
BLACK	513	11 898	276
SPANISH ORIGIN	161	10 895	671
NORTH CENTRAL: ALL RACES	5 832	11 630	102
WHITE	5 272	11 650	110
BLACK	499	11 461	288
SPANISH ORIGIN	80	10 556	804
SOUTH: ALL RACES	7 824	10 851	97
WHITE	6 301	11 109	108
BLACK	1 419	9 697	252
SPANISH ORIGIN	375	8 470	367
WEST: ALL RACES	4 382	12 578	172
WHITE	3 756	12 736	209
BLACK	264	12 623	646
SPANISH ORIGIN	394	10 605	373
RELATIONSHIP TO FAMILY HOUSEHOLDER			
IN FAMILIES	18 250	11 374	57
HOUSEHOLDER	3 837	12 669	185
HUSBAND PRESENT	592	13 091	519
NO HUSBAND PRESENT	3 245	12 599	185
WIFE OF HOUSEHOLDER	11 893	11 418	69
OTHER RELATIVE OF HOUSEHOLDER	2 520	9 390	151
IN UNRELATED SUBFAMILIES	116	12 074	905
UNRELATED INDIVIDUALS	4 601	12 524	160
AGE			
15 TO 19 YEARS	437	6 779	182
20 TO 24 YEARS	3 285	9 407	102
25 TO 34 YEARS	6 952	12 190	81
35 TO 44 YEARS	4 782	12 239	122
45 TO 54 YEARS	4 248	12 116	140
55 TO 64 YEARS	2 873	11 931	169
65 YEARS AND OVER	390	12 342	554
OCCUPATION GROUP OF LONGEST JOB[2] (EARNINGS)			
TOTAL WITH EARNINGS[3]	22 859	11 197	69
WHITE-COLLAR WORKERS	16 751	11 974	55
PROFESSIONAL, TECHNICAL, AND KINDRED WORKERS	4 441	15 285	130
MANAGERS AND ADMINISTRATORS, EXCEPT FARM	2 318	12 936	287
SALES WORKERS	1 001	9 748	332
CLERICAL AND KINDRED WORKERS	8 991	10 997	62
BLUE-COLLAR WORKERS	3 108	9 777	131
CRAFT AND KINDRED WORKERS	481	11 701	337
OPERATIVES, INCL TRANSPORT WKRS	2 387	9 440	137
LABORERS, EXCEPT FARM	239	9 747	634
SERVICE WORKERS	2 900	7 853	87
PRIVATE HOUSEHOLD WORKERS	172	4 562	398
SERVICE WORKERS, EXCEPT PRIVATE HOUSEHOLD	2 727	7 982	87
EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT			
TOTAL, 25 YEARS AND OVER	19 246	12 156	58
ELEMENTARY: TOTAL	1 071	8 216	148
LESS THAN 8 YEARS	507	7 742	185
8 YEARS	563	8 857	288
HIGH SCHOOL: TOTAL	10 614	11 252	70
1 TO 3 YEARS	1 800	9 676	188
4 YEARS	8 814	11 537	75
COLLEGE: TOTAL	7 561	14 831	134
1 TO 3 YEARS	3 619	12 954	193
4 YEARS OR MORE	3 942	16 562	162
4 YEARS	2 273	15 143	216
5 YEARS OR MORE	1 669	18 100	313

[1]PERSONS OF SPANISH ORIGIN MAY BE OF ANY RACE.
[2]AMOUNTS SHOWN ARE MEDIAN EARNINGS.
[3]INCLUDES OTHER OCCUPATIONAL GROUPINGS, NOT SHOWN SEPARATELY.

(U.S. Census Bureau, 1981)

TABLE 2

Employment and median earnings of wage and salary workers 16 years and over, who worked all of 1977 at full-time jobs, by sex and race for selected occupations

[Numbers in thousands]

Occupation and race	Men			Women		
	Number employed	Median earnings	Standard error of median	Number employed	Median earnings	Standard error of median
WHITE						
Professional and technical workers	5,658	$17,745	$168	3,073	$11,947	$110
Managers and administrators, except farm	5,578	19,138	225	1,342	10,150	185
Sales workers	1,975	16,049	254	676	6,814	252
Clerical workers	2,123	14,436	181	6,682	8,410	63
Craft and kindred workers	7,151	15,031	87	326	8,903	364
Operatives, except transport	3,574	12,704	130	1,931	7,358	85
Transport equipment operatives	1,737	13,689	252	-	-	-
Laborers, except farm	1,462	11,663	249	119	7,428	385
Private household workers	-	-	-	92	(1)	-
Service workers, except private household	2,052	10,985	182	1,604	6,248	115
BLACK						
Professional and technical workers	227	14,861	563	390	12,212	274
Managers and administrators, except farm	183	15,024	495	82	12,225	1,115
Clerical workers	240	11,208	609	729	8,474	192
Craft and kindred workers	491	11,252	324	-	-	-
Operatives except transport	531	11,038	288	381	6,507	208
Transport equipment operatives	287	10,154	554	-	-	-
Laborers, except farm	416	7,987	340	-	-	-
Private household workers	-	-	-	76	3,354	191
Service workers, except private household	467	8,072	242	512	6,095	164

(1) Median less than $3,000.

NOTE: Dash represents data not shown for occupations with fewer than 75,000 employed.

(A. Young, 1979)

As can be seen from the above tables, sex rather than race is the greater discriminating factor in earnings. Black men earn more than white women or black women in all occupational groupings. In some instances black women earn more than white women.

A woman with four or more years of college earns $1,688 more per year than a man with an eighth grade education. Women are underemployed and women's work is not paid commensurate with the level of skill and training required. Even women who are working in the more highly paid professions are more

concentrated in the lower paying levels of these (L. Pogrebin, 1975). For example, the two lowest paying medical specialties, pediatrics and psychiatry, have proportionally more women than the most highly paid surgical specialty (L. Pogrebin, 1975; M. Patterson and L. Engelberg, 1978). The same is true of the legal profession where women are more likely to be found serving as clerks for judges and as attorneys who handle domestic matters, the lower paid legal positions, than they are to be found as corporate lawyers and Federal judges which are the higher paying and more prestigious legal positions (L. Pogrebin, 1975).

TABLE 3

Median earnings of wage and salary workers 16 years and over who worked all of 1977 at full-time jobs, by sex and age for selected occupations, March 1978

Occupation	Men				Women			
	Total	16–24 years	25–44 years	45 years or more	Total	16–24 years	25–44 years	45 years or more
Professional and technical workers	$17,631	$11,533	$16,818	$21,232	$12,016	$9,673	$11,991	$13,030
Engineers	21,897	(1)	20,371	(2)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)
Physicians, dentists, etc.	(2)	-	24,558	(2)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)
Health workers, except practitioners	13,186	(1)	13,269	(1)	12,116	10,145	12,583	12,402
Teachers, except college	14,772	(1)	14,043	16,610	11,739	9,044	11,406	13,759
Engineering and science technicians	15,115	11,414	15,518	15,260	11,719	(1)	(1)	(1)
Other professional salaried workers	17,727	11,307	17,184	20,791	12,140	9,236	12,260	12,739
Managers and administrators, except farm	18,914	10,106	18,029	21,304	10,247	7,519	10,671	10,480
Salesworkers	15,904	8,449	16,618	17,291	6,741	5,229	7,461	6,978
Retail trade	10,960	7,775	12,709	11,591	5,492	4,340	5,517	6,184
Other	17,988	(1)	17,729	20,087	10,243	(1)	10,398	(1)
Clerical workers	14,146	8,563	14,350	15,459	8,440	7,209	8,946	9,059
Craft and kindred workers	14,837	10,165	15,071	15,905	8,914	(1)	9,116	8,930
Operatives, except transport	12,480	9,097	13,291	13,241	7,250	5,988	7,398	7,475
Transport equipment operatives	13,181	8,339	14,207	13,643	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)
Laborers, except farm	10,859	8,398	12,139	11,201	7,462	(1)	8,844	(1)
Service workers, except private household	10,353	7,514	11,357	10,303	6,218	5,822	6,270	6,379

(1) Median not shown where base is less than 75,000.
(2) Median over $25,000.

NOTE: Dash (-) represents zero or rounds to zero.

(A. Young, 1979)

As Table three indicates there are not enough women in the most highly paid professions to be considered statistically significant for this table. This is true of engineers and physicians, the most highly paid men who make more than $25,000 median income at age 45 and older. This table also indicates that the earning gap between men and women increases as they

age. Men are promoted or given salary increases at a faster rate than women (Freeman, 1979).

Women are also concentrated in fewer professions than men.

> Half of all working women are employed in just 21 of the 250 detailed occupations listed by the Bureau of the Census in 1969. Just 5 occupations--secretary-stenographer, household worker, bookkeeper, elementary school teacher, and waitress--accounted for one quarter of all employed women. Men workers were much more widely distributed throughout the occupational structure, with half of them employed in 65 occupations . . .
>
> Another way of approaching the issue of the concentration of women in sex-segregated occupational categories is to construct an "index of segregation" based on the percentage of women in the labor force who would have to change jobs in order for the occupational distribution of women workers to match that of men. This index of segregation has remained virtually the same since 1900 . . . Indeed, a detailed analysis of employment data from the 1950 and 1970 Census reveals that over the twenty year period there was a larger net inflow of men into predominantly female occupational categories than of women into predominantly male occupations.
>
> (F. Blau, 1979, p. 279)

According to this information from the U.S. Census Bureau (1980) women are still concentrated in the traditional low-paying female occupational categories. This grouping in the lower paying jobs constitutes a female job ghetto.

Occupational Categories	Percent of Females Employed
Lawyers and Judges	9 percent
Economists	23 percent
Engineers	2.8 percent
Elementary teachers	84 percent
Managers and Administration	23 percent
Bank Officials and Financial Managers	30 percent
Public Officials	25 percent
Health Examiners	46 percent
Clerical Workers	
Office Machine Operators	75 percent
Cashiers	87 percent
Secretaries	99.2 percent
Carpenters, Masons, and Electricians	1 percent
Telephone Installers and Repairers	6.7 percent
Telephone Operators	95 percent
Private Household Workers	98 percent
Child Care Workers	95 percent
Food service Workers	69 percent
Police and Detectives	5.9 percent

Women are less likely to be unionized than men so that they are not in a position to bargain for better wages and fringe benefits and improved working conditions (E. Glenn and R. Feldberg, 1979). Throughout their history the male unions have refused to respond to women's needs (B. Wertheimer, 1979; L. Farley, 1978). Until the mid-nineteenth century, male unions forbid female membership and discouraged women from organizing their own unions (B. Wertheimer, 1979). In addition, women faced social and legal opinion which characterized them as unfeminine and unnatural for desiring to organize to obtain benefits which would allow them and their families above-starvation wages (B. Wertheimer, 1979; L. Farley, 1978). Due to wages that were only one half or less the amount received by men, women found themselves less able to withstand

strikes for sustained periods, or pay dues that would provide benefits to compensate for the loss of wages (B. Wertheimer, 1979). Women have sought equal pay for equal work, but frequently men and women's jobs are given different titles or classifications, thereby disguising the degree of inequality (C. Bell, 1978; L. Farley, 1978). Because this problem has been known to women organizers, since 1869 they have asked for equal pay for work requiring comparable level of skills or for jobs of comparable worth (B. Wertheimer, 1979).

Unions not only refused to assist women workers, they have supported "protective" legislation which limited the number of hours women were allowed to work per week, preventing them from gaining more lucrative overtime wages. Such legislation also prevented even healthy women from working before and after childbirth, thereby lowering wages in still another way (B. Wertheimer, 1979). Employers had more reasons to discriminate against women by refusing to hire them since they were not allowed to do work of the same capacity as men.

Unions continue to discriminate against women by enforcing rigid exclusion of women in training. They encourage segregation of jobs by denying protection from sexual harassment and refusing to promote more than token women to leadership positions. Unions do not demand day care, medical coverage for exclusively female needs at the same coverage rate as male medical needs, nor do the unions demand maternity leave without loss of seniority. Adequate social insurance is another important need of women that unions have neglected (L. Farley,

1978; K. L. Scholzman, 1979).

Unions have opposed women's equality because some men would lose their more highly desirable jobs to women if the latter were allowed to have equal opportunity in training, job access, income, and benefit levels (S. Baker, 1978). By limiting women to relatively few low-paying occupations, an artificially large labor pool is created consisting of all women who wish to enter or return to the paid labor market. This artificially abundant supply keeps wages low and causes individuals to be easily replaced. Conversely, restricted entry into the male dominated occupational categories causes an artifically low level of competition. The smaller number of males available for the large number of occupations can demand a higher wage, and each individual employee is more valuable to the employer (F. Blau, 1979; E. Glenn and R. Feldberg, 1979; M. Stevenson, 1978).

Women in the professions are found predominately in nursing, librarianship, elementary and secondary teaching and social work. The percentage of women in each of these professions in 1973 was: Nursing, 97.8; Librarianship, 82.1; Elementary and Secondary Teachers, 69.9; Social Workers, 60.8. Even in these professions men tended to be found in the higher paying positions of administrator, supervisor, director, principal, and high school teacher rather than elementary school teacher (J. Grim, 1978).

The female-dominated professions are characterized by low income in relation to the male-dominated professions,

employment by public agencies in salaried positions rather than in private practice on a fee-for-service basis (J. Grim, 1978). Classification as professionals is tenuous because the practitioners are not able to exercise a legal monopoly over the delivery of their services. The practitioners are not in control of the training and licensing of members, nor are they able to prevent other occupations from encroaching in the service being delivered (J. Grim, 1978). The skills required for the female-dominated professions are seen as extensions of the culturally-ascribed feminine traits such as caring for the young, the sick and infirm, nurturing those with problems, and being helpful. Career ladders are short, permitting little career advancement opportunities, and women are not supervising men (A. Stromberg, S. Harkess, 1978).

Relatively few women are employed in the male dominated professions, so few that women are considered marginal or even deviant (M. Patterson and L. Engelberg, 1978). Women experience discrimination in admission to training in medicine, law, and graduate education (M. Patterson and L. Engelberg, 1978; Freeman, 1979). They are less likely than males to receive financial aid so they must rely on their families (M. Patterson and L. Engelberg) Women have a higher attrition rate while in training and are more likely to leave the career at least for a period of time due to family reasons (M. Patterson and L. Engelberg, 1978).

Women in the professions are concentrated in specialties considered to deal with feminine interests or they are found

in those specialities with the lowest income and prestige (M. Patterson & L. Engelberg, 1978; L. Pogrebin, 1975). Those in medicine are most likely to be found in pediatrics, psychiatry, obstetrics-gynecology, and public health. In law they are concentrated in domestic relations, juvenile justice, trusts, real estates and probate (dealing with widows and children) and public salaried positions. In higher education women are concentrated in the lower paying non-tenured positions of lecturer and instructor rather than on the promotional track of assistant professor, associate professor, and professor (M. Patterson & L. Engelberg). Women do not receive encouragement from their professors to continue their careers (Freeman, 1979). Nor are they allowed to participate in the informal social situations where professional socialization takes place and newer members may be groomed for promotion (M. White, 1979; J. Lorber, 1979; C. Safilios-Rothschild, 1978).

This is a problem common to women in all the professional fields (J. Lorber, 1979). Women who are socialized to seek and need other's approval find the psychological isolation especially difficult. They sometimes respond by lowering their aspirations (C. Safilios-Rothschild, 1978). Outstanding women are not accepted into the professional ranks in the same manner as their male colleagues. Instead of receiving salary increases and promotions, women are given praise and affection (Lorber, 1979).

Women are given unwanted affection in the form of sexual harassment. As students in graduate school, many professors

expect their women students to engage in sexual relations with them in order to have the women's students' programs approved, their theses accepted and degrees granted (P. Chessler & E. Goode, 1976; L. Farley, 1978). Some of the women drop out rather than continue in an untenable position, partially accounting for the higher attrition rate for women students. In this way women are prevented from gaining the educational qualifications which they are intellectually capable of attaining. Then, they are barred from entrance into careers for which the degrees and training are prerequisites.

Women also encounter sexual harassment on the job. As relatively few women reach positions of power, most women have male supervisors. In accordance with the general cultural stereotypes, many men view women as sexual objects (S. Hite, 1980). As part of the cultural context of male-female relationships they may not consider their remarks or behavior towards women at their place of employment as harassment. However, the women are usually working due to financial need (C. Bell, 1978, F. Blau, 1978; E. Almquist & J. Wehrle-Einhorn, 1978; S. Baker, 1978). Male sexual attention as a requirement for employment is not desired. Sexual harassment is defined as:

> Unsolicited, nonreciprocal male behavior that asserts a woman's sex role over her function as worker. It can be any or all of the following: staring at, commenting upon, or touching a woman's body; requests for acquiescence in sexual behavior; repeated nonreciprocated

> propositions for dates; demands for sexual intercourse; and rape (L. Farley, 1978, pp. 14-15)."

When women are sexually harassed, their immediate supervisor is often the initiator of the harassment. In order to continue their employment they must risk the probable reprocussions of refusing the supervisor's attention or if they unwilling submit they may lose their own self-respect with the psychological consequences this would entail (P. Chessler & E. Goode, 1976; L. Farley, 1978). Women have found the results of sexual harassment to have negative consequences no matter which way they respond. If they become sexually involved with their employer, they may be fired when the man tires of the affair or if it causes problems in the office (P. Chessler, 1976). If the woman refuses to become sexually involved, the man may refuse to stop his sexual harassment, find undue fault with her work, file damaging reports in her personnel records, or terminate her (P. Chessler & J. Goode, 1976; A. Jeghelian, 1976).

If women cannot take their complaints to their supervisor, in many instances there is no procedure for processing their grievances. If women do have channels for redress, they often find themselves disbelieved, disregarded, or considered a troublemaker. In a dispute it is often his word against her's or she may be accused of inviting the harassment. The male is usually protected while the female may be black-

balled, transferred even if she does not want to be transferred, fired, or forced out of the job by an escalation of harassment (P. Chessler & E. Goode, 1976; L. Farley, 1978; A. Jeghelian, 1976).

Women who leave their jobs as a result of sexual harassment may be denied unemployment compensation (L. Farley, 1978). Since some of women's job quits are due to sexual harassment, it is a direct cause of women having a poorer work record and lack of seniority in comparison to men. Sexual harassment is a hidden factor which greatly impacts upon women's earning ability.

The lower income that women receive is related to a third way that women experience economic divorce and single parenthood different from men. In 1978, 90.5 percent of single parent families were headed by women (M. T. Bane & R. S. Weiss, 1978). This difference between men's and women's family situations has profound ramifications in the socio-economic statuses of men and women with their children after divorce. Women's socially ascribed responsibility for the daily care of children is the major reason that economists, educational institutions and employers see women as less attached to the work force than men and therefore less serious about paid employment (C. Bell, 1978; F. Blau, 1979; M. Stevenson, 1978; J. Acker, 1978; K. Morris and I. Sawhill, 1978; J. Freeman, 1979; C. Ireson, 1978; M. Patterson & E. Engleberg, 1978; S. Baker, 1978; C. Safilios-Rothschild, 1978). Child care responsibilities are in fact the most limiting factor affecting women's participation in the labor force (M. Stevenson, 1978; M. Patterson & E. Engleberg,

1978; Baxandall, 1979). Women express the desire for full time paid employment and they are in fact serious about their jobs (J. Freeman, 1979). Single women have patterns similar to men's. It is married white women with children who are most likely to drop out of the work force or to work part-time due to child care responsibilities (C. Lloyd & B. Niemi, 1979; M. Patterson & L. Engelberg, 1978).

> Although marriage and family have no noticeable effects on the career developments of male physicians, they have the effect of lessening or interrupting the practice of female physicians. Harold Kaplan found that 38% of women doctors removed themselves from professional activities for four years or more due to pregnancy and/or family responsibilities . . . a much higher proportion of female attorneys (13.2 percent) than males (4.7 percent) are inactive or retired . . . Of the women who were not employed 90 percent had left the profession because they had very young children . . . [Women in academic settings found difficulty combining] career and children: about one-third of the women in academe (33.6 percent) have dependent children compared to more than two-thirds of the men.
>
> (M. Patterson & L. Engleberg, 1978 pp. 276, 282, 286)

Working mothers in blue collar positions find lack of child care a problem, too. They must also contend with inflexibility of work schedules, swing shifts, forced overtime, lack of access to telephones to be in contact with their children or child care providers, so that they have even more difficulty arranging child care in accordance with the demands of the work place (S. Baker, 1978). Professionals, white collar workers, blue-collar workers, all find family responsibilities take time and energy away from

their ability to easily and fully participate in the work force, work overtime, attend evening work-related activities, and accept more responsibilities at work. This affects professionals, managers and businesses who need to attend conferences and seminars, travel or accept evening assignments in order to advance in their careers. Other women workers do not have time to organize and participate in union activities with their added home responsibilities which add 25-56 hours to the work week of all women (J. Acker, 1978, J. Vanek, 1978).

Child care was a determinant of women's ability to continuously hold a full-time job during World War II. Three-thousand-one-hundred-two federally-funded child care centers for industries employing women provided child care facilities. At the end of the war 2800 of them closed forcing women out of work and back into the home even though the women had hoped to continue working (N. Baker, 1978). Government, business and industry continue to refuse to provide adequate child care facilities even though in 1978 54 percent of lone mothers and 41.6 percent of married women with school children were in the labor force. Nine-tenths of child care was provided in the home for children 3-13 years old. Fifty-three percent of mothers were not in the labor force, 27.9 percent were employed. For the many women earning low incomes, child care and where applicable any related transportation expenses hardly make full time employment a profitable endeavor (F. Baxandall, 1979).

Many women and their children are living below the poverty level. Mother-headed families are six times more likely

than two parent families to have incomes below poverty levels (M. J. Bane & R. Weiss, 1980). This is a more common experience for female-headed than male-headed families. Thirty-two percent of families maintained by women were living in poverty in 1978 compared to nine percent of all families which were headed by men. The poverty rate for children in families maintained by women was 50 percent in comparison to 16 percent headed by men (U.S. Census Report, 1980). Many women were forced to obtain some type of public assistance. The first year after the marital break-up was the time women received the most amount of food stamps and/or AFDC payments (M. Bane & R. Weiss, 1980). Yet even with public assistance, many women with children had incomes below the poverty level. Others who were working part or full time at a minimal wage received supplements to lift them slightly above the poverty line. The new regulations passed by the 1980 Congress will throw many of these working poor female-headed household back below the poverty threshhold as they are cut from the subsistance level programs. Due to their lower income women and their children experience more residential instability than men. Seventy-five percent move at least once by the fourth year after marital break-up. Over half of those who move, move more than once (M. J. Bane & R. S. Weiss, 1980). Renters were more likely to move than homeowners and those homeowners who could not afford to maintain the same quality and size of housing felt forced to move to smaller houses, apartments, or less desirable neighborhoods. Few of those who became

renters bought homes when they married again (M. Bane & R. Weiss, 1980). Moves to low rent housing caused families to be located in higher crime areas and poorer school districts than those in higher rent areas. Female-headed single parent households were less likely than those maintained by a male head to be homeowners: 47 percent compared to 61 percent (U.S. Census Report, 1980). The lone mothers were also paying a larger percentage of their incomes for shelter expenses. Female householders who owned their homes spent 57 percent of their income for shelter whereas male households paid 31 percent. Renters used an even larger percent: Female households, 66 percent; male, 49 percent (U.S. Census Report, 1980).

Another experience that is different for men and women after divorce is the experience of age discrimination. Women are considered past their prime 10 to 15 years sooner than men (I. Bell, 1979). Women who show signs of aging are no longer considered attractive and since their worth is measured in their sexual attractiveness to men, their worth is low according to societal standards (E. Rosenthal, 1978; C. Safilios-Rothschild, I Bell, 1979). In contrast, middle-aged men are at the height of their careers and their earning power. For them gray hair is considered distinguished (I. Bell, 1979).

Aging is a jeopardy for women because usually males are the ones who are doing the hiring and employers prefer younger women (E. Rosenthal, 1978). Attractiveness is a qualification for many jobs (C. Safilios-Rothschild, 1978). Youth and beauty are necessary for those desiring to work as reception-

ists, stewardesses, or waitresses at the more glamorous clubs and resorts (E. Rosenthal, 1978).

Martha, Nora, Gloria, and Cathy have felt the effect of discrimination against women. Each of them work in female occupations. Martha is the only one who makes an adequate salary. She is also the only one who is in a union, one which is predominately female. Martha receives a small amount of child support from her highly paid remarried ex-husband. She works a second low paying part-time job to make enough money to fully support herself and her teenager. When she got divorced over 10 years ago, she received the house in the property settlement. But as she had not completed her education and had no job or skills at the time, she was unable to afford the payments. She lost the house and moved home with her parents. In her career she is unable to move upwards. There are no possible positions for advancements for her. Since her present position is being eliminated, she is attaining more education to qualify for a lateral move. With her seniority and comparatively high rate of pay a move to any other employment in her field or even another location would cause her to have to take a substantial reduction in income. She cannot afford to lose any money now or she would be unable to continue to make her recently acquired house and car payments. She is effectively locked into her present job even though her working conditions have deteriorated and she would prefer to move elsewhere.

Nora works at a low paying job similar to the job that

she had while she was married. Her husband had objected to her working, but enjoyed the financial benefits including the house which her salary allowed them to acquire. She received the house in the divorce settlement and continued to live there with her daughter. Her husband quickly remarried and moved to a more prestigious neighborhood. His increasing income and his working wife's earnings allowed them to enjoy a more comfortable lifestyle. Nora's ex-husband changed the child support payments or stopped them at times according to his own needs and desires. She was in a precarious financial position, but was able to gain more consistent payments with the help of a lawyer. She has not experienced sexual harassment herself but has been present when a female supervisor was sexually harassed by a male supervisor.

Gloria has had the most difficult economic adjustment. She had no job experience, skills or training. She had spent approximately twenty years as a wife and mother, caring for the needs of her family. She received no financial settlement in the divorce. Because her husband always took care of the family's finances, Gloria does not even know the extent of the considerable amount of property owned jointly by herself and her former husband. Because he is a political official, he was able to use his influence to block the divorce in her home state. He has concealed or disposed of some of the property holdings through questionable means. Concerned people including her lawyer have been unable to help her gain an equitable financial settlement due to her ex-husband's considerable

political influence.

Gloria has been unable to obtain suitable steady employment. She was in one government-funded job, but was laid off when funding was terminated. Sexual harassment was causing her to consider voluntary termination at the time she became unemployed. She can only get entry level positions because she has so little training, skill and experience. Her options are even more limited by her chronic, incurable health problems and her age. She has been able to solve her housing problem by moving into one of the rental homes which she and her ex-husband owns. She received some welfare benefits, but is now dependent on handouts from her former husband.

Cathy, on the other hand, is young and has considerable experience. Her responsible position pays her slightly above poverty wages. There was no property settlement in the divorce since the young family had acquired so few financial resources. Cathy has received sporatic child support payments which were not even enough to pay child care expenses for her preschool children. She is attending college, training to enter a higher paying profession. She, too, acquired a second part-time job to try to relieve her current tremendous financial strain. Her former husband is remarried. His wife is working, but when they consider their financial situation too strained, he does not provide the court ordered child support payments. Cathy is living too close to the poverty level to hire a lawyer. But she is unable to get legal aid because domestic cases are not taken by government-funded legal services in her county.

Cathy moved several times after the divorce. She lived in a neighborhood which she considered unsafe. Since she now has dependable income from the second job, she has been able to rent a small but adequate apartment in an area she considers safe.

Women's experience with credit is different from men's. In the past women experienced blatant discrimination due to sex and marital status. Because women can bear children and may not be earning money while caring for them, creditors were allowed to discount women's earnings and require the husbands' or fathers' signature for all types of credit (P. Chessler, 1974; MO Pirg, 1977). In 1974 the Missouri legislature enacted a law prohibiting retail trade from denying credit solely on the basis of sex and marital status. This law was superseded by the federal Equal Credit Opportunity Act (ECOA) which went into effect in 1975 (Mo Pirg, 1977). ECOA prohibits discrimination on the basis of sex or marital status in all types of credit transactions. It also prohibits creditors from asking about women's child-bearing plans or birth control practices. ECOA requires creditors to count a wife's income even if it is from part-time employment. Alimony and child support must be considered if they are made under a written agreement or court order and if they are likely to continue. To prevent a woman from losing her credit standing when divorced, all accounts opened after November 1, 1976 must provide a separate credit rating

for the wife (Mo Pirg, 1977). Women who had joint accounts with their husband's before November 1, 1976 were not automatically covered unless they or their husbands requested credit reporting for the wife.

These laws have made great strides in establishing women's right to credit. However, women are still less likely to be eligible for fewer types of credit than men due to women's lower earnings, lower seniority, and greater residential mobility. When they do obtain credit, the limits are likely to be lower than men's. This can lead to a vicious circle of discrimination if women need credit to purchase clothing or an automobile in order to obtain new or better employment.

Women's lower salaries also limit women's ability to manage their money advantageously or to make investments. The large initial amounts required to participate in many high interest bearing investments automatically disqualifies the many women who are disproportionally represented in low income statuses (P. Chessler, 1974). This would also cause women to have more difficulty saving for large purchases. Instead, the women would have to borrow money and pay interest further decreasing their purchasing power.

Martha is in the small percentage of women whose income has given them access to major sources of credit. Martha has been able to obtain credit to purchase her car and her house. She also has numerous charge accounts. But she has not been able to save enough money to make any investments. Nora lives frugally and uses credit very little. Cathy has nothing to

spare. She does not use credit. She says that she never has to worry about how to spend her money. She pays for food, shelter, transportation and child care. Then there is no money left. She doesn't take a credit card to buy clothes, she goes to second-hand stores and yard sales, and accepts donations of used clothing from friends and relatives. Gloria lost all her credit when she got divorced. She has been denied credit in her own name because she has no credit record and no steady source of income. None of these women have been able to consider any investments.

Women's lower earnings have even more long term consequences, affecting them in their retirement years. "The social security taxes that [women] pay produce proportionately lower benefits than for men who pay the same rate but earn more and thus qualify for higher benefits" (Mo Pirg, 1977, p. 45). Women who are married less than ten years lose all the benefits they gained as the spouse of a worker, which is usually higher than social security benefits based on the woman's own earnings. Even if the marriage lasted until the death of the spouse, the wife only collects one-half of the benefits that would have been paid to the husband unless she is disabled (Mo Prig, 1977). Pensions, too, are lower for women than for men due to women's lower earnings and lower seniority (K. Scholzman, 1979).

In summary, women experience divorce and single parenting differently from men because they have less occupational preparation and experience than men. They generally have significantly lower learnings and less opportunity for promotions

than men. Women have the major portion of child care responsibilities adversely affecting their employment opportunities. Women also experience sexual harassment on the job, something not faced by men to the same extent or with the same negative impact on their earning ability. Women have less ability than men to obtain credit or participate in investment opportunities due to their lower earnings. In addition women receive lower retirement benefits. Women do not remarry as quickly as men or in the same proportion, so women feel the effects of divorce and their low income for a longer period of time than do men. For women divorce is a greater financial crisis than for men.

Career Development

As stated earlier, when the husband leaves the household, the woman and children experience a financial crisis. The severity of the crisis is determined by three main factors: 1) the financial settlement arranged for the separation and divorce; 2) the support provided by the family's friends and relatives; 3) and the woman's own earning ability. This latter factor is particularly important. Women are at different positions on the economic scale according to their past training and work experience. Those who had little education and on-the-job experience before or during marriage are likely to be in the lower socioeconomic income level already with husbands in a similar position. Women with husbands in the lower socioeconomic level are least likely to receive child support,

alimony or a property settlement as discussed above. They are the group who may already be receiving public assistance (M. Banks and R. Weiss, 1980). Other women may be working part-time or periodically. Some women are working full time, but may be earning a salary which is inadequate to support a family. During the marriage they were the secondary wage earner. A few women will be employed in a higher paying profession or have inherited enough financial resources to live comfortably. They may be unaccustomed to making all the major financial decisions. Even in families where both husband and wife handled the finances, the husband usually decided upon major purchases. Whatever the nature of the financial difficulty, after divorce women can use this event as an opportunity for career development. This may be the impetus for the woman to get out of the home, develop a more satisfying career, or learn more about financial management. Some federal funding has been available to prepare displaced homemakers for careers (R. André, 1981). Many colleges, universities, and counseling centers are providing career planning services to women who are entering and re-entering the job market, changing careers, and desiring more information about financial management.

In order to take charge of their financial affairs women must see themselves as capable of making wise decisions which have far-reaching ramifications. For in making career choices, the women are choosing the family's lifestyle. The amount of income earned will determine the family's choice of residence and therefore their neighbors, the schools attended by the

children, their friends, the types of organizations to which the family belongs, the level of consumption of goods and services, and even the occupational aspirations and training available to the children. Career choice will also affect the amount of time the woman has available for her children and herself.

Since the career choice does impact on so many areas, in order to take the first step toward a career decision women must assess their values. Women must ask themselves the amount of money they wish to make, the type of work they would like to do, in what setting they would like to work, how much time they would like to devote to their career, how far they are likely to advance, how much they would like to advance, what amount of movement such as travel relocation they would desire or are willing to accept, what group of people they would like as consumers and co-workers, and how the requirements for specific careers mesh with their own personalities. By asking relevant questions and answering them women can determine their values in relation to their careers. By making choices more in harmony with their own complete values, women can facilitate resolution of role-conflict (to be discussed in the Psychic Divorce section). A complete value is one which is freely chosen from among alternatives after consideration of the alternatives. People feel good about values which they espouse completely. They are willing to discuss these values publicly, act upon them consistently and integrate them as a part of a total pattern

in their lives (S. Sax and S. Hollander, 1974). Choices and actions based on complete values have a forceful influence on people's lives. Complete values allow people to be committed to their chosen pursuits. Debilitating internal conflict is replaced with a sense of harmony and integration.

After deciding upon their lifestyle and determining their values, women working on developing their career must make an in depth inventory of their interests (B. Brooks, 1976). As a great part of their life will be spent in preparation for and participation in their careers, they will want to make career choices which will allow them to work in a job that will retain their interest and pay them adequate wages. Career plans must also take into account the total responsibility society at the present time places upon women for child care. Part-time employment, self-employment including paid work done at home, flexible working hours, and even one full time position shared by two women are alternatives to the typical career plan created by and for males (C. Safilios-Rothschild, 1978).

To continue their career development women must inventory their skills, including those gained in home management and volunteer activities. Frequently, women do not recognize their skills because they were learned in unpaid endeavors. This attitude reflects the emphasis of worth placed upon work which earns money (C. Bell, 1978; P. Chessler, 1976). However, women can realize that their work has value whether paid or unpaid. To translate volunteer activities and home management

into marketable language, women must analyze the components of their work and compare it to similar activities performed by paid employees, then describe their skills in appropriate terminology (R. Irish, 1973). After accessing their skills, women need to determine whether they can enter the career of their choice with their present skills, whether they need some refresher courses, or whether they want to enter some type of training program.

Finally, women need to enter paid employment in the area of their chosen career and at their chosen level of responsibility. As they work toward and reach their goal, this process can serve as a model for career development for other women. Through displaced homemaker legislation, government-funded counseling centers training programs, and financial aid for higher education some women have been able to receive assistance in entering the paid labor force. (R. Andre, 1981). Women have also made efforts to help each other. Consciousness-raising groups provide support for women to face the reality of their situation and seek to make changes in their own responses (J. Moreland, 1976). Networks are set up by employed women to assist each other in learning of job promotion opportunities (C. Kleiman, 1980). Through networking women can gain access to the "hidden job market" where most jobs are found. The hidden job market consists of employment needs known by those who can suggest someone as a possible employee (R. Irish, 1973). It is the equivalent of the "old boys." Women also help other women by serving as successful

role models and mentors, teaching newly employed women appropriate role socialization, the informal values and attitudes, and the expectations for workers in their professions (M. White, 1979). Women can become more integrated into all levels in the labor force as they work together with each other.

Martha and Cathy are both currently enrolled in college programs. Their purpose is to be able to gain a higher income doing work that they enjoy. They have realistic, obtainable goals. Many of their friends are involved in career advancement, serving as role models and sources of employment information. Gloria, too, would like to go back to college to complete the degree she began before marriage. She has had to face discrimination from the college which is not anxious to help her find funding for her education due to her age. She also must realistically access her employment possibilities. She would graduate at about age 50. Her career plans are still unformed. Nora has no plans to make any changes in her job and does not anticipate any in the near future.

Women who have developed their careers through the process discussed above will have gathered information, made assessments, decided upon a course of action, and learned where to get the assistance necessary to make their plans into reality in the present job market. These skills will serve them well in the financial management of their resources. They can make wise decisions as consumers, seek and use credit, and make investments. Women can also participate in the many financial management-investment courses

offered through adult extension courses and evening classes in colleges and universities.

Women must face the financial reality. But knowing that many problems are rooted in the social structure rather than in the individual can free women from the drain upon their energy and initiative brought about by self-blame. Instead women can develop a career and lifestyle based on their knowledge of the difficulties inherent in the system. They can use their ability to challenge and/or circumvent as many obstacles as possible. With the help of other women they can extend the scope of their own efforts. Then, using wise financial management of the resources they do acquire, they can build financial stability for their family. In this way they will have accomplished the developmental tasks of economic divorce.

COPARENTAL

The developmental tasks of coparental divorce involve providing an environment where the children can live, a place in which the needs of each individual are considered. Parents need to furnish a home and loving care for the children. They also must provide discipline, giving the children firm limits and controls. Parents must teach the children responsibility and respect for themselves and others. Once children are born parents have no choice at the existence of responsibilities of parenthood, even if they neglect these responsibilities (E. Carter and M. McGoldrick, 1980).

As stated in the previous section, when the man leaves the household, the family is likely to experience a severe financial crisis. In a two income family the person who earned 74 percent of the income has gone, leaving the remaining members with 26 percent. If the wife had not been employed, she is left with no income unless the husband continues to provide some to his family. If he does give support, it probably does not cover the household's expenses. The mother is faced with an inability to afford the necessities of life. Survival of the family unit, providing food, shelter, clothing and transportation becomes the overwhelming concern. One out of three female-headed families live in poverty, compared to one in eighteen male-headed single parent families (Bureau of the Census, 1980). In one study, 45 percent of single mothers reported that financial problems were currently the most

stressful--for them (B. Gottlieb, 1978). In the hierarchy of needs, survival needs are attended to before developmental needs (K. G. Terkelsen, 1980). Developmental needs may suffer when the mother is expending the majority of her energy providing for the survival of the family unit.

On another level the mother and children are involved together in a psychological crisis consisting of disorganization and reorganization extending over a period of several years (J. Wallerstein & J. Kelly, 1977). According to Wallerstein & Kelly, the functioning of the custodial parent and the events in the entire post separation period "are the central determinants in the young child's well-being at the end of the first year of separation." (p. 5). This is consistent with the family systems viewpoint which considers the family members as a unit. What affects one individual in the family is going to have some affect on the others. Boundaries are permeable. Developmental stage of the individual and point in the family life cycle must be considered (S. Minuchin, 1974). In other words, parents emotional crisis affect the children and the children's emotional crisis affects the parents.

Parents and children all experience a feeling of loss. They grieve for the absent parent and the intact family. Because parents are dealing with their own crises when they are in the midst of a divorce, parents are likely to be unavailable emotionally to the children. This causes the children to experience a temporary loss of both parents (J. Wallerstein & J. Kelly, 1876, 1977) and a possible permanent loss of one

parent. Children of divorce exhibit a similar reaction to the loss of a parent as that seen in children whose parent dies (K. Feudenthal, 1959; L. Tessman, 1978) and in children in separation studies (J. Bowlby, 1973). The children separated from their parents for extended periods of time tried to follow the departing parent, threw themselves on the floor, screaming and refusing to be comforted. They cried frequently throughout the first part of their separation, slept fitfully, frequently awaking screaming for mother. They refused to cooperate with their caretakers in dressing, eating and using the pot. Their behavior toward other children and toys was hostile. As time passed they became ambivalent towards the caretaker. This ambivalence was exhibited towards parents when children were reunited with them. They showed some degree of detachment, hostility, rejection, defiance toward the mother. But this behavior alternated with clinging and fear of being left alone (J. Bowlby, 1973). Children of all ages whose parents were divorcing suffer from separation anxiety. According to E. J. Anthony (1974) this anxiety may manifest as transitional situational disorders, for example: clamming up, regression, somatic disturbances such as over-activity, tachycardia, anorexia, nausea, vomiting, diarrhea, urinary frequency, disturbed sleep with nightmares; running away from home, running to the lost parent, grieving, displaying hostile feelings toward the remaining parent, seeming confused and disoriented about self and surroundings at times.

Younger children showed the most confusion and difficulty

adjusting to parental divorce (J. Wallerstein & J. Kelly, 1975). This confusion may stem from the fact that parents tend not to discuss their divorce with the children (P. Bohannan, 1971). One study found that 80 percent of preschool children's parents had not attempted to discuss the divorce with their children (J. Wallerstein & J. Kelly, 1977). J. McDermott (1968) found that nursery school children had a lessened ability to overcome anxiety and depression through play when their parents were divorcing. They had a heightened fear for their own basic security which some children exhibited as a greater fear of body injury. He states that the most typical reactions of young children to parental divorce were shock, anger, depression, tiredness, excessive crying, sadness, denial, regression, blaming others for any problems or antisocial actions, boredom, inhibition, loss of creativity capacity, reluctance to attempt new activities, feelings of grief, loss and emptiness, possessiveness. On the other hand they become more noisy, restless, hyperactive, and aggressive. They may act antisocially, kicking, biting, and hitting peers and destroying others' projects. Some children had increased illnesses and absences from school. Some children lost personal items, wandered aimlessly about, provoked others, made insatiable demands for affection and reassurance, sucked their thumbs, were detached from everyday events, were self-absorbed, preoccupied, irritable, quarrelsome and bossy, lecturing other children. McDermott states that the children's behavior during the divorce period depends on their previous level of development and the quality of their relation-

ship with their parents.

Children of school age are more likely to be able to weather the divorce without developmental delays because their energy is focused outside the family into activities involving school, peers and non-family adults (J. Wallerstein & J. Kelly, 1975). Because of the divorce in their family, these children felt some sense of helplessness and vulnerability. The children felt small, weak, in danger of being injured, crushed or stepped on by external forces (J. McDermott, 1970). They are depressed, sometimes accident-prone, then aggressive as they attempt to exert some control. These children have anxiety, sadness, temper tantrums, whining, and irritability, but unless they are the focus of family conflict, they can avoid long-term problems (J. Wallerstein & J. Kelly, 1975).

Later age latency children had a clearer perception of the turmoil and family disruption. In spite of their greater knowledge they still could not see the justification for the divorce even in the cases of physical abuse and torture of the mother. But they later stated that they were glad to be free of their father's harsh discipline and demands (J. Wallerstein & J. Kelly, 1976). Some children distanced themselves from the conflict, some used denial as a defense mechanism. The children later accepted the reality of the divorce. Children of latency age shared with other children the fear of abandonment and the concern that their needs would be forgotten. However, because they had a clearer understanding of the meaning of divorce, they also had more clearly defined fear. What

these children feared was the uncertainty of their own future. In addition they had a more focused sense of shame. They were ashamed of their parents and the implied rejection reflected on themselves. They were capable of moral judgments, being indignant and outraged that their parents who corrected and disciplined them could act so badly. They had a conscious, intense anger which was released in temper tantrums, scolding, demanding behavior, and dictatorial attitudes. Not all children were so vocal and expressive. Some became more quiet, compliant and decreased their assertive behavior. Children in this age group became involved in organized activity to gain a sense of control over their lives (J. Wallerstein & J. Kelly, 1976). The divorce had caused their parents to withdraw some of their energy from the children, leaving the children with a sense of loss of external control, loneliness, and alienation. The children were without any back up support system because they were living in nuclear families, unconnected to extended families or other enduring support systems. Their sense of identity was still tied up in their parents and their families. Children expressed their difficulties and distress through somatic symptoms. They had a decline in school performance due to their inability to concentrate and their inability to tolerate academic pressures. Unlike the younger children who generally kept their peer relationships intact, the older children experienced deterioration in their peer relationships. They became more aggressive in their play activities. Their behavior at school was often quite different from their behavior

at home. At school they may engage in acting out, controlling, and devious behavior, whereas, they may be gentle and quiet at home. The lessening of age-appropriate distance between parents and children that occurs in families undergoing divorce allows the children to see that they and their parents are interdependent. This gives the child emotional power in the relationship. This additional power may trigger pseudo-adolescent behavior on the part of the children or it may catalyze the development of increased responsibility and the ability of the children to respond empathetically to their siblings and parents (J. Wallerstein & J. Kelly, 1976).

Again children responded to parental divorce according to their developmental level. Some children became chronically maladjusted, depressed, and had low self-esteem. They had frequent school and peer difficulties. Some that felt a precocious thrust into adolescence, became preoccupied with assertiveness and sexuality. Other children made good adjustments in school and reestablished satisfactory peer relationships. But no matter what their level of adjustment, few children were able to maintain good relationships with both parents. Even those who gained a stable readjustment felt some anger, hostility, bitterness, and nostalgia for the predivorce family unit (J. Wallerstein & J. Kelly, 1976).

Adolescents were affected by their parents' divorce in three ways. First, they felt a fear of abandonment, rejection, and loss of love. Second, they experienced interference with the resolution of typical adolescent conflicts. Finally,

they had an intense fear of their own inability to form successful marriages of their own (A. Sorosky, 1977).

Although adolescents are not as helpless as the younger children, they, too, feel a shattering of their sense of security. In contrast, adolescents have more control over the events in their lives than the younger children. They can participate in the custody decision and through their own efforts, if they choose, they can remain in contact with both sides of their families (E. W. Beal, 1980).

Adolescents whose parents are divorcing experience a rapid telescoping of the normal developmental tasks of sexual conflict resolution, identity conflict resolution, dependency-independency conflict resolution, social conflict resolution, and future conflict resolution (A. Sorosky, 1977). The absence of the father makes the sexual identity more difficult to resolve. The adolescents' idea of the male is more likely to be based on an unrealistic idealization or devaluation. They may have little opportunity to observe their mother as a partner in a male-female relationship in which her behavior would be different from her interaction with them (N. Friday, 1977). On the other hand, if the father had been harsh and oppressive, the children may benefit from his absence from the home, especially if they can find other more satisfactory male models. Another area of sexual conflict may be worsened because of the parents divorce. The parents may have difficulty setting limits on the adolescents' sexual activity when they themselves are involved in extramarital sexual relations.

The parents may be uncertain about their values and therefore unable to help the adolescents decide upon what values to choose for themselves. In addition, the adolescent in a divorced family may have more knowledge of their parents' sexual activities because of accusations and revelations of their parents' sexual inadequacies or infidelities during the divorce process. This may cause fear of sexual failure or inability to control sexual impulses in the adolescent who are identifying with the same sex parent (A. Sorosky, 1977).

To resolve their identity conflicts adolescents must gain a sense of self-acceptance of their physical traits, their personalities, and their intellectual abilities. The adolescents could experience confusion because their parents may be going through their own identity crisis concurrently. The adolescent may provoke further problems by continuing the family conflict when they adopt traits of the absent parent (A. Sorosky, 1977).

The adolescents' resolution of dependency-independency conflicts are disrupted when the adolescents are forced prematurely to relate to their parents each as separate individuals. In addition to the loss of emotional security engendered by the divorce, adolescents may have also lost their financial security. If their mothers joined the paid labor force as a result of the divorce, adolescents experience yet another threat to their security as they miss her presence in the home. Adolescents who feel insecure are more dependent, seeking protection rather than independence.

vengeful anger, frustration, guilt, aggressive acting out in school or at home, a decline in academic performance, truancy, running away, drug abuse, sexual acting out, and group delinquent behavior (A. Sorosky, 1977). Boys tend toward more aggressive behavior while girls tend to be more self-destructive (N. Kalter, 1977).

Added to the usually great economic stress single parent mothers experience after divorce, they usually have the major responsibility for handling the children's emotional turmoil which was generated by the divorce.

When the father does not provide the support payments, the children feel a sense of worthlessness (E. Anthony, 1974). The mother is the one whose task it is to help the children overcome these feelings. Forty-five percent of single mothers reported in a recent study that concerns about an emotional or behavioral problem of one or more of their children was a current life stress for them (B. Gottlieb, 1978). Because the mothers is the parent who is with the children for the larger percentage of their time, she is the one most likely to be the major recipient of the children's hostility, irritability, clingingness, the one who interrupts her sleep to comfort children during the night after a nightmare or when they are sleeping irregularly, etc. The mothers are the ones who must help children solve their school problems, attend parent-teacher conferences, listen to children's concerns, and help them work through problems with their friends.

The mothers also must be the disciplinarian, the ones

who set limits, enforce rules, make the children do their chores, and determines rewards and punishments. Discipline is a problem area for single parent mothers after divorce. Children challenge their mothers' authority and attempt to go beyond maternal limitations on their behavior (M. Wallerstein & J. Kelly, 1976); N. Kalter, 1977; P. Glasser & E. Navarre, 1969). The children are apt to see their mothers' requests and directions to them as the mothers' personal preference rather than a more neutral set of rules (R. Weiss, 1979; P. Glasser & E. Navarre, 1969). The children may have a different set of rules or possibly no rules when they visit their father (P. Bohannan, 1971). Their paternal visits may even further weaken their mother's position of legitimate authority if the father is seen as the nice guy who provides entertainment and the mother is regarded as the mean one who imposes the restrictions and discipline (E. J. Anthony, 1974). Children of divorce may develop blatantly manipulative and exploitive tendencies, playing one parent against the other (E. J. Anthony, 1974). The children's own emotional bargaining power becomes stronger when there is just one parent (J. Wallerstein & J. Kelly, 1976). Their relative power increases to such an extent that they are able to modify their mothers' behavior rather than vise versa. The single parent may have a greater need for an alliance with and support from the children and therefore, tend to overlook lapses (R. Weiss, 1979). When children ignore or resist their mothers' orders, by the second year after divorce the mothers respond with less use of negative sanctions

(E. M. Heatherington, M. Cox & R. Cox, 1976). Mothers may feel that they need the children's loyalty and good will because there is a continuing legal struggle between the parents in about one half of divorce involving children (E. J. Anthony, 1974). This may be a result of a desire for reconciliation or the desire to harass and punish the former spouse rather than concern for the children's welfare (E. J. Anthony, 1974; W. Beal, 1980).

After divorce the mothers continue to be responsible for the child care and home management duties they performed during the marriage. They must also try to find a way to accomplish any tasks typically done by their former husbands. Since work performed by men is more highly paid than women's work, mothers may find that it is difficult or impossible for them to afford to hire the labor they lost when their husbands left the home. Mothers may learn to do this work themselves or make some other cooperative arrangements to get it done. Single parent mothers handle a high level of unremitting stress and anxiety daily. They have so much dependent on their time and attention that they experience task overload (P. Bohannan, 1971, E. H. Beal, 1980). Fatigue and exhaustion are likely to be the result (R. S. Weiss, 1979).

The loss of a family member occurs in a family structure that was already pared to the minimum number of workers who are capable of maintaining the family (P. Bohannan, 1971; J. Bernard, 1979). With an overstressed single adult member to sustain the functioning of the family there is a decreased

likelihood that the family unit will have the ability to promote the development of each of its members (E. H. Beal, 1980). If adequate child care and supervision can be provided along with informal social supports there is evidence that maternal functioning and family organization can be maintained (E. W. Beal, 1980; B. Gottlieb, 1978). Mothers have a great desire to fulfill the societal pressures upon them which expect them to be perfect mothers (B. Brooks, 1976; B. Wilborn, 1976). But this is an impossible task, because children cannot be perpetually cooperative and happy and therefore they will never be perfect children. To be a perfect mother one must have perfect children. With these rules mothers are bound to failure no matter how competent, resourceful, and persistant they are. Adding a career to their already demanding job, without adding some type of assistance and supports, causes the demands made on the "supermom" to be absurdly beyond the capabilities of most human beings. Yet women are socialized to please others (J. Bardwick, 1976; J. Miller, 1976). So women blame themselves, feel inadequate and guilty when they cannot attend to the needs of their families (B. Brooks, 1976; B. Wilborn, 1976). Women respond in a variety of ways to the pressures on them, at times giving up their own needs, or sometimes expressing ambivalence or hostility toward their children and the responsibilities fostered upon them (K. Freudenthal, 1959; E. Williams, 1976). When some women are aware of the unrealistic expectations of the new female stereotype pressuring them to combine a demanding career with family

life, they express resentment (L. Tessman, 1978).

Lack of social supports for the divorced mother is greater than for widowed mothers or divorced fathers. Widows were more likely to receive the continued support of their extended family and social systems than divorced mothers. Also widows are typically older than divorcees, so their children are usually older relieving them of the many pressures of caring for young children by themselves (E. Hetherington, 1972). Single parent fathers are more likely to be helped by other women in their social networks. Fathers also have more contact with other couples compared to the mothers' decreased social contact after the divorce. Fathers, perhaps because of their greater amount of free time than mothers, are active in self-improvement courses after divorce, which again gives the fathers another social activity and a possible source of social supports (E. W. Beal, 1980). "Lack of available human support networks when the divorced . . . person needed them tended to deepen depression, confirm images of oneself as being worthless, unlovable and failing, and made it extraordinarily difficult for the parent to give emotional support to the child[ren]" (L. Tessman, 1978, p. 14).

A satisfying intimate heterosexual relationship is the desire of most divorced people and a social support which greatly aids divorced parents. They feel it is an important factor in reestablishing their sense of self-worth (E. Hetherington, 1977; P. Bohannan, 1971). Women are likely to be fairly isolated from male contacts because they work in the

female job ghetto and they have fewer economic resources to be able to spend on social activities. The mothers' typical heavy load of home and child care responsibilities is another constraint on their social opportunities (R. Weiss, 1979; E. W. Beal, 1980). Their children's hostility to and jealousy of their male companions limits single parent mother's dating or makes it more difficult for the mothers to maintain a satisfactory relationship with the children while fulfilling the mother's own personal needs for companionship (J. Wallerstein & J. Kelly, 1976; E. J. Anthony, 1974; A. Sorosky, 1977). The mothers' difficulties in fulfilling their own needs limit their abilities to be as supportive of the children as would be optimal (L. Tessman, 1978) and extends the time necessary for the women to become reorganized in a way that they are functioning independently from their former spouses (J. Wallerstein & J. Kelly, 1976; N. R. Gluck, E. Dannefer, & K. Milea, 1980). When the father remarries, the mother is likely to oe somewhat emotionally unable to help the children in a time when they are possibly feeling again the split loyalties between their parents. If the mothers have not already remarried themselves, they are apt to find their own conflicts reactivated in regard to finances, the split loyalties of their children, and jealousy of the new wife (E. W. Beal, 1980). It is important that both the mothers and children receive adequate social supports to enable the newly developing single parent family system to grow and allow each member to develop his or her own potential. The

lack of adult personnel makes parenting in these families an extremely difficult job (P. Bohannan, 1971).

Parents and children do adjust to divorce and the parent-child relationship may improve from what it was in the pre-divorce period. One fourth of fathers and one half of mothers report that their relationship with the children improved after the divorce. On the other hand, about three quarters of the fathers have less contact with the children and exspouses after two years following the divorce than they did when the family was together or immediately following the divorce (E. Hetherington, 1977). But whether or not the father continues to be in contact with the children and contributes to their welfare, there continues to be kinship ties which affects the family system. Fathers' actions or neglect of responsibilities in relation to both the children and exwife are felt and have an influence on the family system both financially and emotionally (P. Bohannan, 1968; S. Minuchin, 1974). Hopefully, for the sake of all people involved, the parents will be able to come to terms with their differences and cooperate as parents. Parental agreement regarding childrearing practices, a low level of conflict between the parents, and the emotional stability of the noncustodial spouse had a positive influence on the children's development. In contrast, the children exhibit poor adjustment in the custodial parent-child relationship when the parents have a high level of conflict between themselves, disagree regarding childrearing, and when the noncustodial parent is emotionally unstable (E. M. Hethering-

ton, 1977).

Martha knew that she could not survive financially after her divorce and perform all of the child care responsibilities for her infant. Her former husband provided no child care. Martha felt she had no choice but to relinquish many of her parental duties to her own parents while she trained for her career, then began full time employment. The child's father maintained little contact with his child. He moved out of state for a better job and has virtually lost contact with his daughter. This caused the child to have an even greater dependence on her mother. During the short period of her remarriage, Martha's daughter emotionally withdrew from her. Presently, Martha's daughter spends the majority of her time with her grandparents. Martha exercises legal parental control, provides financially, and attempts to maintain an emotional relationship with her daughter, but her daughter relates to Martha as little as possible. Martha feels much anguish, but can do little to improve the situation when her adolescent daughter refuses to cooperate.

Martha's daughter does cooperate in home maintenance tasks. Nevertheless, there is so much to be done that Martha feels overwhelmed at times. Yard work and mechanical problems cause her the most frustration. Her father, a neighbor, and male friends have helped her.

Nora has found being a single parent emotionally demanding. "My social worker told me that one parent and one child together is the most difficult relationship, because the child

has no one else to turn to at times when the relationship with the parent is stressful. Beth is so insecure at times. She won't let me have time for myself, with her great need for attention. She also wants me to play games with her because she has no brothers or sisters." Nora wishes that Beth's father would develop a better relationship with her, to allow Nora to have some assistance with parental responsibilities. Unfortunately, Beth's father criticizes her so severely and constantly when she visits him that the child calls her mother on the phone, only a few hours after she leaves home crying for her to come get her. Then Beth refuses to visit her father for a long period of time.

Nora has handled the task overload by ignoring many housekeeping duties. She has lowered her housekeeping standards considerably, and refuses to worry if everything is in a mess. She prefers to channel her energy into an adequate social life with her family and friends. Much of her time is spent with Beth, participating in joint activities. She sees her mothering role as primary, her social activities as important, and her housekeeping as a necessary evil to be done when it can no longer be avoided. Material things are not as important to care for as people, in her way of thinking. She is nurturing, supportive and loving, maintaining close contacts with her large family. She has dated infrequently since her divorce. She enjoys relating to men but does not feel she should have them overnight in her home or stay out overnight with them as long as she is responsible

for her daughter. At times she feels some frustration with her own limitations, but is generally happy with her life.

Gloria's child custody case has never been legally settled. The younger boy lives with the father and the youngest girl lives with the mother. The children have little contact with the opposite sex parents. The older children all turned against their mother and sided with their father. When Gloria was out of money and needed a place to live her older son told her "you should live in the gutter, that's where you belong." He was angry that his mother had embarrassed his father and split the family apart with a divorce. Gloria's family will not accept the fact that the family has been split apart. They have not completed the task of the emotional divorce. The incompleteness of the emotional and legal divorce by the other family members is making the other stages of divorce more difficult to accomplish. This can be seen quite clearly in the problems of coparental as well as economic divorce. The functioning of her former husband has a strong impact on Gloria's and the children's ability to complete their development tasks of divorce.

Cathy's former husband did not keep his scheduled visitation with the children. He would cancel their plans at the last minute before visits, leaving Cathy stranded without a babysitter on evenings or weekends when she was scheduled to work. The children were neglected at times when they actually did visit their father. He failed to make child support payments on many occasions. His irresponsibility toward the

children was making Cathy's load unbearable for her. In assertive training Cathy learned to confront her exhusband with his responsibilities and avoid taking them for him as much as possible. As she continually stated the children's needs and his responsibilities, she avoided handling the consequences of his inaction as much as possible. He eventually became more responsive, took better care of the children and paid the child support more regularly.

Because the children's adjustment and therefore the quality of the relationship between the children and the custodial parent can be so greatly affected by disruptions from the noncustodial parent, it has been suggested that the custodial parent rather than the court should have the power to decide under what conditions the children will be raised and what the noncustodial parent's visitation rights will be (A. Sorosky, 1977).

The quality of the parent-child relationship is important in establishing a basis for trust, self-esteem, and the ability to form close interpersonal relationships (H. Hochreich, 1973). Studies have shown that the children are disturbed when their parents are in turmoil whether the marriage remains intact or results in divorce (J. L. Despert, 1962; F. I. Nye, 1957). Divorce can be a means of conflict-reduction, although it usually takes several years before a sense of stability is reestablished (J. Wallerstein & J. Kelly, 1976, 1977). Children are more likely to do well in cases where the mother has adequate financial resources and good contact with her family

of origin (N. R. Gluck, E. Dannefer, & K. Milea, 1980). The mother's level of self-esteem also affected their children. Mothers of low self-esteem produced children with low self-esteem. Women who produced children with high self-esteem were those who had high self-esteem themselves. These women were ones who enjoyed their employment, were relatively independent persons, had few anxieties, were emotionally stable, poised, assured, confident, sensitive, and mature (S. Coopersmith, 1967). Some studies seem to indicate that children from divorced families have increased cognitive and behavioral difficulties (J. McDermott, 1970; A. Jones & R. Demaree, 1975). However, other sources found that single parent families are not necessarily pathological but are a viable alternative to two-parent families (A. Barry, 1979; D. Lynn, 1979). Economic and educational level of the mothers, their psychological resources, and the social support systems available to the family are key adjustment factors which must be taken into account in any study of female headed single parent families in order to access their level of functioning and to determine whether the divorce itself or the other factors are the cause of problems for the children.

Parenting can be difficult even in two parent families (J. Laws,1971). Parenting certainly has its particular difficulties in a female-headed single parent family. The mothers experience task overload in providing the physical and emotional environment for the children. Mothers must also deal with the impact whether positive or negative of the father's

relationship or lack of relationship with the children. Discipline is more difficult to maintain and enforce in the single parent families, and adequate social supports are in short supply. These are the challenges which must be managed. A great amount of struggle, frustration and unhappiness is involved. However, removing oneself and one's children from an unhealthy and possibly even an abusive home environment can be a step towards providing an environment that can promote healthy development. In handling these problems both the children and mothers have the opportunity for growth. Mothers may be able to create an environment of respect for each individual. This may not have been possible in a family situation in which the male was domineering and insensitive to the other family members. In this instance the single parent family has an advantage. Children develop better in families without conflict (F. Nye, 1957; J. Despert, 1962). Children can learn empathy and responsibility when they are faced with difficulties experienced by their families. The female-headed single parent family can be a place of growth and development for all people involved. It is possible for a single parent female-headed household to provide a home, loving care, appropriate discipline, and an environment which promotes the developmental needs of each individual and thereby accomplish the developmental tasks of coparental divorce.

PSYCHIC DIVORCE

The task of psychic divorce is to become an independent individual. Women need to gain an understanding of the societal forces which operate against their achievement of autonomy. In addition, they need to develop self-esteem.

Women are not taught nor are they encouraged to become autonomous individuals. In fact, they may have gotten married in the first place to avoid the development of autonomy (P. Bohannan, 1971). They may have been afraid that if they did develop their strengths and autonomy, they would not be able to find a husband. Societal contexts are important in defining people's expectations and self definitions (S. A. Basow, 1980). Women are defined in terms of kinship rather than as autonomous individuals (J. Holroyd, 1976). They are greatly influenced by the nonconscious ideology which teaches them to know that their place in society is secondary to men's, rigidly defined and limited to few options (D. Bem & S. Bem, 1970). Men are the dominant group. They have the power not necessarily because of superior individual resources or higher personal competencies, but because the power of men is institutionalized and these sources of power have been blocked to women (S. A. Basow, 1980). Because men are members of the dominant group, they decide what is valuable and keep that for themselves (J. Miller, 1976). They relegate undesirable jobs, traits and functions to the subserviant groups. Men define themselves as rational, independent, managerial,

intellectual, powerful, direct, competitive, aggressive, and decisive. Women (blacks, etc.) are defined by the dominant males as emotional, dependent, supportive, submissive, weak, indirect, manipulative, cooperative, indecisive, confused, and sexual (J. Miller, 1976; S. Hite, 1981). It is interesting to note that men do not consider themselves as "emotional" even though behaviorally they exhibit more emotional upsets in the form of hostile display of feelings than do females (S. Basow, 1980).

In other ways, too, the language is used to define women in a perjorative manner. Women are trivialized by being called "girls" no matter what their age. Webster (1962) defines womanly as being characterized by weakness. Manly is synonomous with courage. In the English language women are ignored or made invisible by the use of the terms "he," "man," "mankind" (J. Moulton, 1980). This can be shown best in examples. For instance, "men" refers equally to both males and females and if all "men" are created equal, why did women have to campaign to get the privilege of voting and owning their own property? If women are included in the term men, does a sign marked "men only" refer to refusal to admit animals, plants, and inanimate objects? "In actual usage generic Man does not apply equally to men and women, but suggests that the person being referred to is male" (K. L. Adams & N. C. Ware, 1979, p. 492). One study has shown that students who hear the term "men," "mankind," and "he" tend to picture only males rather than males and females (K. Adams, et al., 1979).

Language has many terms for subjects that are of particular concern to a society. In English there are roughly a thousand words and phrases describing women using sexually derogatory terms. For men there are not nearly as many. For example there are over 500 synonyms for prostitute, only 65 for the masculine sexual term "whore monger." Women are also described sexually using animal and inanimate terms such as "chick," "fox," "broad," "dish" (K. L. Adams, et al., 1979; R. Baker, 1980).

In conversations between both sexes men are more dominant. They talk for a longer length of time, control the topic of discussion, and interrupt a woman more than she interrupts a man or more than one man interrupts another man. Males more frequently use familiar names and terms of endearment for women, than women do for men (K. L. Adams, 1979; S. Basow, 1980).

In nonverbal ways, too, men are in control. They are more likely to touch a woman during a conversation than is a woman to touch a man. When men touch women during conversation, this can be interpreted as either a power relationship or sexual relationship depending on the context. But when a woman touches a man, this is almost always expected to have sexual connotations, exhibiting the only role women are allowed to have in relation to men (N. Henley & J. Freeman, 1979). Men also control a larger area of personal space around themselves. Men are more likely to violate the personal space of women, than vise versa (N. Henley & J. Freeman,

1979).

Sexist language gives negative connotations to words and traits used to refer to women (R. Lakoff, 1980). Nonverbal behavior further defines and limits women's status to a weak and negative position. Since feminine traits are more negatively valued than are masculine traits, women tend to have more negative self-concepts than do men.

The tendency for women to accept this negative view of themselves is evidence of the powerful social pressures to conform to the sex role standard prescribed for them.(I. K. Broverman, D. M. Broverman, F. E. Clarkson, P. Rosenkrantz & S. R. Vogel, 1970). In submitting to sex-role stereotypes women feel conflict because they are defined by others and effectively prevented from expressing their full potential (J. Miller, 1976; M. Komarovsky, 1953). But because they are in a dependent position they are afraid to express conflict directly. They know that an open use of power in a direct clash with the dominant group will be detrimental to them. The odds are against them because most resources are controlled by the dominant group (J. Miller, 1976). However, when women use indirect methods to achieve their ends, they are defined by males as sneaky and manipulative (S. Hite, 1981). When they perceive problems and weaknesses in their husbands and try to provide nurturing, they may be met with anger as men do not like to admit what they consider their shortcomings, their "nonmasculine" feelings. So they punish women for noticing them, causing women to feel more conflict

to them and begin to lower their career aspirations accordingly (R. Unger, 1976).

Television is an important socialization influence. Children's television programs and advertisements portray characters in rigid sex role stereotypes (S. Sternglanz & L. Serbin, 1974). This affects children's sex role development and career choices. Preschool children who watch television frequently are more likely to show interest in sex-typed careers for themselves than young children who watch a lesser amount of television. Elementary school children who watch 25 hours of television per week are significantly more traditional in their sex role development than children who watch fewer than ten hours a week (T. Frueh & P. McGhee, 1975). Children's programs more frequently portray males in lead roles than females. Males were shown as aggressive and constructive. Females were pictured as deferent and using magic to effectively manipulate others without their awareness (R. Unger, 1976).

In their school textbooks and in award-winning children's books girls see further evidence of the limited role females are expected to play in society. Girls and women are portrayed as secondary or supporting characters if they are even included in the story at all. Females are shown in behavior and roles that are stereotypically feminine, e.g., passive, housewife, etc., while males are shown as active and achieving mastery in a wide variety of roles (Women on Words and Images, 1975). Research indicates that even as much as one story

affects the achievement motivation of boys and girls who saw the same sex character depicted as achieving success (L. Z. McArthur & S. V. Eisen, 1976). Curriculum is an important socializing force that influences students' self-concept and choices.

Girls perform better than boys academically and socially in elementary school, perhaps because reading is classified as a feminine subject (C. E. Hill, M. A. Hobbs, and C. Verble, 1974). Also the majority of teachers for younger children are females, allowing girls to have a same sex role model to imitate (A. Bandura, 1969).

The tables turn in high school, however, where male teachers and counselors are more prevalent and career preparation is the educational goal (H. Farmer, 1976). High school counselors rated female clients who expressed an interest in traditionally masculine occupations as being more in need of counseling than women with more traditional interests (A. H. Thomas & N. R. Stewart, 1971). Vocational materials further reinforce sex role stereotypes, depicting men in administrative jobs and women in clerical positions (Women on Words and Images, 1975). Girls are channeled into the vocational training programs which will prepare them for the lower paying jobs (C. Ireson, 1978).

High school girls avoid mathematics and sciences. In doing so they eliminate themselves from the higher paying career fields (A. Oakley, 1978). Research has shown that boys feel as much frustration with these subjects as girls.

But since boys are more career-oriented and know that their future career possibilities are based on success in mathematics and science and because boys have more encouragement and therefore more confidence in their ability to master these difficult subjects, they persevere (S. Tobias, 1978).

When females complete high school, fewer of them than males continue on to college, even though more females than males graduate from high school and the females generally have higher grades (S. Basow, 1980).

As they reach adolescence girls come under more pressures to conform to the limitations of the female sex role stereotype from parents, school and peers (C. Ireson, 1978; L. Wietzman, 1979). Women are expected to channel their energies into home and family. Their individuality or unique potentials are irrelevant (D. Bem & S. Bem, 1970). Women are expected to avoid exercising what are considered masculine traits (J. Lipman-Blumen, 1972). This training has the effect of limiting women's chances for success in careers even if they do choose a career for themselves. Traits that bode well for career success are considered more masculine than feminine. According to H. Farmer (1976), traits which indicate probable success in careers are independence, persistence, an internal standard of excellence, preference for tasks of intermediate difficulty, high academic performance, and clearly defined goals. Women who are socialized to believe that they should be dependent, that they are not able to achieve mastery of their environment, that they should not perform better than

males, and that their own goals should be secondary to their husband's and family's have many barriers to overcome to be able to fulfill the requirements for career success.

Indeed, women's sex-role orientation, the degree to which they hold traditional ideology influences college women's educational goals and achievements. Those women who see marriage, home and children as their primary vocation generally limit their education to four years of college or less. Women who consider a career an integral part of their future lifestyle were more likely to complete their bachelor's degree and pursue graduate work (J. Lipman-Blumen, 1972).

Traditionally women are not expected to be pursuing their own careers. They are expected to gain their sense of fulfillment vicariously through the reflected glory of the achievements of their fathers, brothers, boyfriends, lovers, husbands, bosses, and sons. Even the majority of career-oriented women, except those studying for their Ph.D., sought to satisfy their achievement needs vicariously. Relatively few women felt that they needed to fulfill their achievement needs primarily through their own accomplishments. An even smaller number preferred the balanced approach in which the husband's and wife's accomplishments had equal weight (J. Lipman-Bluman, 1972).

These research findings indicating that women feel they must choose between family or career are reflected in actual statistics. Women in some cases seemed to have chosen career instead of marriage rather than trying to balance the two.

This seems particularly true for academic professionals. "Less than one half of women academics are married, compared to nine-tenths of the men. . . . Only one third of women in academe have dependent children, compared to two thirds of the men. Married women are substantially less likely to achieve tenure than [either unmarried women or men]." (M. Patterson & L. Engleberg, 1978, p. 286).

For most women their social and economic standing is more dependent on their choice of a husband than their own education, occupational choice, family background, or personal competency (K. Sawhill & M. Moore, 1978). Women cannot realistically plan a career until they know what man they will marry. The husband's financial status, his attitudes towards the women's educational and career goals, and the number and spacing of children will affect the extent and pattern of their career lives (E. Ginzberg, 1966).

Most people desire a married lifestyle, (V. Slims & Roper, 1980; M. Melko & L. Cargen, 1981). In the hierarchy of needs survival (economic) and social affiliation needs precede self-actualization needs. Because females learn that they must please men in order to fulfill survival and affiliative needs, young college females feel particularly anxious when they are put into situations in which they must even think of competing with men (M. Horner, 1978). They also feel anxious when women were seen in successful positions even in traditionally feminine fields of study (C. Tomlinson-Keasey, 1974). Compared to married or divorced women, single college coeds of

whatever age were most likely to respond negatively to feminine achievement (C. Tomlinson-Keasey, 1974). Women's "fear of success" or more appropriately fear of loss of femininity was greatest for women who held traditional views. Women who wanted their career to occupy an important place in their lives and were high achievers themselves showed a low degree of success avoidance (T. Alper, 1974). Women who had the support of significant males such as boyfriends or fiances and had therefore already fulfilled their affiliative need had less anxiety towards career success (H. Farmer, 1976). Older married women with children had less anxiety and more of a sense of freedom to achieve in male-dominated career fields than younger single women. . These are women who have fulfilled both the affiliative need and motherhood mandate. Their femininity is not in doubt (C. Tomlinson-Keasey, 1974). Divorce also seems to release women from severe role conflict. The graduate women students who appeared to be the most active and committed in adhering to a career primacy model were divorced women (J. Bardwich, 1971). The economic need to be self-supporting lifts many role constraints (E. Rosenthal, 1978) and women who are able to return to school may perceive divorce as a growth producing experience (N. R. Gluck, E. Dannefer, K. Milea, 1980).

Young college age women could be freed from role conflict anxiety by watching movies showing women rather than men working in professional roles (C. Tomlinson-Keasey, 1974). Parental role-modeling reduces women's role conflict. Women who

were the daughters of doctors and could therefore find more support at home were more likely to complete medical school than women whose mothers were housewives (M. Patterson & L. Engelberg, 1978). The thought of role-conflict reduction increased women's desire for a career. When women were instructed to pretend that men like intelligent women; men and women had equal career opportunities, and that raising a family well is very possible for career women, both single and married women showed increased interest in careers (H. Farmer and M. Bohn, 1970). Also younger women in more recent studies showed less role constraints. They have grown up in an atmosphere more favorable to possibilities of women's achievement (L. Weitzman, 1979). Significantly, more female college students are entering business, law, and medical school studies (R. Reynolds, 1979). These studies indicate that women's apparent lack of career achievement motivation has been due to societal pressures and a realistic perception of limited opportunity.

Sex role stereotyping and role conflict has affected more than women's career aspirations. Women are in a position similar to insurance salespeople in a study of role conflict reported by D. Super (1969). The salespeople suffered discomfort when their own values conflicted with the values most reinforced in their occupation. They resolved the conflict by surpressing the less firmly reinforced tendencies. When a large part of their occupational concept was involved in the surpressed tendencies, the salespeople's self-concepts

suffered. Women's self-concepts have suffered as they were defined in negative terms and fitted into limited stereotypical sex role concepts. Women's task is to build better self-concepts, to establish a strong sense of self-esteem.

Self-esteem is defined by Webster (1962) as a belief in oneself; self-respect; in Random House (1975) as a favorable impression of oneself. People who have self-esteem have the conviction that they are competent to live and worthy of living (Brandon,1971).

When people have self-esteen they have the self-confidence that they can choose what is right for themselves, what is appropriate to reality and suitable to their capabilities of fulfillment. They have the security that they will be able to acquire whatever skills are necessary for their survival (Brandon,1971). According to Brandon, self-esteen is predicated upon people using their minds to their fullest ability in order to make themselves competent. He states that people have a sense of self-esteem when they feel in control of their environment, a control gained through productive work, a career. Past discussion in this paper has brought out the points that women are not socialized to assume roles of leadership, to exercise their intellectual capacities to their fullest capacity, nor are they encouraged to achieve success and competency through mastery of their environment by means of a productive career. Brandon, himself, comments on the inhibitions women often experience in exploring their intellect to the fullest extent because of their fear of com-

peting with men. He states that "the sacrifice of one's mind to fear is undiluted self-abnegation . . . if a woman conceals and represses her desire for a career, through a fear of being unfeminine . . . the result, necessarily, is a profound sense of humiliation, of self-abasement, of self-renunciation, which means a profound loss of self-esteem." (pp. 120, 122). Women cannot achieve self-esteem by denying their capacities.

S. Coopersmith (1967) agrees with Brandon that self-esteem is significantly associated with self-worth, a sense of personal adequacy, personal satisfaction in life, and effective functioning. Coopersmith feels that self-esteem is necessary for handling stress, reducing anxiety, sensing oneself capable of improving a situation. Without self-esteem one has little capability to give and receive love and acceptance or attain a feeling of success. Self-esteem provides people with a distinct sense of self and their ability to impose order in their own segment of the world. With self-esteem people perceive stimuli more accurately, have confidence in themselves and are therefore more able to resist pressures to conform. They are capable of keeping their independence and individuality, expressing their viewpoints frequently and effectively. They assume an active role in social groups. And they move directly and realistically toward their goals.

Yet characteristics associated with self-esteem and mastery of the environment are typically considered masculine. Society provides men with more sources of approval for them-

selves than those available for women. Men can receive the approval they need, but women frequently do not, leaving the latter more in need of or dependent upon outside sources of approval. Men can derive feelings of self-esteem and feelings of competency from doing the work that is valued and rewarded by society in the form of earned wages, social status, and professional prestige. Women generally receive little recognition and reward for the housework and child care that is considered to be their jobs. Even poorly educated and immature women can perform these tasks so limited intrinsic satisfaction can be gained (R. Andres, 1981; E. Williams, 1976).

Women cannot limit their own development and accept the traditional feminine role without suffering a loss in self-esteem. Because they are more dependent on their husbands for vicarious achievement and their role as wife and helpmate for fulfillment, divorce is more distressful to traditional white women than to nontraditional white women. The former suffer more distress and significantly lower self-esteem than the latter (P. Brown, L. Perry & E. Harburg, 1977). Women with traditional outlooks tend to see control lying outside themselves in other people, the environment, nature, and luck. Nontraditional women had an internal locus of control, seeing themselves as active agents with control over their achievements (P. Brown, et al., 1977). When the more traditional females experience failure, they credit it their own lack of ability. When they are successful, they consider it a chance occurrence. With these attitudes, they have extreme

difficulty gaining self-confidence and self acceptance. When people do not expect to perform well, they may lack persistence. Therefore, in accord with their low expectency, they may then be more likely to fail to achieve a successful conclusion to their endeavors (S. Basow, 1980). Even females who take credit for their successes are more likely to attribute the success to an unstable cause such as effort, than to a stable cause such as ability (S. Basow, 1980). In contrast, males are more likely to attribute success to their own ability and failure to the external environment (S. Basow, 1980) in accord with their expectations of societal support for their endeavors.

As women in traditional roles are limited by the demands of marriage which requires them to expend the energies in a supportive, secondary role, divorce itself can be a growth producing experience, causing women to need to take control of their lives in a way that had not previously been required of them. Indeed, divorce did, in one study, have the effect of causing women to become significantly less traditional while coping with marital breakdown (P. Brown et al., 1977).

No one can escape the pain and loss of divorce, even if they initiated the divorce themselves (J. Morris & M. Prescott, 1975). Time is one factor which works to ease the pain and distress of divorce. Because of the intensity of the stress experienced after divorce many people at first see their divorce as a mistake. But as the pain eases and they become reorganized, fewer people report the divorce as a possible mistake (E. Hetherington, 1977). Nothing can pre-

vent the people involved in a divorce from experiencing the pain of loss in some fashion. But a high level of self-esteem can prevent debilitating self-blame and guilt. Non-traditional attitudes can "provide women with a belief system that guides and supports their actions as single, autonomous women who can develop new identities separate from their roles as [ex-wives and mothers]." P. Brown et al., 1977, p. 550).

Women can learn to develop a new sense of self-identity through participation in personal growth oriented groups that facilitate resocialization and acquisition of skills in environmental management. Women need to learn to value themselves. They can begin to acknowledge their self-worth by defining the "feminine" qualities of sensitivity, nurturance, cooperation, etc., as strengths (J. Miller, 1976). Women need to be able to express their anger about their oppression and victimization. Then they need to learn what they are doing to perpetuate the situation and to learn how to overcome their conditioning. Women need an atmosphere that does not assume that their difficulties are due only to personal shortcomings or individual personality factors. They need recognition that the frustrations that they experience are a result of the oppressive feminine sex role, and that the anxiety they have arises from the conflict between societal standards and their own normal self-actualizing needs (J. Moreland, 1976; E. Williams, 1976). Women need a setting in which they can release their pent up feelings

of rage, helplessness, inadequacy, and their hatred and envy toward men (J. Holroyd, 1976). They need to learn the skills of problem-solving, decision-making, and assertiveness. Women need to make cognitive changes in the way they view old experiences and in their attitudes for the present and the future. Women need positive role models, and they need to make changes in their own behavior (D. Loeffler & L. Fiedler, 1979). Women need mutual support and sharing with other women as they learn to experience their own power, to become more task oriented, to become more invulnerable to feedback, and as they learn to value their own personal ambitions (J. Moreland, 1976). As women become able to balance their own needs with their nurturance of others and gain some sense of personal mastery and power, they become more self-aware, more independent, and more confident. They show increased self-acceptance and self-esteen (J. Holroyd, 1976).

P. Bohannan (1971) states that psychic divorce is the most difficult stage of divorce to complete. This may be the case because many people, even those in intact marriages, perhaps do not have a strong sense of self-esteem and self-identity.

Martha, Nora, Gloria, and Cathy all felt a great amount of pain and loneliness after their separation and divorce. All of them entered personal psychological counseling and therapy.

Martha has continually had to battle with constant criticism from her parents and her sense of rejection by

her daughter. But she no longer internalizes their negativety as much. She sees it more as a reflection of their unhappiness with their own selves. "I know I have been my own worst enemy," she admits. "I have so much trouble giving myself credit for any of my accomplishments. I need so much to be constantly assured by others. Most of all, I want to be loved. When I don't get my quota of love and assurance, I get depressed," she states. She feels that she is learning more how to reach out to others to ask for the support she needs from her friends. She also finds that she is feeling better about the time she spends alone. And she does not think she is a "neurotic about needing a man." She feels that she still needs to accept and love herself more, but she can recognize the progress she has made toward that goal. She is able to be supportive and nurturing towards her adolescent daughter when she feels that she is helping her daughter achieve independence and a more positive self-concept. But she also has been able to allow her daughter to make her own mistakes without feeling that she has failed as a mother. In this relationship she has accepted the fact that she cannot fulfill the erroneous stereotype of the perfect mother.

Martha's relationships with her friends have become more mutual. She has good relationships with several women. She values her nonromantic male friendship which allows her some insight into male thinking. She also maintains some friendships with couples, but these have been her most disappointing.

Martha enjoys intimate relationships with men, but she

refuses to remain involved with a man who cannot be sensitive to her own emotional sensitivity, intelligence, ambition, and lifestyle and will not continue any relationship which is not healthful to her. She would prefer to live with a man in a long term monogamous relationship rather than remarry.

Nora, too had a period of depression and extreme neediness for emotional support. She no longer feels overwhelmed by the loss from the divorce, but her child's emotional demands are burdensome to her. She does not see herself as the perfect mother, but she feels that the amount of time required for child care per evening after working a full day is tiring. Her child does not have excessive problems, just the normal ones of needing to be fed, get her homework done, listened to and gotten to bed.

Nora participates in social activities and noncredit adult education courses. She has both male and female friends. Sometimes she has dates, but she states that she would like to know someone a long time before she would consider marriage. She does not believe in instant relationships. She feels independent and in control of her environment. She values herself and is able to form positive, nourishing relationships.

Gloria has had the most difficulty adjusting to her divorce. Even though she initiated the divorce herself, she has experienced deep and continued depression. At times she has considered suicide, but has been able to reach out to others at those times. She does receive encouragement

from her friends whom she developed after her divorce. But she states that "only my religious faith keeps me going." She battles her feelings of worthlessness based on the fact that she experiences love from God. When she loses touch with that source, she feels no hope and no future. The few men she has met of her age either have values too different from her own, or criticize her for being divorced. She is very lonely. She would like to return to college to pursue her intellectual interests if she could settle her financial affairs. Even though Gloria had had some counseling before divorce, her therapist had not helped her prepare for the reality that she would face. She is now receiving training in the skills she needs to survive on her own.

Cathy experienced a sense of relief after her divorce. She felt serenity in her freedom from the constant battles she and her exhusband had had. On the other hand, she experienced numbness. She can only let the pain through a little bit at a time. She knew she had failed to make her marriage work. But now she has decided that she enjoys her independence. She changed her friends to women who did want to be independent because she needed new role models. "I like making all my own decisions. I really enjoy being able to take care of myself financially. I could never be dependent again," she states.

Cathy feels that her most important goals for herself presently are to maintain her freedom and to be able to stay in control of her emotions when she is in a heterosexual

relationship.

> I have a great fear of allowing myself to be manipulated. I have a great drive to improve my financial status by developing my career. If I made more money then I would not be seen by men as poor and needy of their help. They would feel they can use and manipulate me. I'm tired of poverty, but I can't be bought with money. I can be bought with love, though. There in my emotions is where I am vulnerable.

Cathy uses her intellect to protect her emotions. She decides whether to become involved in a heterosexual relationship based on the values she has chosen, based on her observations on the man's behavior toward children, his drinking and his handling of money. She chooses men who are not sarcastic or emotionally abusive, and those that seem to value her as a person. She attempts to make realistic appraisals based on men's actions rather than their words. She would rather be alone than in a relationship that is harmful. In fact she feels that it is important for her to be alone rather than involved in a relationship because she might become dependent again.

Cathy is also focusing on developing her self-esteem.

> I am not afraid to be lonely again. I know there are friends I can reach out to and plenty of good people in the world. I esteem myself enough that I can say what I believe. If people disagree and say 'goodbye' I can take that chance because I'm not afraid to be alone. I can enjoy being alone.

Women are able to achieve more mastery over their environment through their own financially rewarding work. Economic achievement and career advancement can give them a sense of their own competency. This in turn can provide them with

the independence and sense of personal power which will allow them to define themselves in more positive terms. Encouragement from others and from the environment are important supports that women need in order to develop self-esteem. Role definitions for both men and women need to be modified and expanded so that the members of both sexes are allowed to develop their potentials for both nurturance and power. Companionship is a need and desire of both men and women. However, women must gain the power to choose how they will participate in a spousal relationship that benefits themselves as well as the husbands and children. Women need to be able to define themselves in sexual terms so that they are no longer an object or a victim (D. Herman, 1979) but an equal and respected partner. Women need to demand relief from the total child care responsibilities. Instead, they must insist that the duties as well as the benefits be shared by individual men who father children. Men collectively in business, industry, and government who benefit from the child care services of women must assume some of the financial debts they incur at the expense of women's opportunity. Quality child care needs to be financially provided by the employer in some way and the government must provide tax deductions to the same extent for child care that it does for the two martini business lunch (P. Chessler & E. Goode, 1976). Women must have the same benefits, opportunity, and access to power as men. Women must be considered as valuable, as deserving of respect, encouragement, and societal approval as men.

With these social supports, the majority of women rather than the few exceptional ones will develop the sense of self-worth and self-esteem necessary for acquiring individual autonomy.

CONCLUSION

Although marriage is the lifestyle preferred by 90 percent of the population (V. Slims & Roper, 1980, M. Melko & L. Cargento, 1981), 50 percent of marriages end in divorce (Bureau of the Census, 1980). Many of these divorces involve children who live with their mother after the divorce. Single parent families have increased 75 percent in the decade between 1970 and 1980 (M. Bane & R. Weiss, 1980). Divorce and female headed single parent households are increasing at a rate that they have become a phenomenon which society can no longer afford to ignore. To preserve the health of society, their needs must be understood and addressed by all sectors of society, business and labor, social, and political. Single parent families are not pathological, but there are large discrepancies between ideology, stereotypes and the current realities for women that cause added difficulties.

Just as any family must learn specific tasks at each stage of the life cycle, female headed single parent families have specific developmental tasks which they must accomplish in order to move on successfully to the next stage of the family life cycle. The family must complete the same tasks as two parent families, but divorce has added an extra stage (E. W. Beal, 1980). These additional tasks for divorced families are emotional divorce, legal divorce, community-social divorce, economic divorce, coparental divorce, and psychic divorce (P. Bohannan, 1971). A female-headed family

will experience these tasks differently from a male-headed family.

Each stage of divorce presents specific challenges and requires that specific strengths be developed to meet the challenges successfully. Emotional divorce presents the problem of the deteriorating marriage. When a decision is made to divorce, the family must accept the loss of the intact family and mourn its loss. When successfully completed the family members have a stronger emotional basis for completing the rest of the tasks. The legal divorce dissolves the legal marital ties and usually makes provisions for support payments, child custody and visitation, and property settlements. When this is completed the family members have a clearer understanding of their economic and parental rights and obligations. They are also free to remarry. Social-Community divorce consists of finding a social group where one feels comfortable after divorce. Developing some support system within the community is also an integral part of this stage. Successful completion provides the person with people who can share the joys and sorrows of the single parent family. These people can also offer assistance when needed. Economic divorce requires the single parent to establish her family as a viable economic unit. She must make sure that the necessities are provided for the family's survival and that the resources available to them are managed well. By the time this is accomplished, the woman will usually have developed her career and established credit in her name. The task of

ious nature of sex role stereotyping are changing what they can in their own relationships and their own spheres of influence. But more must be done. History books must be rewritten to include women's contributions. School curricula and the media must portray women as competent people in active, intelligent roles. Girls need to be taught the importance of an income producing career since most of them will work in paid employment at least for a portion of their adult lives. Girls must be allowed and encouraged to participate in all types of vocational and career training programs. Both males and females must be taught the true costs to women of marriage and child care. Males need to be taught that they have a life-long responsibility for the children they father, and they need to be taught how to care for these children. Adequate child support must be awarded by the courts and enforced. Divorce settlements must take into account the different contributions of the spouses during marriage and their different economic opportunities after divorce. Marriage and child care insurance on a principle similar to life insurance could be developed so that women and children would not have to suffer severe economic deprivation (M. Bane & R. Weiss, 1980). This would probably have to be underwritten by the government, perhaps as a mother's payment or a guaranteed minimum income (B. Schlessinger, 1977). All of these changes would form a foundation for establishing women's equality. Only when women are considered to be as valuable as men can real economic equality be found. A

certain amount of change can be legislated, but attitudes and stereotypes must be changed as well.

A society that permits divorce must find ways of caring for those who are affected by it if the society is to retain its health and vitality (E. W. Beal, 1980). In other cultures the extended families absorbed the divorced adults and their children (R. Benedict, 1961). This is not as viable a solution in twentieth century America where business has required easily uprooted and mobile nuclear familes (V. Packard, 1965). Individual competition and consumerism rather than group cooperation is the dominant structure and mode of operation (V. Packard, 1965). Supports have been removed with little to replace them. Now divorce and female-headed single parent households are a common phenomenon, but the social system has failed to provide adequately for the legitimate needs of the women and children who experience divorce. The adequacy of response by both individuals and society will determine the health of this society for present and future generations.

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