Master's Theses

Theses and Dissertations

1983

The Effects of Parents' Marital Status, Intrafamilial Conflict, and Developmental Phase on Attitudes Towards Marriage

Nancy K. Moersch
Loyola University Chicago

Recommended Citation

THE EFFECTS OF PARENTS' MARITAL STATUS,

INTRAFAMILIAL CONFLICT, AND DEVELOPMENTAL

PHASE ON ATTITUDES TOWARDS MARRIAGE

by

Nancy K. Moersch

A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School

of Loyola University of Chicago in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Arts

August

1982

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

VITA

Nancy K. Moersch was born on February 8, 1953. She is the daughter of Richard R. Moersch and Marlene (Deutsch) Moersch.

Her elementary education was obtained at Our Lady of Lourdes Parochial School in Chicago, Illinois, and secondary education at The Immaculata High School, Chicago, Illinois, where she graduated in 1971.

She attended Loyola University of Chicago where she received a Bachelor of Science degree, cum laude, in psychology in June, 1975. She was elected to Psi Chi, Alpha Sigma Nu, and Kappa Gamma Pi honor societies in 1975. She was also the recipient of the Charles I. Doyle Memorial Award in 1975.

Following graduation, Ms. Moersch worked for one year (1975-1976) as a child care counselor at Michael Reese Hospital - Pritzker Division, Chicago, Illinois, and for one year (1976-1977) as a caseworker at the Illinois Department of Children and Family Services.

In September, 1977, she entered the clinical psychology program at Loyola University of Chicago, where she was granted a teaching and research assistantship (1977-1978). During her years of graduate training she served clinical (1978-1979) and administrative (1979-1981) internships at the Loyola University Guidance Center and a clinical clerkship (1981-1982) at the Loyola University Student Counseling Center. Currently, the author is engaged as a lecturer in the department of psychology at Loyola University.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS (Continued)

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

CONTENTS OF APPENDICES

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The number of marriages ending in divorce has risen steadily
over the last 15 to 20 years (National Center for Health Statistics,
1980). This increase has brought with it other concomitant changes.
One of the most important is that the number of single-parent homes is
thus also ever-increasing and more and more children are having to adopt
to a new living situation with only one parent. The disruption that
frequently accompanies divorce, and the readjustments necessitated by it
can be profoundly stressful for both parents and children. Changes
related to new economic concerns, changes in parent-child relationships,
and changes in support systems, often combine to make the period
surrounding the divorce a time of disequilibrium and turbulence.
Because of the growing number of children who are experiencing parental
separation and divorce, and who are spending some portion of their
formative years in single-parent homes, recent research has begun to
investigate the effects of parental divorce on children's adjustment and
subsequent development.

Research has indicated that, even where divorce may be the
optimal solution to a destructive family situation, almost all children
experience the transitional period immediately surrounding the parental
separation as painful and disruptive (Hetherington, 1979). Emotional
distress and symptomatic behavior are common among children of divorce

1

at this time. Nevertheless, wide variability in the type and intensity of response to parental separation/divorce still exists among children. And this variability grows wider as the amount of time since the divorce increases, and the family reorganizes and establishes a new equilibrium. In fact, in a longitudinal study, Wallerstein and Kelly (1980) found that 5 years post-divorce, several distinctly different patterns of adjustment existed. Some children appeared to be thriving, while others were coping only· adequately, and still others continued to maintain adjustment problems that inhibited successful functioning. These differing trends in outcome suggest that there must be other variables that moderate the effects of parental separation/divorce on children.

Moderating variables proposed by researchers in this area include: temperament, sex of the child, age of the child at the time of parental divorce, custody and visiting arrangements, support systems, financial security, and post-divorce interparent hostility, just to name a few. One variable, in particular, which has been proposed by many authors (Berg & Kelly, 1979; Burchinal, 1964; Goode, 1956; Herzog & Sudia, 1971; Lamb, 1977; Rosen, 1979; Westman, Cline, Swift, & Cramer, 1970) is the level of intrafamilial conflict present in the home prior to divorce. In fact, these authors have suggested that where problems in adjustment do occur among children of divorce, such difficulties may be attributable to their exposure to intense family conflict rather than a result of the parental divorce itself. Such a hypothesis evokes the frequently asked question, "Is it worthwhile to maintain an unhappy, conflictual marriage for the sake of the children?" While some of the above-listed researchers have hypothesized that it is not, very little

research to date has actually combined the variables, of parental divorce and intrafamily conflict to test this hypothesis.

Independently, the effects of parental separation/divorce and intrafamily conflict have been hypothesized to affect children in a variety of ways. Overall adjustment, school performance, social behavior, interpersonal relations, and attitudes are just a few of the variables said to be influenced by the family environment and the parental relationship. One specific variable that might be thought to reflect the nature of their parents' marital relationship is a person's attitude towards marriage.

A question of particular interest to divorcing parents and their children asks "Will parental divorce affect a child's ability and/or desire to have a successful marriage when he/she reaches adulthood?" While some studies have found that persons who have experienced a parental divorce as children are more likely, themselves, as adults, to enter marriages that end in divorce (Pope & Mueller, 1976; Spreitzer & Riley, 1974), again very little research has specifically focused on attitudes toward marriage among children of divorce.

The purpose of this thesis was to investigate the effects of parents' marital status, i.e., intact vs. divorced, and the level of intrafamilial conflict on subsequent attitudes towards marriage among children of divorce. Because the developmental level of the child at the time of parental divorce has been shown to be an important variable in the divorce research (Hetherington, 1979; Kurdek, Blisk, & Siesky, in

press; Wallerstein & Kelly, 1980), this variable was also considered in the design of this study. The specific hypotheses proposed in this study will be presented following a review of the related literature.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Increase in Divorce Rate

The rate of divorce in the United States, particularly of divorce involving children, has increased dramatically in the last 15 years, rising from 2.5 to 5.3 per 1,000 population between 1965 and 1979 (Carter & Glick, 1976; Glick & Norton, 1978; National Center for Health Statistics, 1980). The number of divorces granted in the U.S. rose from 377,000 in 1955 to 1,090,000 in 1977 (National Center for Health Statistics, 1977; 1978). The proportion of divorces involving children has increased from approximately 48% in 1955 to about 60% today.

The mean number of children affected by each divorce also rose through the mid-1960s, an increase which Bane (1979) suggested might be reflective of an increasing "reluctance to hold unhappy marriages together for the sake of the children" (p. 280). The proportion of all children under 18 involved annually in divorce has gone up steadily from 0.6% of all children in 1955 to 1.7% of all children in 1976. Estimates based on recent divorce rates project that about 30% of children growing up in the 1970s will experience a parental divorce (Bane, 1979). Current demographic predictions suggest that by 1990, one-third of the nation's children will experience their parents' divorce before reaching the age of 18 (Glick, 1979). An additional 15-20% may spend time in a

single-parent family because of death, long-term separation, or birth to an unmarried mother.

Roughly translated, this suggests that by 1990, about half of the children in the U.S. will have spent some portion of their "formative years" in a single-parent family. Currently, the average length of time a child spends with a single parent following divorce or other marital disruption is 5 to 6 years (Bane, 1979). This constitutes a major time period out of the lives of many children.

Survey of the Research Area

Given the magnitude of these divorce rates, and the increasing proportion of children affected by parental divorce, it is not surprising that the literature in the last few years has evidenced a marked interest in the research concerning divorce. This increased emphasis is evidenced by the sudden emergence of books and articles on divorce, particularly in such journals as the Journal of Marriage and the Family, Family Relations (Family Coordinator), the Journal of Marriage and Family Therapy, and the birth of the newly-published Journal of Divorce. Additionally, in recent years, a Task Force on Divorce and Divorce Reform was established by the National Council on Family Relations to study divorce in relation to the family. McKenney (1975) and Sell and Sell (1978) compiled extensive bibliographies on divorce, which attest to newfound popularity as an area of interest, and Raschke (Note 1) was instrumental in establishing a Research Information Network for research in progress.

The earlier lack of emphasis and research interest in the area of divorce was similarly evident in the 1970 Journal of Marriage and the Family's Decade Review when only demographic and personality factors related to marital stability were reviewed (Hicks & Platt, 1970). Because the area of divorce research is a fairly new field of study, most of the literature to be reviewed here will be post-1970. Notable, however, for a historical perspective, are some earlier works on divorce by researchers such as Lichtenberger (1931), Goode (1956), Despert (1953), Nye (1957), Burchinal (1964), Landis (1960, 1963), Levinger (1965), and Waller, (1967). Several of these will be referred to more specifically later in this review.

APPROACHES TO DIVORCE RESEARCH

Because, up until recently, divorce, as a primary subject of study, was ignored or neglected, much of the early knowledge that had been obtained, was a byproduct of research conducted in other areas, such as life satisfaction (Srole, Langner, Michael, Opler, & Rennie, 1962), population control (Bumpass & Sweet, 1972), and demographic research (Carter & Glick, 1976). As a result, more is known about who divorces than about why a divorce occurs, or what happens to the participants, and their families following the divorce.

In an effort to broaden current knowledge, researchers have taken a variety of approaches to investigating the problem.

Historical and Sociological Trends

The question of why has been explored through the tracing of the historical trends of marital instability, focusing on such factors as industrialization, increased mobility, greater gender equality (Norton & Glick, 1979; Kitson & Raschke, 1981) and husband-wife bargaining power (Scanzoni, 1979). Cultural values, such as an emphasis on individualism, have been postulated to play a role in divorce statistics (Goode, 1963; Weiss, 1975). Additional factors which have been investigated in terms of their possible impact on marital disruption have included economic recession, religious attitudes, the women's movement, and the liberalization of divorce laws (Glick & Norton, 1979; Stetson & Wright, 1975; Wright & Stetson, 1978).

Similarly, sociological and social psychological explanations have been hypothesized to explain the ever-increasing incidence of divorce. Socioeconomic status (Norton & Glick, 1979), occupation (Rosow & Rose, 1972), race (Norton & Glick, 1979), age (Norton & Glick, 1979), premarital pregnancy (Bumpass & Sweet, 1972), and other sociological factors have been explored as possible correlates in patterns of divorce. Theoretical models have also attempted to address the question of why a marital pair decides to separate. For example, exchange theory postulates that divorce is likely to occur when the rewards for maintaining a relationship are lower and the costs higher than those available in another relationship or alternate living situation (Levinger, 1979; Nye, 1979).

Social Psychological Process of Divorce

Another approach to research in this area has been to examine the social psychological dimensions of the divorce process itself. Even this, however, is more complicated than it, at first, might appear. For example, in his analysis of stresses associated with a divorce, Paul Bohannan (1970) identified six overlapping experiences confronted by each spouse facing divorce:

> "...(1.) the emotional divorce, which centers around the problem of the deteriorating marriage; (2.) the legal divorce, based on grounds; (3.) the economic divorce, which deals with money and property; (4.) the coparental divorce, which deals with custody, single-parent homes; (5.) the community divorce, surrounding the changes of friends and community that every divorce experiences; and (6.) the psychic divorce, with the problem of regaining individual autonomy." (p.34)

Several authors have focused their study on one or more of these aspects of the divorce process (Krantzler, 1973; Weiss, 1975; 1979; Bloom, White, & Asher, 1979; Kohen, Brown, & Feldberg, 1979; Spanier & Casto, 1979; Kressel, Lopez-Morillas, Weinglass, & Deutsch, 1979; Hunt & Hunt, 1977). Other authors have developed their own models of the stages experienced in the course of the divorce (Bohannan, 1970; Herman, 1974; Kessler, 1975; Wiseman, 1975; Weiss, 1975; Brown, 1976; Froiland & Hozeman, 1977; Levy & Joffe, Note 2; Smart, 1979). Early stages of the divorce process include alienation (Waller, 1958), distress and loneliness (Weiss, 1975), shock (Krantzler, 1973), and denial and depression (Wiseman, 1975). Later stages dealing with recovery require interpersonal reorganization, lifestyle changes, and resynthesis of identities (Waller, 1958; Weiss, 1975; Wiseman, 1975). Several literature reviews have provided excellent summaries of the social

psychological stages of the divorce process (Bloom, Asher, & White, 1978; Salts, 1979; Smart, 1977).

Post-divorce Adjustment

A closely-related approach to research in the area is to focus on the immediate afteraffects of divorce, not only for the spouses, but also as they involve other family members. Raschke (1977) and Raschke and Barringer (1977), among others, have attempted to define and measure divorce adjustment. Raschke (1977) developed the Post Divorce and Problems Stress Scale, an instrument to measure post-divorce adjustment. Other researchers (Nelson, 1981) have attempted to identify moderating variables that may influence post-divorce adjustment, such as age (Chiriboga, Roberts, & Stein, 1978), length of marriage (Hetherington, Cox, & Cox, 1977), number of children (Goode, 1956; Meyers, Note 3), social and economic supports (Goode, 1956; Weiss, 1975), an active social life (Raschke, 1977; Spanier & Casto, 1979) and relationship factors (Nelson, 1981; Spanier & Casto, 1979; Goode, 1956).

For the newly-divorced, the individual's adjustment is often complicated by the demands and responsibilities of parenthood, particularly in the case of the custodial parent (Cline & Westman, 1971). Most often, this role has been assumed by the mother (Meyers, Note 3). There is some evidence in the literature that temporary behavior problems in children resulting from anxiety about parental separation can interact with and may even precipitate ineffective parenting that may compound feelings of anxiety, depression, and perceived inadequacy in the parent (Hetherington, Cox, & Cox, 1976;

1977). Adjustment for both parent and child can be further influenced by a variety of mediating factors, i.e., the new single parent role, the nature of contact with the former spouse regarding visitation and/or child management issues (Cline & Westman, 1971), and the perceptions of both parent and child, as to why the divorce occurred (Jacobson, 1978a). Research in this area has focused on the period of turbulence and disequilibrium immediately following the divorce, and the gradual adjustment of parent and child to a new living situation. Since all the members of the original family have experienced the divorce, each may have to adjust in his/her own way to the dissolution of such an important support system.

The Consequences of Divorce

Still another approach in divorce research is one which addresses the question of the longer term effects of divorce on both spouses and children. Until recently, more emphasis has been placed on the quest for causes or correlates of the decision to divorce than on the process of readjustment, or on subsequent consequences resulting from the divorce. Gradually, this is changing. Bloom et al. (1978) have summarized data that tend to suggest a number of undesirable consequences of divorce for adults, such as higher rates of psychopathology, more frequent illness, and higher rates of suicide and homocide. A longitudinal study by Wallerstein and Kelly (1980), however, indicates that, although the transition to a stabilized life after divorce may be difficult, negative effects on adjustment dissipate over time, for most men and women. Some adults, in fact, came to look

back upon the divorce as a positive and growthful, albeit painful, experience. One finding that was evident was that there is no simple answer to the question of consequences, and that the impact of divorce on the individual spouse or family member is dependent on a variety of moderating variables (Wallerstein & Kelly, 1980; Nelson, 1981). Investigators working with this approach must focus not only on the identification of short- and long- term effects of divorce, but also on those mediators that influence them. Longitudinal research recently begun in this area (Wallerstein & Kelly, 1980; Hetherington, 1979) has provided interesting insights into this area, and promises to continue to offer valuable information in the future.

The main body of this literature review will focus primarily on research which investigates the consequences of parental divorce on children, and those factors that may have a moderating effect on their adjustment and subsequent attitudes. For those readers who are interested in a broader survey of the divorce research field, Price-Bonham, and Balswick (1980) and Kitson and Raschke (1981) provide useful reviews of the literature. Also informative is Bloom et al.'s (1978) review of research involving marital disruption as a stressor.

IMPACT OF DIVORCE ON CHILDREN

Parental Divorce as a Stress

There is still much to be learned about the actual impact of parental separation/divorce on children. Common sense and casual observation tend to suggest that divorce would be a highly stressful

event in the life of a child, and one which would require adjustment to, not one, but many, life changes. Landis (1960) outlined seven "potentially traumatic" situations existing for the child of divorcing parents: (1) The necessity to adjust to the knowledge the divorce will take place; (2) The necessity to adjust to the fact of divorce; (3) The possibility of being used as a pawn in the battle between the parents; (4) The necessity of redefining of relationships with parents; (5) The possibility that the new status of being a "child of divorced parents" may necessitate new adjustments within the peer group; (6) The possibility of having to accept the implications of their parents failure in marriage; and (7) The necessity of adjusting to the possible remarriage of one or both parents. Even beyond these, children of divorce may have to adapt to changes related to economic concerns, e.g., change in residence, school, working mother, fewer luxuries; changes in parent-child relationships, e.g., custody, visitation, role changes; and changes in support systems, e.g., family, school, peers. Because of the demands these changes invoke, it has generally been assumed that the occurrence of a divorce occasions crisis and disequilibrium for children, as well as for their parents. And furthermore, it has commonly been thought that divorce will necessarily have a detrimental effect on various aspects of the child's future adjustment.

Parental Divorce and Behavior Problems

There are a host of studies which attempt to pair divorce with the future dysfunctional behavior of the child (Felner, Stoberg, & Cowen, 1975; Andrew, 1976; Perry & Millimet, 1977; Justice & Duncan, 1976; Schoengold, 1977; Tooley, 1976).

Results of such investigations are inconclusive, however. For instance, some studies have found a relationship between parental death or divorce in early childhood and later maladaptive behavior, particularly depression (Brown, 1961; Barry, Barry, & Lindemann, 1965), while others have failed to confirm such an association (Blaine & Carmen, 1968; Munroe, 1966).

McDermott's (1970) study of a clinic population suggested that the disruption of the divorce experience often caused predelinquent depressive behaviors, such as running away from home, school problems, and antisocial behaviors. A study in Australia also supported the conjecture that children of divorce are at greater risk for delinquent behaviors (Robinson & Williams, 1973). Some methodological criticisms of such studies have been raised, however (Desimone-Luis, Mahoney, & Hunt, 1979; Bernard & Nesbitt, 1981).

For example, many older studies which investigated the adjustment of "children of divorce" (Bowlby, 1962) tended to group subjects together with others from "broken homes" who had been abandoned, abused, rejected, neglected, or institutionalized. Findings from such studies linking these children to higher rates of delinquency, prostitution, and other behavioral problems may very well have reflected other variables, such as parental attitudes and quality of home life, rather than divorce as such (Herzog & Sudia, 1971; Marotz-Baden & Adams, 1979; Marotz-Baden, Adams, Bueche, Munro, & Munro, 1979). As an example of this, some studies found that children who were living in a happy single-parent home were more likely to be better adjusted than children living in an unhappy conflict-ridden two-parent home (Burchinal, 1964;

Goode, 1948; Landis, 1960; Nye, 1957). Similarly, a longitudinal study conducted by McCord (1978) failed to associate divorce directly with adult criminality, but instead identified the degree of supervision within the home as the primary factor in determining the occurrence of such antisocial behavior, regardless of the status of the home (i.e., broken or intact). One clear notion that arises from the plethora of conflicting findings in the literature is that there are a number of mediating variables that require careful consideration if one hopes to conduct useful research in the area of divorce.

Questions for Research

Even where adjustment problems for children have been found to follow parental divorce, it has often been uncertain as to whether such behaviors represented temporary changes, reactive to the stress of the divorce period, or, more or less permanent or long-standing patterns of maladaption. The longitudinal research that has been done on children of divorce (Wallerstein & Kelly, 1980; Hetherington, 1979; Kurdek et al., in press) tends to suggest that while separations and divorce are stressful for all family members, over time, the "new" family configuration does manage to reestablish equilibrium of some sort. As to whether potentially detrimental effects on children continue or dissipate, Wallerstein and Kelly (1980) write, "Our overall conclusion is that divorce produces not a single pattern in people's lives, as the conventional wisdom of the era tends to claim, but at least three patterns, with many variations" (p. 67). Five years post-divorce, some children appeared to be doing exceptionally well in managing the tasks

of everyday life, while others were coping only adequately or even poorly (Wallerstein & Kelly, 1980). In terms of the children's own perceptions of the divorce experience, again, a single pattern is not clearly evident. While some children were dissatisfied and bitter about the changes (Wallerstein & Kelly, 1980), others actually perceived themselves as having benefited from the divorce in terms of acquiring a better understanding of human emotions and of developing a sense of maturity and responsibility (Rosen, 1977; Reinhard, 1977).

Perhaps what can be gleaned from this morass of confusing and often contradictory information is that the question, "How do children react to parental divorce?" is too simplistic. It seems likely that temperamental variables, past experiences, the sex and developmental level of the child will all contribute to the way in which a child copes with parents' divorce. It might be more pertinent to ask questions such as: "What are the possible patterns of coping among children of divorce?"; "What factors are influential in determining the reactions of any given child?"; "Are the changes in coping precipitated by divorce transitory or persistent, and under what circumstances?" To help clarify some of these questions, several factors known to be important moderating variables of a child's coping and adjustment to divorce will be discussed.

IMPORTANT MODERATING VARIABLES

IN DIVORCE RESEARCH

Stages of the Divorce

A great deal of confusion has arisen when divorce has been regarded as a discrete event with a clear before and after. This view of divorce is analogous to stopping a motion picture at a "freeze-frame," and expecting to obtain an accurate impression of the movie. The divorce experience may be more accurately viewed as an on-going sequence of experiences constantly undergoing transition in a child's life.

While it is difficult to account for the complexity of such a transition period when doing research, it is important to note, when reviewing the literature, at what phase of the process the data were gathered. Generally, the course of divorce involves a shift from the original family situation through a crisis period of disequilibrium through an experimentation phase where various types of coping mechanisms, successful and unsuccessful, are tried, until finally a new level of stability is reached (Hetherington, 1979). While this conceptualization is also an incomplete representation, and length of stages may vary from individual to individual, it is still evident that findings based on data collected immediately following the parental separation may be addressing very different questions than those based on data 5 years post-divorce. For this reason, this review of the literature will attempt to organize these studies in such a way as to reflect reactions and patterns of coping relative to the different phases of the divorce process.

Developmental Level of the Child

A critical variable that requires consideration when attempting to assess the impact of divorce in children is the developmental level of the child at the time of the parental separation. A number of studies have accounted for this factor by comparing the effects of divorce on children within different age groupings. While age, of course, is only a rough indicator of developmental status with a wide range of variance, results, nevertheless, tend to support the position that the nature of a child's response to divorce varies as a function of developmental maturity (Hetherington, 1979; Wallerstein & Kelly, 1980; Magrab, 1978; Kurdek & Siesky, 1980).

Several different hypotheses have been offered to account for these differences. The cumulative effect hypothesis suggests that age may affect the intensity of the child's response, i.e., the younger the child, the more negative the effect (Gardner, 1977; Toomin, 1974; Longfellow, 1979; Hodges, Wechsler, & Ballantine, 1979). The implication is that the longer the period of time spent in the absence of either parent, the greater the overall emotional deficit for the child.

The critical stage hypothesis is held primarily by proponents of the psychoanalytic school who emphasize the importance of the Oedipal dynamics that come into play when the parental divorce occurs between the ages of 3 and 6. This view suggests that the Oedipal period is a particularly vulnerable time for a divorce to occur and emphasizes the importance of Oedipal fantasies, anxieties, magical thinking, guilt over an Oedipal victory and the absence of an appropriate role model for

identification. It is suggested that a parental divorce occurring during this period will have an especially profound impact on the child as well as long-lasting afteraffects (McDermott, 1970).

The recency hypothesis suggests that while divorce is a stressful event for a child, regardless of when it occurs, it is one from which the child can recover relatively quickly, i.e., within 1 to 2 years. It is predicted then that "time heals" and that children of divorce will evidence progressively less distress as the amount of time since the divorce increases. Some evidence of this trend can be found in the literature (McDermott, 1970; Wallerstein & Kelly, 1980; Hetherington, 1979).

Another approach to the question of developmental differences emphasizes qualitative differences in a child's cognitions at various ages. Proponents of this view suggest that since the children themselves are active constructors of their experiential world, their perceptions and reactions may be expected to vary as the nature of their cognitions changes. As their concepts become increasingly complex, integrated and abstract, and decreasingly ego-centered and concrete, it might be expected that children's understanding of the reasons and implications of their parents' divorce will change. Some evidence of qualitative differences associated with developmental levels has been found in a study by Kurdek and Siesky (1980). This viewpoint does not suggest that the divorce will necessarily be "more" or "less" traumatic at any particular age, but rather that the developmental stage of the child will influence the type of perceptions and the qualitative aspects of the individual reaction.

Regardless of the explanation, there is a large body of research that tends to support the notion that developmental level is a vitally important moderating variable when attempting to study children's reactions to divorce (Wallerstein & Kelly, 1980; Hetherington, 1979; Kalter & Rembar, 1981; Hodges et al., 1979; Jacobson, 1978, a, b, c; Magrab, 1978; Kurdek & Siesky, 1980; Nelson, 1981). For this reason, this review will also account for age, whenever possible, in discussing children's reactions to divorce.

Sex of the Child

Another variable thought to be related to children's divorce adjustment is sex. There is some evidence that boys may experience more problems both in the cognitive and social/emotional areas following a parental divorce (Hetherington, Cox, & Cox, 1979, a, b), as well as problems more specifically related to the divorce (Wallerstein & Kelly, 1980). For instance, boys from divorced families and children from nuclear families show a higher rate of behavior disorders and problems in interpersonal relations in the home and in the school with teachers and peers. Similarly, boys are more likely to show sustained noncompliant and aggressive behavior in the home following parental divorce (Hetherington, 1979).

Several explanations have been proposed to account for these differences. One hypothesis suggests that the loss of a father may be more stressful for boys than for girls. In a 5-year follow-up study on children of divorce, Wallerstein and Kelly (1980) found that while overall good adjustment for both boys and girls was linked with a good

mother-child relationship, the importance of the father-child relationship appeared to grow increasingly important to the ego functioning and self-esteem of male children as boys got older. On the other hand, while the importance of the father-child relationship continued to be an important factor in determining a girl's subsequent ego functioning, this connection was far less pronounced in girls.

It has been argued that it may be more essential for boys to have a male role model who can demonstrate mature self-controlled ethical behavior. On the other hand, it may be that the father represents a stronger figure of power and authority and may serve a critical limit setting function for boys who are more culturally predisposed to aggressive behaviors.

Another explanation suggests that boys may be exposed to more stress, frustration, and aggression, while simultaneously receiving less support and nurturance than girls (Santrock & Trace, 1979). Wallerstein and Kelly (1980) indicate that boys are more likely to be exposed to parental battles, and to confront inconsistency, opposition, and negative sanctions from parents, particularly the mother, following divorce. Santrock and Warshak (1979) suggested that since the mother is generally the custodial parent, it is also possible that the preponderance of boys' adjustment difficulty could be due to specific stresses arising from boys living with an opposite-sex custodial parent. Related to this, mothers may more closely associate boys with the absent spouse and tend to react more negatively toward them. Finally, Wallerstein and Kelly (1980) simply suggest that girls may be more psychologically resilient than boys during childhood.

Other Moderating Variables

While only age and sex of the child, and length of time since the parental separation/divorce have been specifically mentioned, there are many other moderating variables that have a significant impact on the child's response to divorce. Some of these include: economic resources, family composition, family education, prevalence of divorce in the extended family or community, parental and child temperament, parental and child intellectual ability, psychological status of the parent, interparent hostility, custodial arrangement, frequency of visitation, and support systems for parent and child. It is essential to remember that the reaction of any particular child to divorce is a complex interaction of factors, rather than a unidimensional phenomenon.

AFTER THE SEPARATION

The Infant

In considering the effect of separation and divorce on the infant, it is important to recognize the complete dependence of the infant on its caretaker at this period of life. Unlike the child at any other age, the infant lacks the cognitive ability to comprehend, in any way, the present or future implications of any change in the family system. Rather, infants are seen as being affected largely through the emotional state of their caregiver.

Trust

The major psychosocial task of this stage is the development of trust created through sensitive care for the infant's physical and emotional needs and subsequent attachment behaviors. The ways in which the infants' needs are satisfied by the environment and the bond that is established with the maternal object serves as a basis for future identity and the individual's later capacity for human relationships (Erikson, 1964). In order for the infant to accomplish this task, however, there must be a responsive adult environment. Deprivation or neglect, during this period, then may seriously hinder the development of trust, and may have long-range consequences for the child's future ability to relate to others. Change of the caretaking person may not only precipitate anxiety and distress in the infant, but may also result in setbacks in the quality of subsequent attachments (Goldstein, Freud, & Solnit, 1973).

Adjustment of the Caretaker

In the case of divorce, the adjustment of the infant will be almost entirely influenced by the adjustment of the custodial parent, i.e., the parents' emotional state and attitude towards both parenting and the divorce. If the parent is unable to provide the kind of care, i.e., love, warmth, affection, necessary and is unable to meet the infant's needs for gratification, there may be long-term negative effects. There is evidence to suggest that the quality of care provided may be influenced by the displaced hostility, depression, or dependency

experienced by the caretaker (Rohrlich, Ranier, Berg-Cross, & Berg-Cross, 1977) and also that stress experienced by the caregiver may also interfere with the infant's forming a secure attachment (Vaughn, Egeland, & Sroufe, 1979). Disruptions are likely to be evidenced by food refusals, digestive upsets, sleep disturbances, and crying.

The Preschool Child

The impact of divorce on the preschool child has attracted a great deal of attention for several reasons. First, since the average length of an American marriage ending in divorce is approximately seven years, it might be expected that the pre-school-aged child is a frequent victim of parental divorce (Hodges et al., 1979).

Cognitive Development

Another reason for interest is that preschoolers are often viewed as the most vulnerable group of children because their level of cognitive development precludes their constructing an accurate interpretation of the events transpiring around them. While it is at this age that the child is first able to perceive the loss of a parent, he/she is still limited in his capacity to comprehend the reasons for the divorce. According to Piaget (1972), the 2 to 4 year old child is egocentric and believes that external events like a parent's disappearance or depression, may be caused by his thoughts. McDermott (1970) found that some children at this age tended to believe that the parent left in order to punish the child for some "bad deed."

Wallerstein and Kelly (1980) also offered examples of elaborate fantasies constructed by children to explain the divorce. For example, following a relatively minor fire in the home the week before his mother's departure, one preschooler concluded that "mother was burned up in a fire." Those authors suggest such fantasies are a result of a child's cognitive confusion and fears about parental quarreling and abandonment.

Separation-Individuation

The major developmental task of preschool children is the attainment of a sense of autonomy and separateness (Erikson, 1964). In this new stage, the child struggles between a desire for autonomy and self-expression, on the one hand, and a fear of abandonment and loss of love, on the other. Even under optimal conditions, this struggle produces a certain amount of developmental tension in the child and can be a difficult time for both parent and child. Oppositional behavior in the toddler, however, which is a normal part of this process, may take on added significance in the event of a parental divorce. "For the preschooler divorce may symbolize the abuse of his own power or the fear that he wished his parent dead or gone as a result of seeking his own autonomy" (Magrab, 1978, p.239). Toomin (1974) suggests that the loss of a parent at the 18-36 month period is critically important for successful completion of the separation-individuation process.

Identity Formation

The preschool years are also important ones in terms of identity formation and the emergence of a self-concept. Generally, it is a time when a child becomes aware of the response of others, particularly parents, to his actions and behavior. Approval and disapproval are tied to the child's fears of abandonment. It has been suggested that the loss of a parent through separation or divorce, at this stage of a child's development, may be taken as a rejection or punishment and thus inhibit further testing out and discovering the use of interpersonal skills (Magrab, 1978). Even more, Katskin (1972) has suggested that divorce during preschool will likely lead to loss of recently acquired skills.

Oedipal Conflict

When the preschooler moves out of the Oedipal period, usually sometime between ages 3 and 6, the psychoanalytic school proposes that the child must work through his/her fantasies of possessing the opposite sex parent, as well as his/her jealousy and fears of retaliation by the parent of the same sex. Several authors suggest that, if divorce occurs at this time, the Oedipal conflict may add a further burden to the child's immature ego. While youngsters may be able to better deal with separation-individuation issues, at this point, their cognitive referents still lead them to conclude that the divorce is a direct result of their thoughts or actions at the time of the parental departure (Tessman, 1978; Wallerstein & Kelly, 1975). It has been suggested by several clinical researchers that if a parental separation

occurs during the latter part of the preschool years, near the Oedipal period, the child is likely to experience powerful guilt feelings (Rohrlich et al., 1977; Toomin, 1974). Rosenthal (1979) specified that the child's reactions to the Oedipal conflict may depend upon the sex of the child and the absent parent. The feeling of Oedipal victory is proposed to be particularly intensified, along with accompanying feelings of guilt and anxiety about retaliation, where it is the opposite sex parent who leaves the home. The loss of the opposite sex parent has also been suggested to be more critical to appropriate sex-role modeling, at least for boys, when it occurs before the age of 6 than after (Biller, 1970). Neubauer (1960) and McDermott (1970) are also among those who have emphasized the importance of Oedipal dynamics in youngsters whose parents are divorcing at about the time the child is between the ages of 3 and 6.

Reactions of Preschoolers to Parental Separation

In spite of the popularity of these theoretical proposals and supporting clinical observations, the amount of actual divorce research focusing on the preschool child is limited. Several studies do, however, provide some insight into the preschool child's experience of parental divorce. McDermott (1968) used a combination of teacher's anecdotal records and direct observation in his study of 16 3 to 5 year-old, nursery school children of divorce. Several dramatic reactions were noted, including initial shock and acute depression. Responses varied with different children and included angry, sad, or detached reactions and constricted and bossy behavior in response to divorce.

Generally, boys tended to show more direct aggressive and destructive behavior, while girls seems to gratify aggressive impulses by becoming increasingly bossy and pseudoadult. There were some indications of guilt, among the boys particularly, tending to support the theory that the same sex parent's (father's) departure may precipitate feelings related to the child's perception of an Oedipal victory.

Another behavior change noted in McDermott's (1968) study was a disruption in play activities, following the divorce. Play, within this group of "divorced" children, tended to become depressed, regressive, and nonfunctional with the preschoolers showing a marked impairment in their ability to use play as a means of mastering anxiety, depression and aggressive impulses. Of the 16 nursery school students involved, 62% showed acute changes and 19% showed a further solidification of previously noted problems. In fact, the most severely affected were those in whom there had been evidence of disturbance prior to the divorce.

Wallerstein and Kelly (1975; 1980), in a longitudinal study of 131 children of divorce, studied the reactions of 34 preschoolers. The authors found that reactions could be further distinguished by dividing the youngsters into three preschool groups: younger (2-1/2 - 3-1/2 years), middle (3-3/4 - 4-3/4 years), and older (5-6 years). Children in the youngest group evidenced observable behavioral changes, i.e., acute regression in toilet training, whining, crying, extreme neediness, general fearfulness, acute separation anxiety, sleep disturbances, irritability, cognitive confusion, increased autoerotic activity, and return to transitional objects. Fears of abandonment, starvation, and

references to hunger frequently accompanied parental separation. Though excessive aggressive behaviors varied, where they did occur, such behavior was regressive, (e.g., temper tantrums,) and occurred most frequently in those children who had not been given an explanation for the parent's departure. Similarly to McDermott's (1968) study, Wallerstein and Kelly (1975; 1980) found that a temporary disruption in effective play behavior occurred, with play themes tending to be constricted and aimless.

In the middle group, regressive behavior was less common, occurring in less than half of those children. Some tearfulness, whininess, and irritability was still noted, however, along with an increase in restlessness and aggressive behavior, particularly that directed towards peers. Notable in this group was a quality of confusion and bewilderment in the children with regard to their parents' separation, and a tendency to view themselves as responsible for the parental loss.

The oldest preschool group studied by Wallerstein and Kelly (1975; 1980) showed the highest level of anxiety, irritability, moodiness, and aggression, and also, began to show the first signs of beginning to understand the implications of the divorce, and to be able to express grief for the lost parent.

Hetherington, Cox, and Cox (1976) also studied preschool children of divorce, 24 boys and 24 girls, along with a matched control group of children from intact families. The addition of a control group is notable here, since many changes in behaviors could be accounted for as a function of normal developmental change rather than as specific

reactions to parental divorce. Children of divorced parents did demonstrate significantly more negative behaviors than did children in the control group, with such behaviors suggesting an increase in feelings of anger, fear, depression, and guilt. Sex differences were also evident, with boys showing higher rates of behavior disorder and problems in interpersonal relations in the home, with teachers, and with peers, than either "divorced" girls or children of either sex from intact families. Also noted were qualitative differences with noncompliant, aggressive behavior in the home being far more prevalent among boys in the divorced sample than any other group.

Hodges et al., (1979) also used a control group in their study of preschool children. Twenty-six children from divorced homes were compared to 26 children from intact homes on a variety of measures including parent report, preschool teacher report, and direct observation. Few significant differences were found between the two groups in terms of behavior pathology. The only significant finding was that children from divorced families were found to be more withdrawn in structured situations than the children from intact families, while in unstructured situations, the reverse relationship held true. Also interesting, however, was the fact that contact with the noncustodial father seemed to increase aggression in the "divorced" child. Hodges et al. (1979) suggested that the differences in his findings, as compared to the other authors heretofore mentioned may be, in part, due to interaction with other moderating variables, i.e., community norms, support systems, and number of other stressors in the family at the time of the divorce.

Moderating Variable -- Parent-Child Relationship

Working along the same lines, in a series of reports, Jacobson (1978 a,b,c) attempted to investigate the impact of several possible moderating variables that might affect a child's adjustment reaction to parental divorce. Using parents' responses to the Louisville Behavior Checklist as an index of child adjustment, Jacobson interviewed 51 3- to 17-year-old children of divorce, to determine whether psychosocial adjustment might be associated with parent-child separation, interparent hostility, and parent-child communication. Findings indicated that child maladjustment was related both to time lost in the presence of the father and to the degree of interparent hostility in the preseparation period. An age difference that occurred was that while it was the general pattern that the more time lost in the presence of the father post-divorce, the higher the maladjustment score, that relationship was much stronger for children 7 to 13 than for the 3- to 6-year-old group. While the general finding then supports the hypothesis that the father's presence is important to the child's adjustment, it tends to contradict that theoretical notion that contact with the father is especially critical during the preschool years.

The developmental level of the child seems also pertinent to the question of the relationship with the father (as noncustodial parent) in terms of visitation. Kelly and Wallerstein (1977) report that strong differences in visiting contacts emerged when age and sex were viewed as variables. In general, younger children (between the ages of 2 and 8) were seen by the noncustodial parent more frequently. In spite of this greater frequency, however, younger children usually longed for more

visits. Overnight or weekend visits were rather uncommon for preschool children, generally reflecting, the authors suggest, the father's uncertainty about his ability to deal with the preschooler's needs during an extended visit. Some sex differences were also notable. For instance, young boys tended to have more visits than girls of the same age. Similarly, while few (less than a quarter) of the youngest group of children did suffer from infrequent or erratic visiting schedules, significantly more girls than boys found themselves in this predicament.

Using data from Wallerstein and Kelly's (1975) Children of Divorce Project, Daniel (1977) found that in the case of younger children, the quality of the preseparation father-child relationship is likely to carry over, while this does not occur with older children. Of all the age groups explored, it was found that 4- to 6-year-old children (at the time of separation) were the most intimate with their fathers in the year following the divorce.

Summary

Preschool-age children are sometimes thought of as being especially vulnerable to parental divorce for several reasons. Because of their cognitive immaturity, these children are often confused about the causes for and implications of the divorce. They are prone to form faulty perceptions of the reasons for their parents' separation, and may feel responsible. The developmental task of separation-individuation and the presence of the Oedipal conflict may be further complicated by a parental divorce occurring at this stage of the child's life. On the positive side, younger children may experience more consistent positive

parenting in the post divorce period and maintain a closer relationship with the noncustodial parent. The preschooler's immediate reaction to divorce might include regression in toileting, neediness, separation anxiety, sleep disturbances, increased aggression (tantrumming), guilt, depression, increased autoerotic behavior, and problems with sexual identity.

The Latency-Aged Child

Latency was a term introduced by Freud to refer to the elementary school years he viewed as a period of relative sexual calm between the turbulent Oedipal years and the storminess of adolescence. It would be a misinterpretation, however, to assume that little occurs during these years. In fact, several important developments take place.

Cognitive Development

The thinking of school-aged children is markedly more mature than that of younger children, though clearly not as sophisticated or complex as that of adolescents. Between the ages of 5 and 7 years of age, most children become "operational," that is, become able to use symbols. As a result, they can consider more than one aspect of a situation when drawing conclusions. Their egocentrism starts to diminish and they begin to understand other people's viewpoints. At the same time, however, an immaturity in children's beliefs can still be seen, particularly in terms of realism, causation, and conservation. For example, children of this age often confuse psychological events

with objective reality, believing that words, thoughts, or feelings are reality and imbued with the same powers as the actual entity (Piaget, 1955).

The school-aged child's greater cognitive understanding enables him to more fully comprehend the meaning of and long-term consequences of parental divorce. Because of this, the separation/divorce precipitates feelings of profound personal loss. At the same time, however, children of this age are somewhat prone to "magical thinking" and thus often conjure up fantasized images of the absent parent. While these images may, in fact, be far from the reality, they may be difficult to dispel. Another frequent fantasy among latency-aged children is that parents will reconcile and the family will be reunited. As a result, these children watch parents' postseparation relationship expectantly, often becoming confused by overly friendly relationships which raise their hopes, and angry at hostile interparent relationships that they find painfully disappointing. Loyalty conflicts are strongly experienced at this age, and school-aged children often eventually tend to side with one parent and express anger towards the other (Magrab, 1978; Henning & Oldham, 1977).

Mastery, Industry, Achievement

An important issue for the latency-aged child is achievement. It is during the school years that children learn the skills of their culture in order to prepare for adult work. Erikson (1964) postulated that the major developmental task for the school age child is the development and mastery of skills--physical, intellectual, and academic.

The beginning of the school years places an increasing importance on the role of peer relationships and socialization. Peers provide a realistic guage against which to measure accomplishments and abilities, as well as providing a forum for sifting through parent-derived attitudes and beliefs. A healthy self-concept is, in large part, a derivative of a sense of mastery and the establishment of good peer relations.

Divorce occurring at this stage of a child's life may cause a disruption in the socialization process, by focusing excessive attention back on the family, at a time when the child would normally be moving further out. Anxiety and fears precipitated by the parental separation/ divorce may manifest itself in poor school performance and/or withdrawal from peer activities. Related to this, latency-aged children may be ashamed of the parents' divorce and fearful, sometimes realistically, that they will be teased or ridiculed by other children (Henning, 1976). Henning and Oldham (1977) suggested that father and son events become particularly painful for the latency-age groups when the mother has to bring the child because the father is not available. On the positive side, however, school-aged children have more resources available to them than their younger counterparts, both in terms of cognitive ability and the presence of potential support systems outside the immediate family.

Reaction to Parental Separation

In studying children's responses to parental divorce, Wallerstein and Kelly divide this age group into early latency (7 to 8

years) and later latency (9 to 12 years) (Kelly & Wallerstein, 1976;
Wallerstein & Kelly, 1976, 1980).

Early Latency (7 to 8)

In the group of 26 younger children, Kelly and Wallerstein
(1976) were struck by the pervasive sadness and overt suffering
experienced by the children. Many of the children had difficulty
talking about the divorce, and none felt relieved or pleased about the
divorce, even though, in some cases, predivorce marital conflict had
been quite violent. Fears about the current unstable home situation
manifested themselves in tears, sobbing, and feelings of deprivation and
loss, and once again, fantasies about starvation were fairly common.
These children seemed to experience great difficulty in obtaining
relief, and at times seemed "immobilized by suffering." Interestingly
enough, however, though teachers noted changes in some children, Kelly
and Wallerstein (1976) did not find any straightforward relationship
between the intensity of the child's suffering and observable reactions
at school.

In terms of the school-aged child's relationship to parents,
there were several differences from his preschool counterpart. While
the absent parent was still openly longed for and wishes for parental
reconciliation were obvious among latency-aged children, those children
did not, by and large, assume responsibility for the divorce. The loss
of the father as representing a role model and a protector seemed to be
of central importance during this period, particularly for boys.
Frequently, the children felt abandoned and rejected, deriving little

comfort from parental visits they always perceived to be too infrequent. Nevertheless, children were often unable to express anger over conflicted or ruined visits. Children seemed to fall into two groups with regard to mother, those feeling angry at mother for causing the divorce, and those afraid of challenging mother for fear they might also be abandoned or "divorced." At this age, children expressed feelings of "being in the middle" but tended to retain feelings of loyalty to both parents rather than taking sides (Kelly & Wallerstein, 1976; Wallerstein & Kelly, 1980).

Later Latency (9 to 12)

The 31 9-to 12-year-old children studied by Wallerstein and Kelly (1976; 1980) appeared calm, poised, and self-assured, in contrast to the more "immobilized" and confused 7 to 8 year-olds. While still grieving over the lost family structure, and uncertain about the future, these children appeared to be using play and other activities as a means of mastering feelings of anxiety and powerlessness. One reaction particularly marked in this group was intense conscious anger expressed toward whichever parent the child perceived to be the person responsible for the divorce. These children were particularly vulnerable to being swept up in the spirit of one parent's anger against the other and thus were likely to align themselves closely with one parent, usually, but not always, with the mother.

Because, at this age, much of the child's self-identity is related to his/her "belongingness" in significant groups, i.e., family, school, the parental separation seemed to result in identity confusion.

Some turmoil and a sense of ruptured identity was noticed by Wallerstein and Kelly (1976; 1980) as children began anxiously to ask questions and make comparisons of physical characteristics of themselves and their parents. Disruptions in the socialization process also appeared for some children in the form of lying and petty theft. Latency-aged children expressed an acute sense of shame over parental divorce, and concomitant deterioration in peer relationships and a decline in school performance was noted in many cases. Additionally, while no somatic symptoms were observed in the early latency group, among the 9- to 12-year-olds, a variety of somatic complaints, particularly headaches and stomach-aches were reported.

Relationship With the Noncustodial Parent

In terms of visiting patterns, one clear difference distinguished early and later latency children. Kelly and Wallerstein (1977) reported that there was a marked peaking in visiting frequency among the 7- and 8- year-olds. Again, in spite of the higher degree of contact with the absent parent, these early latency children were frequently open regarding their desire for even more time with the parent.

In direct contrast to this, many of the 9- and 10- year-olds, particularly boys, experienced infrequent and erratic visiting or no contact at all. Kelly and Wallerstein (1977) suggested that the anger of the late latency child, in response to his/her parents' divorce may be a large contributing factor in the diminished parent-child contact.

Summary

The latency-aged child is better equipped to cognitively understand the implications of divorce. Because of their affective investment in both parents, they view the parental separation as a profound personal loss, and openly wish for a parental reconciliation. Parental divorce may have a disruptive impact on peer relationships and school performance, particularly in the later latency years. Intense conscious anger at parents is felt by many children of divorce at this age, along with a sense of being "caught in the middle" between parents. Older latency-aged children often align with one parent against the other, on whom they usually project blame for the divorce. Besides overt suffering and grief reactions, other responses to parental divorce included such symptoms as anxiety, depression, behavioral acting out, i.e., lying, stealing, and somatic complaints (Wallerstein & Kelly, 1976; 1980).

The Adolescent

In spite of the adolescent's more mature cognitive understanding, there has been some disagreement in the literature as to the possible emotional response of the adolescent to parental divorce. Some authors have suggested that the adolescent will suffer few consequences because he is no longer dependent on the family environment and can, thus, more easily turn to out-of-home sources for support than can his younger counterpart (Hetherington, 1979). On the other hand, some authors see the adolescent's personality as being strongly affected

because of the likelihood of his/her having been exposed to longer periods of parental conflict (Sorosky, 1977). Another possibility, is that different developmental vulnerabilities may affect the qualitative nature of the adolescent's response to parental divorce.

Cognitive Development

Adolescents have been perceived by many researchers to have the cognitive maturity to accurately comprehend the reasons for their parents' divorce, as well as to understand and cope with the necessity of concomitant life changes, i.e., economic and practical considerations (Longfellow, 1979; Kurdek, in press). Longfellow (1979) suggested that adolescents show a "third-person" level of social-cognitive awareness that allows them to view their parents relatively objectively, independent of the parent-child relationship. As a result of this, adolescents are more capable of recognizing their own conflicts as distinct from those of their parents, and are able to acknowledge their parents as individuals with separate needs and interests. Additionally, the adolescent is capable of understanding the concept of mutuality in a relationship, an important factor in comprehending a "no fault" divorce.

Developmental Issues in Adolescence

Sorosky (1977) divided the normal crises of adolescence into two psychodynamic categories: internal (intrapsychic) and external (environmental) conflicts. The main internal conflicts include the acceptance, expression, and control of aggressive and sexual impulses, as well as emerging identity concerns. The external conflicts include

dependence-independence issues, peer acceptance and social approval, as well as concerns about the future. Parental divorce at this stage can have a variety of effects: (a) It may intensify these conflicts; (b) It may inhibit their expression and resolution; or (c) It may stimulate a premature attempt at mastery (Sorosky, 1977; Wallerstein & Kelly, 1974; 1980).

Erikson (1964) identified adolescence as a crisis of "identity vs. role confusion," and suggested that the most important task at this age is to discover "who I am." The demands of this period include decisions about vocational and career goals, as well as the more general struggle for the adolescent to construct his own set of values and beliefs. Adjusting to sexual maturity and establishing a solid sexual identity constitutes another aspect of this quest for "self" and is an important task for the young person.

Much of the adolescent's search entails experimentation with new behaviors, and the discarding of some old ones. In the midst of this process, the adolescent is often ambivalent about independence, at once wanting to rebel against parental ideas and expectations and yet finding security in remaining dependent. Precisely because the adolescent characteristically scuttles backwards and forwards between the safety of home base and the exciting, but riskier, world of his contemporaries, the need for a stable home during this phase is strongly felt. When the family structure shifts during this time, as in the case of parental divorce, the home loses that quality of being a safe, dependable oasis in which to refuel. Furthermore, parents, preoccupied with their own needs and conflicts, become less available to their adolescent child.

In some sense, parental divorce "turns the tables" on the adolescent who suddenly finds himself having to deal with parents who may be struggling with identity issues, such as rethinking sexual, vocational, and lifestyle choices, not unlike his own (Longfellow, 1979; Sorosky, 1977; Wallerstein & Kelly, 1980).

Impact of the Divorce Experience During Adolescence

Sorosky (1977) suggested that divorce can disrupt the normal developmental dynamics of adolescence in a number of ways. Normal aggression conflicts take on added significance as divorced parents experience special difficulty in setting safe limits for their adolescents. Often, divorced parents are too preoccupied with their own problems to attend to what their children are doing, or may be hesitant to set limits for fear of being "less popular" with the child than their spouse. Sometimes, too, the parents may feel hypocritical setting strict limits on their adolescent at a time when they, themselves, may be acting out more.

Adolescence also brings with it a resurgence of Oedipal issues and accompanying sexual concerns (Blos, 1962). Parental divorce at this time may intensify and further complicate the final resolution of this conflict. For instance, Miller (1974) argued that the adolescent girl may view her father's leaving home as a sexual rejection. He suggested, also, that the adolescent boy may experience difficulty in handling uncomfortable incestuous feelings aroused by his new position as "man of the house." In addition, the incident of a parental divorce usually precipitates a greater awareness of the parents as sexual beings. This

may be frightening, especially if generational boundaries are endangered, for instance, if father is dating a younger woman. Problems may also occur if the adolescent thinks that the marriage has failed due to sexual inadequacy and fears he/she may similarly be inadequate (Miller, 1974; Wallerstein & Kelly, 1974).

Divorce may force an early, or even premature, resolution of the adolescent's normal ambivalence about independence-dependence by changing the secure home situation. The experience also impacts on the parent-child relationship by accelerating parental individuation and forcing the adolescent to view them as distinct and separate people, perhaps before the child is ready to do so. Fears about abandonment by the custodial parent and upheaval in the family created by the divorce, e.g., possible changes in residence, schools, may cause some adolescents to regress and to stick close to home, while others withdraw from the family and become precociously mature (Sorosky, 1977).

In terms of social attachments, adolescents may feel somewhat stigmatized by the divorce, and seek out companions in a similar situation. Fears about being hurt or abandoned if one gets "too close" may inhibit the development of friendships and dating relationships among some "divorced" adolescents. Others may seek to quickly enter into an all-consuming "love" relationship, as an attempt to find the security missing at home (Sorosky, 1977).

Future-oriented concerns, such as college, career, and vocational choices, and the prospect of marriage become even more troublesome when a divorce occurs, and parents are less emotionally available for consultation. Fears about re-enacting the parents' failed

marriage plague many adolescents (Magrab, 1978; Sorosky, 1977; Wallerstein & Kelly, 1974; 1980).

Reactions of Adolescents to Parental Divorce

Wallerstein and Kelly (1974; 1980) studied the reactions of 21 adolescents, aged 13 to 18, whose parents had recently undergone a divorce. Adolescents experienced the divorce as an extraordinarily painful event, and showed a variety of symptoms typical of a grief response, i.e., tearfulness, fatigue, and sleep disturbances. The experience of mourning the loss of the childhood family seemed compounded by the adolescent's anticipation of his/her own future separation from parents and home. This finding tended to confirm Blos' (1962) proposal that, even under "normal" circumstances, the process of detachment from parents is accompanied by a profound sense of loss and isolation equivalent to the experience of mourning. In divorce, however, where this detachment coincides with an actual loss, the grief reaction is expected to be intensified. Sorosky (1977) suggested that the divorce-related loss may be even more difficult and painful for the adolescent to accept than the loss of a parent through death because it may imply to the child a concomitant loss of love.

Another common response noted by Wallerstein and Kelly (1974; 1980) was great anger at the parents for breaking up the family. Again, these feelings were more complex than they might, at first, appear. Some of the anger was age-related, an expression of the adolescent's normal desire to rebel. Secondly, anger sometimes covered up more vulnerable feelings of sadness, grief, and helplessness, giving the

adolescent the feeling that he/she was more in control. The anger also was a means of expressing resentment toward the parents for putting their own needs ahead of the adolescent's need for a secure home.

Anxiety about the future, particularly with regard to sex and marriage was also triggered by parental divorce. Many adolescents expressed their reluctance to marry, and make the same mistake as their parents. Some were afraid that they would be inadequate sexual partners, and looked with despair, towards inevitable failure in marriage or any intimate relationship.

Another important area of reactions among adolescents involved a change in the way that parents were perceived. As a result of the divorce, children were forced to view their parents as individuals, as opposed to one parental unit. Adolescents tried to seek out the causes of the divorce and discern where responsibility lay. Yet, even where responsibility was ascribed to both parents, the adolescent tendency to view the world in dichotomies, sometimes resulted in a tendency to view one parent as the selfish one, and the other as the martyr. The support of the adolescent was often sought by one or both parents during the pre- and post-divorce conflicts, resulting in loyalty conflicts for the child. Demands of the parents on the youngster frequently lead to despair, depression, and guilt. As a result, many of the adolescents eventually sought to resolve this conflict by pulling away from both parents (Wallerstein & Kelly, 1974; 1980).

One outstanding finding noted by Wallerstein and Kelly (1974; 1980) was that in many cases, the parental divorce precipitated marked emotional and intellectual maturity among adolescents. These youngsters

expressed a determination to learn from their parents' failure, and to handle their own future relationships more maturely. Personal morality became a focal issue as they assessed responsibility for the marital dissolution, and adolescents committed themselves to different codes of behavior, i.e., honesty, kindness, respect for the partner. Another newfound area of maturity centered around finances. While oftentimes adolescents reacted with anger and feelings of deprivation to new economic issues, i.e., less money, anxiety about college financing, many eventually came to adopt a more mature, and realistic attitude towards money in the long-run. Some adolescents took on greater responsibility for the family in an efffort to help the custodial parent through the post-divorce period. These parents were able to depend on the adolescent for advice, support, sharing of major family decisions, and for help in terms of household responsibilities.

As suggested earlier by Sorosky (1977), however, reactions of adolescents to divorce did not constitute a single pattern in Wallerstein and Kelly's (1974) study. While about one-third of the youngsters showed increased maturity, taking on a more active role in the family, an equal number actively sought to distance themselves from the family, exercising increased independence by becoming involved in a variety of activities outside the home. While this hectic new social life, sometimes including increased sexual activity, was often quite threatening to the newly-divorced parent, Wallerstein and Kelly's (1974) study suggests that the "strategic withdrawal" of the adolescent, may be a healthy, and growthful response. Such a withdrawal may, in some cases, enable the child to maintain his intactness and separateness from

the parental crisis, until such time as he is mature enough to cope with the needy parent in a supportive, empathic way.

While some adolescents in Wallerstein and Kelly's (1974) study were able to successfully rise to the occasion of parental divorce, others did not fare quite so well. Temporary regressive behaviors occurred in some children, with accompanying disruptions in school performance and social relationships. Such regressions, though usually temporary, were more likely to become prolonged in those cases where one parent relied heavily on the adolescent, thus directly or indirectly, discouraging the child's return to more independent, age-appropriate behaviors. Developmental disruptions were also sometimes precipitated by the sudden discovery of a parent's infidelity, an event which seemed to trigger anxiety related to the adolescent's own sexual and aggressive impulses. Reactions to such a discovery included flight, acting out, and acute depression among these young people. Sometimes, increased exposure to parental sexuality, e.g., extra-marital affairs, combined with less parental supervision, resulted in an increase in adolescent sexual acting out, a kind of "pseudoadolescent" behavior.

Visiting and Custodial Arrangements

Most often, it is the mother who is the custodial parent, while the father moves out. Adolescents may feel sorry for their father's, often reduced, living situation. The absent spouse may also compete with the custodial parent by being more permissive, causing some interparent rivalry. Such power struggles may further contribute to the insecurity and discomfort of their adolescent child (Sorosky, 1977).

In general, while adolescents were found to have fewer visits with their fathers than younger children, they seemed content with this arrangement. The infrequently spaced, brief visits they preferred seemed to reflect their growing independence and preoccupation with other events and relationships in their life.

Summary

Cognitively, adolescents are well able to understand the reasons for the divorce. Normal developmental tasks of adolescence, including the acceptance, expression, and control of sexual and aggressive impulses, dependence-independence conflicts, social approval issues and concerns about the future, may be affected by parental divorce in a number of ways. Some adolescents who were already psychologically vulnerable, found themselves overburdened by the separation, and showed either regressive, or pseudomature behavior. On the other hand, for some adolescents, the divorce served as a catalyst for intellectual and emotional growth leading to increased maturity in a number of areas.

TRANSITION - 1 TO 2 YEARS POST-DIVORCE

The period of time 1 to 2 years post-divorce, while not having the same acute crisis character as the separation/divorce itself, remains a stressful one. Ongoing interparent conflict, as well as adjustment to all the changes precipitated by the divorce result in a chronic level of stress that requires various kinds of coping behaviors on the part of the child. Nevertheless, it remains clear that acute

responses to stress, such as those found at the time of separation, are likely to be short-lived and are different in their implications for development from responses found to still be enduring 1 to 2 years post-divorce. These latter, more prolonged symptoms are far more likely to disrupt normal developmental patterns and create areas of deficit for the child. Very few authors argue that divorce is other than a crisis-like event that requires some unusual accommodations in coping, there is great diversity of opinion as to the more enduring properties of these responses. Wallerstein and Kelly (1980) reported findings of an 18-month follow-up study on their original 131 children of divorce. Their findings will be summarized below.

Overall Changes

The most obvious change reported by Wallerstein and Kelly (1980) involved the fact that the children, as a whole, were less preoccupied by their parents' divorce. In contrast to their previous interviews where the significance of the divorce pre-empted all other issues, at this time, children had begun to resume a "normal life," i.e., school, friends, activities. Few children, even among the youngest, were still unwilling to accept the reality of the parental divorce at this point. Few, also, were still panicked by the thought of impending abandonment by the custodial parent. Most of the acute symptoms noted at the time of the separation had dissipated totally, or at least, lessened considerably by follow-up. In general, children appeared to have "mellowed," that is, had taken a more moderate view of the divorce, with less expression of the intense feelings noted earlier. Feelings of the

children did, in fact, appear to have shifted. Whereas almost all children had originally expressed feelings of unhappiness precipitated by the divorce, 18 months post-divorce, about one-half expressed feelings of moderate happiness, with an additional one-quarter describing themselves as very content. The remaining one-quarter still expressed feelings of severe unhappiness.

Sex Differences

While sex differences did not appear to be very significant at the time of the separation, Wallerstein and Kelly (1980) found several striking differences at the time of their 18-month follow-up. At all ages other than adolescence, twice as many girls improved in terms of adjustment than boys. At follow-up, boys were more likely to still be strongly opposed to the divorce, and to have remained intensely preoccupied with the divorce. Also, boys were more likely to be depressed, to feel rejected, and to openly long for the absent father. Girls, on the other hand, were generally happier and more positive. They also appeared to be coping better and seemed to have more friends, whom they could turn to for support. Several differences, in terms of parent-child relationships, were also noted by Wallerstein and Kelly (1980). There were some indications that girls might receive more consistent parental treatment than boys. For instance, when mothers were under stress, and their parenting capacity diminished, boys were more likely to be the recipients of poor treatment. Similarly, the post-divorce relationship with fathers seemed to be more consistent for girls, showing less relative change than the father-son relationship.

Hetherington (1979) tended to confirm these sex differences, indicating that although boys showed improvement in coping and adjustment, 2 years post-divorce, many still showed some signs of developmental deviation. While social and emotional disturbances in girls had largely disappeared, boys still had some difficulties, showing a higher rate of behavior disorders, school problems, and conflicts at home. Both Hetherington (1979) and Wallerstein and Kelly (1980) offered some hypotheses to account for these sex differences. Several of these were discussed earlier in this review under Moderating Variables-Sex Differences.

Symptoms

Though few overt behavioral symptoms remained 18 months post-divorce in Wallerstein and Kelly's (1980) sample, there were some exceptions, the most widespread being depression. About one quarter of the children showed moderate to severe depression at follow-up. A sizeable proportion of these came out of the 8- to 10-year-old age group (at the time of separation). These children showed a variety of symptoms indicative of depression including pervasive sadness, poor self-esteem, poor school performance, difficulty in concentrating, preoccupation with the parental divorce, inhibition of play, social withdrawal, self-blame for the divorce, petty stealing, overeating to the point of obesity, chronic irritability, and sexual promiscuity. The authors suggested that depression seemed related to a "triad" of feeling reactions to the divorce including intense anger (often unexpressed), a profound sense of rejection by one or both parents, and strong disapproval of the divorce.

Another strong feeling carried over from the divorce, even 18 months later, was anger. Those children who still expressed intense anger at this time tended to be adolescent girls and later latency children (at the time of separation). Some of the anger experienced by the latency aged children seemed related to a vicious cycle created by the absent parent visiting less frequently because of the child's anger, thus causing the child to feel more rejected and more angry.

Finally, one last symptom noted by Wallerstein and Kelly (1980) was a large number of the "divorced" children, about one-fifth were reported by parents and teachers to be engaged in what they termed as "manipulative behavior." This was noted particularly in the children's play with peers.

LONG-TERM CONSEQUENCES OF PARENTAL DIVORCE ON CHILDREN
(4 PLUS YEARS POST-DIVORCE)

Several questions immediately occur when one thinks about the long-term impact of divorce: What, if any, attitudes or behaviors, mark "children of divorce" as different? Are children of divorced parents inevitably doomed to divorce themselves? Does time, in fact, heal all wounds, leaving no permanent scars? Several longitudinal studies (Kurdek et al., in press; Kurdek & Siesky, 1980; Wallerstein & Kelly, 1980), have begun to shed some light on the potential long-term consequences that divorce may have on adjustment, attitudes, and the subsequent behavior of "children of divorce," even as they approach adulthood.

Children's Perceptions of the Divorce

Wallerstein and Kelly (1980) did a 5-year follow-up on their original sample of 131 "divorced" children. By the fifth year, it was evident to all the children that the divorce was "permanent," i.e., children had grown accustomed to the reality of the post-divorce living situation. One aspect that distinguished this group was a heightened sensitivity to and awareness of family dynamics. The divorce appeared to have resulted in an increased conscious focusing on the family, with its strengths and deficiencies. Another finding was that thoughts about the divorce were frequently "reworked" at different stages of developmental maturity, so that perceptions of the divorce continued to change and evolve over time. The child's view of divorce was very much influenced by his/her gratification in the present, i.e., the divorce was viewed more positively if he/she felt sufficiently satisfied with his/her current situation.

Five years post-divorce, 28% of the group strongly approved of the divorce, 42% had moderate views, while 30% were still not convinced of the wisdom of the parents' decision. This constituted a major shift from the original 75% who strongly opposed the divorce shortly after the separation (Wallerstein & Kelly, 1980).

Rosen (1977) interviewed 92 South African children, aged 9 to 29, whose parents had divorced 6 to 10 years earlier. The population was drawn from the "white, middle class" sector, but was unusual in that, in 41 of the cases, the father was the custodial parent. Of the 92 children, 40 stated that they did not think they had been negatively affected by the divorce in any way, 22 felt that they had actually

benefited from the divorce, and 31 stated that they had been negatively affected. (These results are strikingly similar to Wallerstein and Kelly's [1980] findings.) Children also reported that the most distressing parental behavior was denigration of one parent by the other, thus creating loyalty conflicts for the child. The majority of the children believed that a nonhostile post-divorce interparent relationship and free access to the noncustodial parent were important elements influencing their view of the divorce.

Reinhard (1977) questioned 46 "divorced" adolescents between the ages of 12 and 18, using a 99-item questionnaire, with 10 subscales. Results tended to indicate that, as a group, the children did not perceive themselves to be adversely affected by the divorce. Many of the subjects, in fact, viewed themselves as having become more mature and self-reliant, as a result of assuming more responsibility following the divorce. No significant sex difference was found. A methodological difficulty in this study is that subjects were volunteers and may reflect a bias. There is also a question as to whether the more positive response is indicative only of the adolescent age group.

Kurdek and Siesky (1980) took a developmental approach in their study of children's perceptions of parental divorce. Participants in this study were 132 white children, divided into two sets of age groups: age at separation, and age at the time of study. Several questionnaires, as well as measures of Locus of Control and Interpersonal Knowledge were administered to the children. Results indicated that age was a sensitive predictor of children's responses. Similarly, the extent to which the children viewed events as being

internally controlled and the extent to which they understood the complexity of interpersonal relations had a profound effect on their perception of the divorce. Findings tended to support Reinhard's (1977) results suggesting that preadolescents and adolescents do not manifest unfavorable or negative evaluations of their parents' divorce. Older children were more likely than their younger counterparts to view themselves as more mature as a result of the divorce.

Children's Adjustment

The major finding Wallerstein and Kelly (1980) report is that, in fact, there is no single pattern of outcome for all children of divorce. Their 5-year follow-up study revealed at least three distinct patterns, with many variations. Approximately one-third of the children and adolescents appeared to be doing especially well at the 5-year mark, while another third was managing adequately for the most part, and the final third appeared to be intensely unhappy, depressed, and dissatisfied with their post-divorce living situation. This wide variance among the children seemed to be related to the complex interaction of a number of components, including:

(1) the extent to which the parents had been able to resolve and put aside their conflicts and angers and make use of the relief from conflict provided by divorce; (2) the course of the custodial parent's handling of the child and the resumption or improvement of parenting with the home; (3) the extent to which the child did not feel rejected in relationship with the noncustodial or visiting parent, and the

extent to which this relationship had continued on a regular basis and kept pace with the child's growth; (4) the range of personality assets and deficits which the child brought to the divorce, including the child's history within the predivorce family and the capacity to make use of his or her resources within the present, particularly intelligence, the capacity for fantasy, social maturity, and ability to turn to peers and adults; (5) the availability to the child of a supportive human network; (6) the absence of continuing anger and depression in the child; and (7) the sex and age of the child (Wallerstein & Kelly, 1980, p. 207).

Wallerstein and Kelly (1980) suggested that the most critical variable influencing a healthy readjustment for children of all ages was a stable, loving relationship with both parents, where there was little residual friction between parents, and where regular, dependable visiting was openly encouraged by the custodial parent.

Kurdek, et al. (in press) conducted a study aimed at assessing the nature and correlates of post-divorce adjustment in children. Subjects were 58 white middle-class children, aged 8 to 17, whose parents had been separated for about 4 years, and their custodial parents. Data from child questionnaires, parent questionnaires, and parents' ratings of children's behavior were gathered. Several adjustment scores were derived for each child: a parent-derived adjustment score, a child-derived "understanding" adjustment score, and a child-derived "feelings" adjustment score. Results suggested that

children's divorce adjustment may be a multi-dimensional phenomenon, with findings indicating that children's understanding of and feelings about the divorce were independent of each other and showed differing levels of adjustment. While few major problems were evident in terms of social cognitions regarding the divorce, e.g., little evidence of self-blame, few lingering hopes for reconciliation, the children's feelings about the divorce were not very positive. Many children had negative feelings about the news of the separation issues dealing with the loss of the noncustodial parent, changes in family relations, and just in terms of a general emotional response to the divorce. Parents' evaluations were more concordant with the children's "understanding" of the divorce rather than their feelings about it.

Kurdek et al. (in press) also reported a 2-year follow-up of 24 of the children from their original sample. Over the 2-year time interval, children's understanding of and feelings about the divorce showed impressive stability, although there was some improvement in children's feelings regarding the loss of the custodial parent. In general, results from both studies indicated that the child who is well-adjusted to his/her parents' divorce has parents who were not recently separated, is older, has an internal locus of control, and a high level of interpersonal reasoning.

Moderating Variable--Age

After 5 years post-divorce, Wallerstein and Kelly (1980) found no overall differences in adjustment within different age groups, but did find some general differences in parent-child relationships. A

larger proportion of the younger children had positive relationships with both parents, along with more frequent, regular visiting suited to the needs of the child. Thus while the initial vulnerability of the younger children was greater, this disadvantage seemed to be offset by the better quality of parenting they experienced, as compared to their older counterparts.

A number of age differences were noted by Kurdek and Siesky (1980) in the study previously noted in this section. After 4 years post-divorce, they found age to be the most powerful variable moderating children's perceptions of their parents' divorce. Specifically they found that older children were more likely than their younger counterparts to:

> (a) define divorce in terms of psychological/emotional separation; (b) be provided with a two-sided explanation of the divorce; (c) react less negatively to the news of the divorce, the loss of the noncustodial parent, and the altered nature of the family system; (d) perceive the parents' separation as final; (e) report the absence of parental fighting as a beneficial consequence of the divorce; (f) share information about the divorce with friends; (g) possess perceptions of both parents that are a realistic combination of both positive and negative attributes; (h) report qualitative improvements in interactions with the noncustodial parents; and (i) acquire strengths and responsibilities as a result of the divorce (Kurdek & Siesky, 1980, p. 375).

These findings, taken together, tend to support Hetherington's (1979) notion that the impact of divorce on children may not be more or less traumatic or debilitating at one age versus another, but that developmental status may result in qualitative differences in children's reactions and perceptions.

One interesting study by Kalter and Rembar (1981) attempted to discern some of these qualitative differences in subsequent adjustment. These authors were particularly interested in the long-term adjustment of children who had been preschool age at the time of their parents' divorce. The study implemented a 2 x 2 x 3 factorial design, including the variables of sex, age of the child at the time of study, (latency, adolescence), and age of the child at the time of divorce, [pre-Oedipal (0 - 2.5 years), Oedipal (3 - 5.5 years), and post-Oedipal (7 - 7 years]. Subjects were 144 children of divorce selected from a clinic population. A general rating of emotional disturbance and a presenting complaints checklist were used as indicators of adjustment.

Several significant findings emerged. First, it was found that separation/divorce during the child's earliest years was associated with significantly higher rates of nonaggressive disturbances in the parent-child relationship in the latency phase, reflecting perhaps, a greater vulnerability to separation-related difficulties. Secondly, several trends were noted when children were Oedipal at the time of their parents' divorce. Among adolescent girls there were higher rates of academic problems and aggression towards both parents and peers when the divorce had occurred during the Oedipal phase. In direct contrast, adolescent boys who had been Oedipal-aged, showed significantly less aggression towards parents and siblings, suggesting an inhibition of aggression in the face of adolescent psychosexual changes. These results tend to suggest that fantasies of Oedipal victory (boys) or loss (girls) may re-emerge at puberty, and exert a powerful influence on behavior in children whose parents divorced while they were still in the

midst of their Oedipal conflict. Fantasies of Oedipal victory, accompanied by anxiety and guilt, may result in boys inhibiting aggressive impulses during adolescence. Girls, on the other hand, embittered by the loss of the Oedipal object, may suddenly clash in their relationship with mother when sexual and competitive impulses are triggered by puberty.

This "time-bomb" effect for girls was also found in a study by Hetherington (1972) in a study of father-absent adolescent girls. Results indicated that while disturbances in social and emotional development in girls had largely disappeared 2 years after the parental divorce, they were likely to re-emerge at adolescence in the form of disruptions in heterosexual relations. Adolescent girls who "lost" their fathers through divorce appeared to be unusually assertive and aggressive in their interaction with males.

Moderating Variable -- Sex

Wallerstein and Kelly (1980) found that 5 years after the divorce, sex differences were of less influence than they had anticipated based on their 18-month findings. Some differences, however, did occur in parent-child relationships. While the importance of the mother-child relationship had consistently been related to overall adjustment in boys, the father-child relationship seemed to emerge as an important factor governing ego functioning in boys much more evidently at the 5-year mark. This finding seems to suggest that the father-child relationship may increase in importance to a boy's self-esteem as the boy grows older.

The importance of the father-child relationship to ego functioning, was also noted somewhat in girls, but the connection was not as strong as that for boys. Additionally, the importance of the mother-child relationship to the psychological functioning of girls increased over the 5 year period. Thus while a good relationship with both parents continued to be important for all children, after 5 years, good adjustment for boys became more highly correlated with the father-son relationship and good adjustment for girls became more highly correlated with the mother-daughter-relationship. This trend was generally true for children over the age of 9. Below that age, however, the quality of the mother-child relationship continued to be the dominant correlate of child adjustment.

Consistent with Wallerstein and Kelly's (1980) observation that, after 5 years, sex differences were less marked than they had expected, Kurdek et al. (in press) did not find children's sex to be a significant correlate of divorce adjustment after 4 and 6 years post-divorce. They also did not find that children with opposite sex custodial parents were less well-adjusted.

A study done by Lowenstein and Koopman (1979) reported a comparison of self-esteem between boys, aged 9 to 14, living with single parent mothers and boys living with single parent fathers. No significant differences were found to support the hypothesis that these two groups would differ in self-esteem. However, the self-esteem of those boys who saw their noncustodial parent once a month or more was significantly higher than the self-esteem of those boys who had less than monthly contacts with their absent parent.

Taken together, these findings seem to suggest a couple of things. First, while a good relationship with the same sex parent seems to grow in importance as a child matures, particularly after the age of 9 (Wallerstein & Kelly, 1980), a good relationship with both parents continues to be essential. Additionally, the sex of the custodial parent seems to be less critical than the continued positive relationship with both parents, mediated by frequent, regular visiting with the noncustodial parent (Kurdek et al., in press; Lowenstein, 1977).

Secondly, the contrast between the importance of sex differences on children's adjustment at the 18-month period (Wallerstein & Kelly, 1980) versus the 4- to 6-year period (Kurdek et al., in press; Wallerstein & Kelly, 1980) suggests that while boys may take a longer period of time to reestablish equilibrium following the parental divorce (Wallerstein & Kelly, 1980; Hetherington, Cox, & Cox, 1978), there do not appear, at this point, to be any long-standing differences in overall adjustment between the sexes (Wallerstein & Kelly, 1980).

ATTITUDES TOWARDS MARRIAGE AMONG
CHILDREN OF DIVORCE

One question of particular interest to divorcing parents, and their children, asks: "Will parental divorce affect a child's ability and/or desire to have a successful marital relationship when he/she reaches adulthood?" Some older research has suggested that being raised in a disrupted family might have negative consequences for psychosocial

development (Nye, 1957; Landis, 1962). Such research was based on the hypothesis that persons raised in divorced homes might be more likely to develop a personality structure that might not be conducive to establishing or maintaining stable adult relationships. Another perspective suggests that since childhood family life experiences provide the foundations for the person's expectations, attitudes, and behaviors, with respect to courtship, marriage, and family living, the occurrence of a parental divorce during childhood may have an impact on adult marital behavior. Specifically, it has been hypothesized that persons whose parents' marriage ended in divorce may be less willing to enter into the bond of marriage as an adult (Spreitzer & Riley, 1974).

There are two main approaches that have been used to clarify the relationship between parental divorce and subsequent marital attitudes and behavior. The first approach utilizes questionnaires and/or interviews in an attempt to ascertain the attitudes of children of divorce towards marriage, family, or divorce itself. The second approach focuses on the actual marital behavior of "divorced" children once they reach adulthood.

Expressed Marital Attitudes

Several studies (Moore, 1977; Kelly & Berg, 1978; Hammond, 1979; Kurdek & Siesky, 1980; Rosen, 1977) have incorporated direct questions about marital attitudes into their data collection procedures, e.g., "Do you think you'll ever get married? Why or why not?" (Kurdek & Siesky, 1980); "Did the divorce affect your desire to marry?" (Rosen, 1977). Results of such studies have not been clearcut. While some studies

(Hammond, 1979; Kelly & Berg, 1978) suggest that children of divorce are somewhat wary of marriage and family life in general, others conclude that children's fear of their own divorce is actually minimal (Kurdek & Siesky, 1980; Rosen, 1977).

To further complicate the issue, Moore's (1976) results, while showing a significant difference in marital attitudes between children from divorced vs. intact families, suggested that such differences might reflect a greater sensitivity towards adult activity and emotional relationships among children of divorce. In support of this interpretation, Bernard and Nesbitt (1981) wrote:

> There is no question that divorce has the power to shatter childhood innocence and leave a child more suspicious of the myth of marital bliss. There is no evidence, however, that this is 'bad' for children. It is equally possible that this phenomenon leaves children more realistic about their expectations of marriage or less vulnerable to the tremendous pain of disillusionment should their own marriage fail. (p.32)

In spite of the conflict between these different hypotheses, few studies have asked more than the sketchiest of questions regarding "divorced" children's attitudes towards marriage. The most complete set of attitudinal items, aimed at teasing out qualitative differences, was found in an early study by Landis (1960). Landis asked 295 undergraduate children of divorce to agree or disagree with 12 statements regarding the effects of parental divorce on their attitudes towards marriage, e.g., "I have a more realistic picture of marriage;" "I am bitter about marriage;" "It has made me more willing to compromise in getting along with others." Results indicated that attitudes towards marriage among children of divorce may be influenced by other factors,

for instance, in this case, the child's perception of the parental home as being "happy" or "unhappy" prior to the divorce. Some of Landis' attitude items were incorporated into the Marital Attitudes questionnaire used in this study. (See Methods Chapter.)

Marital Attitudes and Behavior in Adulthood

Other studies have made use of archival data to compare patterns of marital behavior among persons from "divorced" vs. "intact" family backgrounds. Using this approach, Kulka and Weingarten (cited in Rubenstein, 1980) of the Survey Research Center at the University of Michigan examined the results of two random national surveys of 2,400 Americans conducted in 1957 and 1976, in an attempt to explore generational differences. While they found no differences between people from intact and nonintact families in overall adjustment in adulthood, they did suggest that the aftershock of divorce seemed to persist in more subtle ways. One area in which the influence of parental divorce appeared evident was in the sphere of marital attitudes.

Kulka and Weingarten (cited in Rubenstein, 1980) reported that grown children of divorce were more likely to experience difficulties in their own marriages. In addition, their orientation to the marital role differed in some ways, with males tending to be less involved as fathers and females tending to be strongly involved mothers, perhaps in anticipation of their own potential status as single parents.

Indeed, the possibility of intergenerational transmission of marital instability has been proposed by some social scientists

(Spreitzer & Riley, 1974). A study by Pope and Mueller (1976) made use of five surveys (four of them from national samples) to test this hypothesis. They found that among blacks, whites, males and females, respondents from parental homes that were disrupted by death or divorce during childhood had higher rates of divorce or separation in their own first marriages. And except for black males, a greater transmission effect was found among respondents from childhood homes disrupted by divorce or separation as opposed to a parent's death. A number of other studies have also reported a small, but consistent relationship for the intergenerational transmission of marital instability (Bumpass & Sweet, 1972; Langner & Michael, 1963; Mott & Moore, 1979). Similarly, results of a study by Spreitzer and Riley (1974) suggest females reared by either the mother or father alone are more like to remain single than those raised by both parents.

More information regarding marital attitudes and behavior among children of divorce may be forthcoming in the near future as subjects of longitudinal studies reach maturity. Some preliminary findings were recently disclosed by Judith Wallerstein in the Chicago Tribune (April 19, 1982, p. 1). She reported that, after 10 years, some offspring were still suffering emotional problems seemingly related to the parental divorce. She stated that concerns about being unlovable, fears of rejection, and fears that their marriages might end up in divorce were prevalent among many children of divorce. To avert this fate, some may postpone or avoid marriage completely, while others seem strongly

motivated to choose the right partner and make their marriage work. "In most cases," she reported, "the children of divorce seem willing to take a chance on marriage and expect to do better than their parents" (p. 8).

Summary and Conclusions

A number of studies suggest that parental divorce may have an impact on children's attitudes towards marriage and their subsequent marital patterns in adulthood. It remains unclear, however, exactly how the attitudes of children of divorce may differ from other groups, or what the implications of differing patterns of marital behavior may be. Furthermore, there does not appear to be a single pattern that predicts the attitudes or behaviors of all children of divorce. While some may be bitter and/or fearful of marriage, others strongly value marriage and will strive to make the relationship work.

These differences tend to suggest that there must be moderating variables that further influence the nature of this reaction among children of divorce. The importance of age and sex as variables has already been discussed. Another variable that has been suggested by several researchers (Despert, 1962; Rosen, 1977, 1979; Burchinal, 1964; Bane, 1976; Hetherington, 1979) to be of considerable importance to both overall adjustment and marital patterns is the level of conflict experienced in the family. Intrafamilial conflict, as a moderating variable, will be considered in the next section.

FAMILY CONFLICT AS A MODERATING VARIABLE

It is important to remember that divorce is not an event which occurs in a vacuum, but rather is inextricably bound up in the context of the family system. Not all divorced families are alike; nor are all intact families alike. One important variable that seems to have an influence on children's development is intrafamily conflict. Because the occurrence of a parental divorce often coincides with a high level of family conflict, it is sometimes assumed that the two always go together. Similarly, it would be easy to mistakenly conclude that intact families must necessarily be less conflictual that "divorcing" families. Perhaps because of these assumptions, too little attention has been paid to the role that intrafamily conflict plays in children's reactions and adjustment.

Unhappy Intact Families

Kitson and Raschke (1981) suggested that the recent increase in the divorce rate may reflect an increase in unhappy marriage. Not all unhappy couples choose to divorce, however. The decision to divorce or not to divorce has been found to be related to a variety of factors, including age, religious belief, length of marriage, and wife's employment (Price-Bonham & Balswick, 1980). In fact, one study done by Renne (1971) found that it was often the healthier members of the unhappily married population who decided to divorce.

While it is difficult to estimate what proportion of intact marriages are actually unhappy, it is likely that the number would be

substantial, if for no other reason than that many couples contemplate divorce for some time before actually filing (Kitson & Raschke, 1981). Other evidence to support this contention is Weiss' (1975) estimate that approximately half of all American married couples separate at least once, while only 38%, based on a lifetime estimate, actually divorce (Glick & Norton, 1978). This suggests that there may be a fair number of married couples who remain together in spite of some marital dissatisfaction.

Since the parental relationship is a critical factor in children's adjustment, it is important to look at research in this area. One study by Hodges et al. (1979) mentioned earlier in this review, found that, in a sample of preschoolers from intact families, the worse the quality of the parental marriage (based on the mother's ratings), the higher the child's score on total pathology.

There is some consensus about the fact that interparent hostility in nondivorcing families adversely affects children's adjustment. Jacobson (1978) suggests that children may be placed in a position of scapegoat, pawn, or go-between in their parent's marriage. Mahler and Rabinovitch (1956) state that lengthy violent scenes in an existing marriage can have negative consequences for the child. And Despert (1962) suggests that, for many children of divorce, the family situation on which the divorce was based and brought to an end, may be far more destructive than the divorce itself. Finally, Michael Lamb (1977) wrote:

> ...many individuals believe that it may be preferable to maintain the fiction of a marriage at least until the children are grown, despite the acknowledgement by both parents that the marriage is unsalvageable. My argument is that when relevant research is examined closely, it becomes evident that this assumption is both misguided and potentially damaging... an embittered relationship and hostile or rejecting parent-child relationship provide a context that scarcely facilitates psychological development, and may indeed retard it. Such an environment is not invariably preferable to divorce, and is often less desirable. (p.163)

Parental Marital Status vs. Intrafamily Conflict

Ever since divorce started to become a more commonplace event, in the '60s and even before, this basic question, "Is it preferable to remain in an unsatisfactory marriage for the sake of the children?" has been raised by parents and professionals alike. A number of early studies (Goode, 1956; Landis, 1960; Burchinal, 1964; Nye, 1957) have also suggested that it may not be, or at least that the question is far from clearcut. In gathering data from some 400 divorced mothers, Goode (1956) came to question that assumption that divorce necessarily leads to poorer adjustment in children. Additionally, Goode (1956) wrote "there is some question as to whether it is the divorce or the marital conflict that does the damage..." (p. 329).

Burchinal (1964) voiced similar doubts when, in his study of adolescents from broken, unbroken, and reconstituted families, he failed to find significant differences for the majority of relationships aimed at testing the hypothesized detrimental effects of divorce on children. He also concluded, as did Goode (1956), that even in those cases where children seemed negatively affected, it was difficult to assess whether the difficulty occurred because of the divorce itself or whether it

might be reflective of the conflict preceding the separation and divorce.

When Landis (1963) compared children from broken and unbroken homes, he found that while some significant social-psychological differences did exist between the two groups, the differences were not as extreme as might have been expected. Furthermore, in several areas, adolescents from broken homes seemed better adjusted than those from unbroken homes. For instance, those adolescents from broken homes more frequently participated in family counsels and were willing to responsibly share in family problems. Also, perhaps because of having to be more aware of concerns about the adequacy of family income, adolescents from separated families often achieved economic maturity earlier than youths from intact families.

Nye (1957) also compared adolescents from broken and unbroken homes, but added the variable of the child's perception of his parents' home as "happy." Nye found that adjustment of children in unhappy, unbroken and in broken homes did not differ significantly in areas of church attendance, grades in school, participation in school activities, and in terms of delinquent companionship, i.e., there was no differences in the frequency with which the children sought out "bad company." Furthermore, in areas where differences did occur, i.e., frequency of psychosomatic illness, participation in delinquent behavior, and quality of parent-child adjustment, children from broken homes were found to be better adjusted than their peers in unhappy, unbroken homes. Nye also stated that the adjustment of parents in his study, both individually and to their spouses, was also superior in the broken homes when

compared to the unhappy, unbroken homes suggesting that there might be a lower level of interparent hostility and conflict.

Along the same lines, Herzog and Sudia (1971) did an extensive review of the literature on father absent homes, and concluded that there was little reliable data to support the finding that being raised in a single-parent (i.e., mother) family is detrimental to the child. In reviewing studies investigating a possible link to juvenile delinquency, they concluded, instead, that the quality of home life, i.e., family harmony or disharmony (conflict), was a more powerful predictor of the occurrence or nonoccurrence of adolescent acting out. In relation to this, they found that discord and conflict in the two-parent home can be more detrimental to the child than father absence in a one-parent home.

Similar conclusions have been reached by other researchers (Lamb, 1977; Berg & Kelly, 1979; Westman et al., 1970). Where problems in adjustment do occur in the children of divorce, the problems may well be attributable to other factors. One of the primary intervening variables is the level of intrafamilial conflict in the home prior to the separation and/or divorce. As a result, the question of whether children are better off in or out of a conflicted intact family is still being debated.

The manner in which parental conflict affects a child's subsequent adjustment to divorce, or how it interplays with other variables, such as age and sex, is also unclear. While it is the presence of conflict that has been proposed to account for adjustment problems among children of divorce in some studies (Goode, 1956;

Burchinal, 1964). Landis (1960), on the other hand, found that the degree of divorce trauma experienced by adolescents who could remember their parents divorce was greater for those who saw their homes as happy prior to the divorce than for those who saw their homes as characterized by open conflict between their parents prior to the divorce.

In spite of this confusion, few studies have combined both family structure and family conflict to determine what the interaction of their phenomena is on children. Some notable exceptions to this, however, are Rosen (1977; 1979), Jacobson (1978), and Raschke and Raschke (1979). In one study, Rosen (1977) compared 92 children of divorce in South Africa ranging in age from 9 to 28 with a matched control group, and found no significant differences in emotional adjustment. Additionally, however, 73 of the 92 children from the divorce sample stated in the strongest terms that they would not have chosen to have their parents stay together in conflict, and that they, in fact, perceived this to be extremely destructive. It emerged clearly from what these children said that "it was the tensions and hostilities in the marriage rather than the divorce per se which had disturbed them most" (p. 24). In a further analysis of her data, Rosen (1979) later confirmed a highly significant relationship between turbulence in the parental relationship and maladjustment in children.

In another study, Jacobson (1978) attempted to discover if there was an association between the psychosocial adjustment of "separated/ divorced" children and the expression of interparent hostility experienced by the child. Using a sample of 30 separated/divorced families including 51 children ranging in age from 3 to 13, Jacobson had

the custodial parent fill out the Louisville Behavior Checklist for each child, as well as a questionnaire measuring interparent hostility for two time periods, i.e., prior to the marital separation, and after the marital separation. Findings indicated that for children aged 3 to 13, the greater the amount of interparent hostility, the greater the maladjustment. Additional analyses were done for children, aged 3 to 6 and 7 to 13, with results showing a stronger relationship between child adjustment and interparent hostility for the older group. Specifically, the interparent behavior most likely to influence child adjustment during the preseparation period was when "one or both parents physically attacked the other," suggesting that violence may be an important component to consider.

Finally, in a noteworthy attempt to investigate both variables, marital status and family conflict, Raschke and Raschke (1979) used a subjective rating of the child's perception of conflict in the family The effect of this variable on children's self-concept was studied in a variety of family structures, including single-parent, intact, and reconstituted families. Findings supported the two major hypotheses of the study: (a) that family structure would not be a significant predictor of self-concept; and (b) that children who perceived greater family conflict would have significantly lower self-concepts. While Raschke and Raschke's (1979) study was a pioneering effort to combine both factors, marital status and conflict, the study has two limitations. First, the reliance on a simple rating of level of conflict in the home may have failed to tap real differences in intrafamilial conflict. Secondly, the conflict rating was administered

to measure conflict in the current family situation for all children, so that, in the single-parent sample, the measure failed to account for preseparation, predivorce conflict. Single-parent homes may have reported less conflict simply as an artifact of only having one adult present in the home at the time they were being asked.

The Measurement of Family Conflict

One of the methodological difficulties in studying the interaction of marital status and intrafamily conflict involves the question of _when_ and _how_ to measure conflict. Since it is not possible to predict when a separation/divorce will occur, measurement of levels of family conflict prior to the separation are necessarily retrospective and thus prone to distortion. Also, as was discussed earlier in this review, divorce is a process rather than an isolated event, and the level of family conflict may differ along various points in the process. Thus, unless clearly specified, results of one study may not be readily compared with another. For instance, Raschke and Raschke (1979) measured family conflict at the time of the study, while Jacobson (1978) took estimates of interparent hostility for both periods before and after the marital separation.

The question of _how_ to measure family conflict has also been a methodological concern. One approach has been to rely on parents' perceptions. For instance, Hodges et al., (1979) simply asked mothers to rate the quality of the marital relationship. Jacobson (1978) also utilized the parent's perceptions, but went beyond a simple rating, by using a Hostility Schedule, consisting of a series of questions aimed at

reflecting behavior of both verbal and physical hostility between parents.

Another group of studies focused on the child's perception of the family atmosphere rather than the parent's, going on the assumption that an individual reacts to a situation as he/she sees and defines it. Again, however, the measurement techniques have mostly consisted of simple ratings, i.e., happy/unhappy (Landis, 1960, 1963; Nye, 1957), high conflict/low conflict (Raschke & Raschke, 1979), disruptive/not disruptive (Bernard & Nesbitt, 1981) or responses to an interview question (Rosen, 1977, 1979). These measurements have not sufficiently differentiated between the type of conflict, e.g., verbal aggression, physical violence, or the source of the conflict, e.g., marital relationship, parent-child relationship.

One advancement in the area of measuring conflict was the construction of the Conflict Tactics Scale designed by Straus (1979) to address just those issues. The Scale is a paper and pencil measure that distinguishes three types of conflict tactics (Reasoning, Verbal Aggression, Violence), and four sources of conflict (Relationships between Mother-Father, Mother-Child, Father-Child, and Sibling-Child). Thus far, the Conflict Tactic Scale Scale has been used in studies researching violence in the family (Bulcroft & Straus, Note 4; Straus, 1979; Straus, Gelles, & Steinmetz, 1980), but has not yet been utilized to measure the impact of family conflict on children's adjustment.

Summary

Whether in intact or divorced families, intrafamilial conflict appears to be associated with child adjustment. It has often been difficult in the research to distinguish between the effects of divorce and the effects of family conflict. While results are still inconclusive, many authors suggest that, where detrimental effects do occur for children, it may be predivorce conflict, rather than the divorce itself, that precipitates adjustment problems. Few studies have considered both variables, family structure and intrafamilial conflict, together, in an attempt to discern the effects on children. Furthermore, methodological limitations on the measurement of family conflict have further restricted the possibility of drawing clearcut conclusions. The construction of the Conflict Tactics Scale by Straus (1979) may be a forward step in clarifying this issue.

HYPOTHESES

The purpose of this thesis was to investigate the effects of parental divorce and intrafamilial conflict on college students' attitudes towards marriage. Several hypotheses were proposed:

(1) It was hypothesized that the level of intrafamilial conflict is a more powerful predictor of attitudes towards marriage than parents' marital status. More specifically, it was hypothesized:

(a) That a high level of conflict is associated with more negative attitudes towards marriage for all subjects, but more particularly for those from intact families.

(b) That subjects from intact families with low conflict
would have the most positive attitudes towards marriage.

The rationale for these hypotheses was based on the supposition
that if intrafamilial conflict is a critical variable in predicting
subsequent marital attitudes, then its impact will be most potent in
intact families where the length of time is likely to be greater than in
separated/divorced families. Thus, it would be expected that subjects
from intact families with low conflict would have the most positive
attitudes towards marriage while those subjects from intact families who
have experienced a high degree of conflict would express the most
negative attitudes towards marriage.

(2) It was also hypothesized that both the nature of the tactics
used to resolve conflict, and the source of the intrafamilial
conflict, will further influence marital attitudes. More
specifically, it was hypothesized:

(a) That a high level of intrafamilial violence is more
closely associated with negative marital attitudes than
high levels of reasoning or verbal aggression.

(b) That a high level of conflict between parents is more
closely associated with negative marital attitudes than
high levels of sibling or parent-child conflict.

The rationale for Hypothesis 2a is based on the supposition that
violence is a more disruptive form of conflict than either reasoning or
verbal aggression, and thus is more likely to have a long-lasting
negative impact on attitudes towards marriage and family life.

Hypothesis 2b is based upon the theory that the parental relationship is a primary model for marital relationships, and thus will have a more significant effect on marital attitudes than the parent-child or sibling relationship.

(3) It was hypothesized that the age of the subject at the time of the parental separation/divorce is a moderating variable influencing subsequent attitudes towards marriage. More specifically, it was hypothesized:

(a) That for the youngest group of children of divorce, the level of conflict has less of a differential impact on marital attitudes than for the older groups.

(b) That in the two older groups, the level of conflict is inversely related to marital attitudes, i.e., high conflict will be related to negative attitudes.

The rationale for the first hypothesis is based on the assumption that a child's age and thus, cognitive maturity, influence his/her perspective on divorce as an alternative to chronic conflict. Therefore, younger children are more likely to focus solely on the loss of the parent, regardless of level of conflict, while older children exposed to a high degree of conflict may also experience the divorce as a relief from the chronically turbulent predivorce environment.

The rationale for the second hypothesis is based, again, on the supposition that, if intrafamilial conflict is a critical variable in predicting subsequent marital attitudes, then its impact will be greatest in the oldest group, where the subjects' will have been exposed to this conflict for the longest period of time.

Considered together, these hypotheses predict the interaction illustrated in Figure 1.
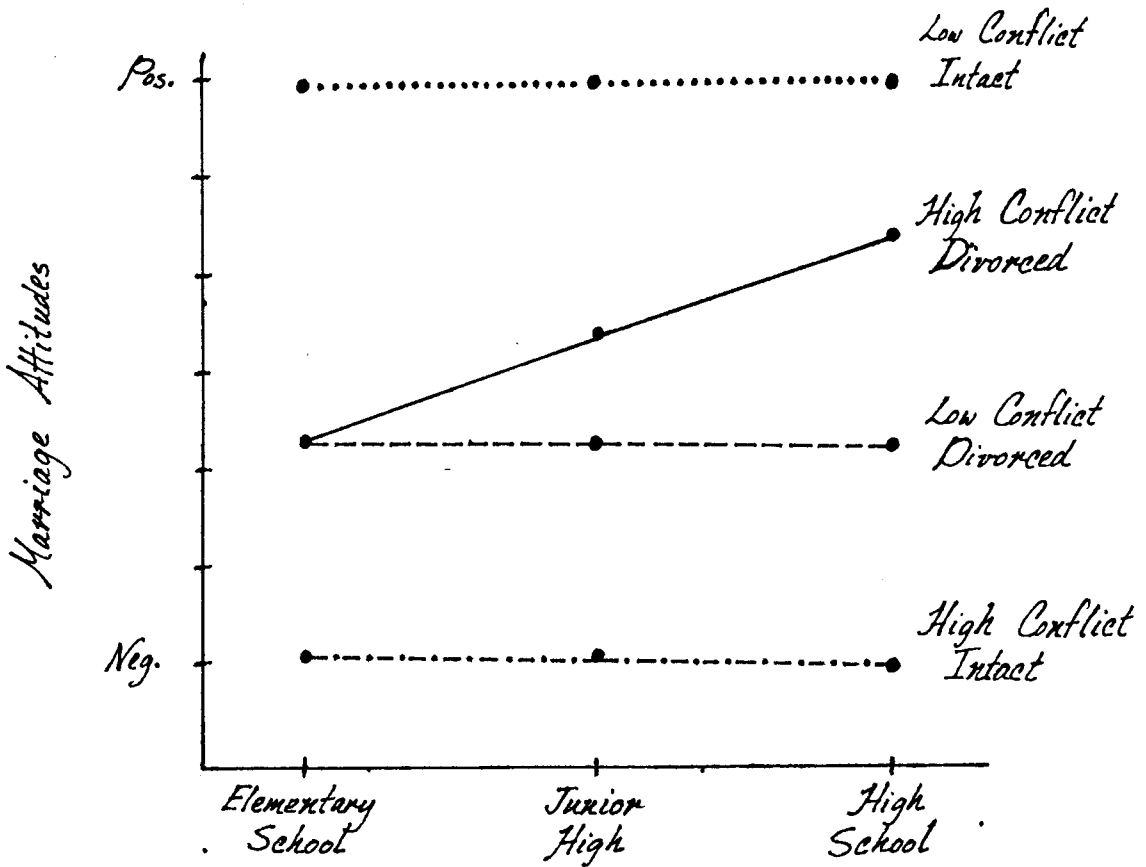
Figure 1.

HYPOTHESIZED INTERACTION EFFECTS OF PARENTS'

MARITAL STATUS, LEVEL OF INTRAFAMILIAL

CONFLICT, AND DEVELOPMENTAL PHASE ON

MARITAL ATTITUDE SCORES

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

Subjects

Subjects were drawn from a large pool of students taking undergraduate psychology courses at Loyola University of Chicago, a mid-sized Catholic university in the Midwest. On the basis of a short screening questionnaire (see Appendix A), 60 "separated/divorced" subjects who had experienced a parental separation between the ages of 6 to 18 were obtained. These subjects were then divided into three equal subsamples of 20: (a) those for whom the separation occurred between the ages of 6 to 9 (Elementary School sample); (b) those for whom the separation occurred between the ages of 10 to 13 (Junior High sample); and (c) those for whom the separation occurred between the ages of 14 to 18 (High School sample). Subjects whose parents were divorced prior to age 6 were excluded from the study because it was decided that the "Conflict" data gathered from this sample might tend to be unreliable.

An equal number of subjects from intact homes, matched for sex, were randomly selected from the subject pool and, again randomly, assigned to one of the following three subsamples: (a) Elementary School (6 to 9); (b) Junior High (10 to 13); and (c) High School (14 to 18), to ensure that age (or more specifically, perceptions of family conflict at various ages) would be similarly represented in both the "Separated/Divorced" and "Intact" samples.

82

Subjects selected for participation on the basis of the screening questionnaire were called by the investigator by telephone and asked to participate. Subjects were informed that the study was investigating the influence of certain family patterns on attitudes towards marriage, and that they would be asked to fill out several questionnaires, requiring a time commitment of approximately 45 minutes. Subject participation was voluntary, and subjects were informed, prior to their participation, that they could discontinue at any point, should they find any of the questions objectionable or disturbing. In some classes, subjects received extra credit for their participation, while others did not. In no case, however, did a subject requested to participate, refuse or choose to terminate the task prematurely. None of the subjects reported being disturbed by any item in these questionnaires.

The ages of subjects at the time of data collection ranged from 17 to 23 years of age, with a modal age of 18 and a mean age of 18.6 years. Subjects in the six subsamples were not substantially different in terms of age, family position, or number of children in the family. More complete data on subject composition of the subsamples can be found in Table 1 (subject's age), Table 2 (family position) and Table 3 (number of children in the family).

Female subjects outnumbered males by a ratio of about 3:1. This difference probably reflects a higher proportion of female students enrolled in psychology classes, however, rather than any sex difference among divorcing families. Upon examination of the data, it was also

TABLE 1

COMPOSITION OF SUBSAMPLES OF SEPARATED/DIVORCED (S/D)
AND INTACT SUBJECTS BY AGE

| | Elementary | | Junior High | | High School | |
	S/D	Intact	S/D	Intact	S/D	Intact
Age in Years						
17	0	0	2	0	0	3
18	9	15	12	12	12	11
19	3	4	3	6	6	2
20	7	1	1	1	2	3
21	1	0	0	0	0	0
22	0	0	2	0	0	1
23	0	0	0	1	0	0
Total	20	20	20	20	20	20
Mean Age	19	18.3	18.6	18.7	18.5	18.5

TABLE 2

COMPOSITION OF SUBSAMPLES OF SEPARATED/DIVORCED (S/D)
AND INTACT SUBJECTS BY ORDINAL POSITION
IN THE FAMILY

	Elementary		Junior High		High School	
	S/D	Intact	S/D	Intact	S/D	Intact
Position in Family						
Only Child	1	1	1	1	0	2
Oldest Child	5	7	5	7	6	5
Middle Child	11	7	8	7	11	7
Youngest Child	3	5	6	5	3	6

TABLE 3

COMPOSITION OF SUBSAMPLES OF SEPARATED/DIVORCED (S/D)
AND INTACT SUBJECTS BY NUMBER OF
CHILDREN IN SUBJECT'S FAMILY

No. of Children in Family	Elementary		Junior High		High School	
	S/D	Intact	S/D	Intact	S/D	Intact
1	1	1	1	1	0	1
2	4	6	3	4	3	5
3	7	4	5	5	8	4
4	0	5	6	6	8	3
5	4	1	3	2	0	4
6	2	1	0	1	1	1
7	0	0	2	1	0	1
8	0	0	0	0	0	0
9	1	1	0	0	0	0
10	0	0	0	0	0	0
11	1	1	0	0	0	0
Total	20	20	20	20	20	20
Mean No. of Children in Family	4.1	3.8	3.8	3.6	3.4	3.4

discovered that there were some differences in racial representation among the six subsamples. A more complete breakdown of subjects' sex and race can be found in Table 4.

Materials

Screening Questionnaire. This instrument (see Appendix A) was used as a quick screening tool to identify students who might be appropriate for participation in this study. Administration of this questionnaire took approximately 5 to 10 minutes. Subjects were selected and assigned to subsamples on the basis of information obtained with this questionnaire.

Conflict Tactics Scale. Form A of the Conflict Tactics Scale was used in this study as a measure of family conflict (see Appendix B). The Conflict Tactics Scales is a paper and pencil instrument constructed by Straus (1979) to measure intrafamilial conflict. It consists of a list of actions which a family member might take in a conflict with another member. The items start with those low in coerciveness and become increasingly coercive and aggressive towards the end of the list. The six response categories require the subject to indicate the frequency with which a particular action occurred, ranging from "never" to "more than once a month."

The Conflict Tactics Scale was developed, using a 3 x 8 factorial design, in which three types of Conflict Tactics, i.e., Reasoning, Verbal Aggression, Violence, and eight sources of Relationship Conflict, i.e., Husband to Wife, Wife to Husband, Mother to

TABLE 4

COMPOSITION OF SUBSAMPLES OF SEPARATED/DIVORCED (S/D)
AND INTACT SUBJECTS BY SUBJECTS' SEX AND RACE

	Elementary		Junior High		High School	
	S/D	Intact	S/D	Intact	S/D	Intact
MALES						
White	5	3	6	5	5	5
Black	0	1	0	1	0	0
Hispanic	0	0	0	0	0	0
Oriental	0	1	0	0	0	0
Total	5	5	6	6	5	5
FEMALES						
White	11	13	10	13	13	13
Black	4	0	1	0	1	1
Hispanic	0	2	3	1	1	1
Oriental	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	15	15	14	14	15	15

Child, Child to Mother, Father to Child, Child to Father, Sibling to Child, Child to Sibling, can be distinguished. Because of this factorial design, a variety of scores can be derived from the scale, including: a single General Conflict score; three tactics scores for Reasoning, Verbal Aggression, and Violence; four "role relationship" scores, i.e., Parental, Mother-Child, Father-Child, Sibling; and 24 individual subscores, obtained by crossing all components of the 3 x 8 matrix.

Data on the reliability and validity of the Conflict Tactics Scale is reported by Straus (1979). An item analysis of Form A of the scale (the form used in this study) indicated an adequate level of reliability. Besides the evident "face validity," evidence of concurrent validity is reported in a study by Bulcroft and Straus (1975). Studies evidencing some measure of construct validity are also cited by Straus (1979).

Attitudes Towards Marriage Questionnaire. The Attitudes Towards Marriage Questionnaire (see Appendix C) is a Likert-type scale, aimed at measuring the degree of positiveness or negativity in the subject's view of marriage. This scale was constructed by this investigator for use in this study, after a search through the literature for an appropriate instrument proved unproductive.

The construction of this research tool required two basic steps. The first step entailed the collection of a pool of statements about marriage that would reflect a variety of attitudes ranging from positive to negative. Some items were taken from a study of marital attitudes

done by Landis (1963). Additional items were derived from general readings in the area of marital satisfaction, or were simply products of the investigator's imagination. A basic pool of 32 statements was developed.

In the second step of the scale construction, 30 judges (undergraduate and graduate students in psychology) were asked to independently rate each statement as representing a positive, negative, or neutral view of marriage. Only those items for which there was at least 80% agreement (i.e., 24 out of 30 raters), were included in the actual questionnaire.

The final form of the questionnaire was composed of eight "negative," eight "positive," and six "neutral" (unscored) items. For each statement, subjects were asked to indicate whether they "strongly agreed," "somewhat agreed," "somewhat disagreed," or "strongly disagreed." Statements were counterbalanced so that agreement did not always coincide with either a positive or negative valence. Items were scored, 0, 1, 2, or 3 with 0 representing the negative end of the continuum, and 3 representing the positive. The range of possible scores was 0 to 48. Actual scores in this study ranged from 15 to 48, indicating that a reasonable amount of variance was being tapped by the instrument.

Procedure

Subjects were divided into six subsamples, as described above, on the basis of information obtained from the Screening questionnaire. The Conflict Tactics Scale was then administered under four specific

instructional categories. Subjects in the three Separation/Divorce subsamples were asked to fill out the scale as they remembered conditions in their family during the year prior to their parents separation. Subjects in the Intact subsamples were asked to fill out the scale in accordance with their assignment to age groups, e.g., those assigned to the Elementary School sample were asked to complete the scale as they remembered conditions in their family during that period. Similar instructions were given to the Junior High and High School groups. In addition, all subjects were administered the Attitudes Towards Marriage Questionnaire.

For purposes of data analysis, the Conflict Tactics Scale was scored and subjects were divided on the basis of their General Conflict Score into one of four categories: (a) Separated/Divorced - High Conflict; (b) Separated/Divorced - Low Conflict; (c) Intact - High Conflict; and (d) Intact - Low Conflict. Differences in Marital Attitudes scores were examined in relation to these four categories. Three-way analyses of variance were done to investigate the effects of Parents' Marital Status, Developmental Phase and various conflict variables on Marital Attitude scores.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

RELATIONSHIP OF MARITAL ATTITUDES WITH PARENTS'

MARITAL STATUS, CHILD'S DEVELOPMENTAL PHASE, AND

LEVEL OF GENERAL INTRAFAMILIAL CONFLICT

Means and standard deviations of Marital Attitude scores in each subsample are presented in Table 5. To test the first hypothesis that a high level of conflict is a more powerful predictor of negative marital attitudes than divorce, a three-way analysis of variance was used to analyze the relationship of Parents' Marital Status, Child's Developmental Phase, and level of Intrafamilial Conflict with Marital Attitudes. A median split was performed on General Conflict scores derived from the Conflict Tactics Scale within each cell to define high and low conflict groups.

Results

Results of this analysis are presented in Table 6. The main effect for Parents' Marital Status was found to be highly significant, $F(1,108)=13.191$, $p<.001$. No other main effect or interaction effect obtained significance at or beyond the .05 level. Results indicate that the presence of a parental divorce was associated with more negative marital attitudes. The hypothesis that a high level of intrafamilial conflict would be associated with negative attitudes towards marriage

TABLE 5

MEANS AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS OF MARITAL
ATTITUDE SCORES BY SUBSAMPLES

| | High Conflict | | Low Conflict | |
	$\underline{M}$	$\underline{SD}$	$\underline{M}$	$\underline{SD}$
DIVORCED				
Elementary	32.2	6.68	31.6	8.79
Junior High	30.9	5.47	35.4	5.68
High School	30.9	6.95	30.8	5.58
INTACT				
Elementary	36.9	7.18	40.1	7.19
Junior High	37.9	7.84	34.8	5.13
High School	37.4	8.48	35.3	6.89

TABLE 6

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE FOR PARENTS' MARITAL STATUS,
CHILD'S DEVELOPMENTAL PHASE AND LEVEL OF TOTAL INTRAFAMILIAL
CONFLICT TO ATTITUDES TOWARDS MARRIAGE

SOURCE OF VARIATION	df	MS	F
Main Effects			
Parents' Marital Status	1	730.133	13.191*
Developmental Phase	2	25.133	.465
Level of Total Intrafamilial Conflict	1	4.033	.073
2-Way Interactions			
Marital Status/Intrafamilial Conflict	1	24.300	.439
Marital Status/Developmental Phase	2	40.433	.730
Intrafamilial Conflict/ Developmental Phase	2	16.533	.299
3-Way Interactions			
Marital Status/Intrafamilial Conflict/Developmental Phase	2	75.701	1.368

*$p < .001$

was not supported, however. Similarly, the developmental phase for which conflict data were collected did not significantly affect scores on the dependent measure.

In doing the median splits to define high and low conflict levels, it was apparent that there were differences in the level of conflict in the intact cells versus the divorced cells that might be confounding the results in the three-way analysis of variance. These numbers are presented in Table 7. Specifically, the median for General Conflict scores in the intact group was 185.5 ($\underline{M}$ = 184.88, $\underline{SD}$ = 55.07), as opposed to the divorced group's median of 157 ($\underline{M}$ = 161.03, $\underline{SD}$ = 61.12). As can be seen in the table, subsample medians and means differed substantially within the six groups, ranging from a low median of 106.5 ($\underline{M}$ = 131.5, $\underline{SD}$ = 59.31) in the youngest divorced group to a high median of 200 ($\underline{M}$ = 197.9, $\underline{SD}$ = 46.97) in the youngest intact group. These differences raised the questions of whether these groups were readily comparable and whether the General Conflict variable was independent of the Marital Status and Developmental Phase variables. Thus, in order to ascertain whether Marital Status and Developmental phase were related to General Conflict level, a two-way analysis of variance was done, using General Conflict scores as the dependent variable.

Results are presented in Table 8. A significant main effect was found for Parents' Marital Status, $\underline{F}$ (1,114) = 5.457, $\underline{p}$ < .02, indicating that a higher level of General Conflict was found in the intact samples. Additionally, a significant interaction effect was found for Marital Status and Developmental Phase, $\underline{F}$ (2,114) = 4.505, $\underline{p}$ <

TABLE 7

MEDIANS, MEANS, AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS OF
GENERAL CONFLICT SCORES WITHIN SUBSAMPLES

	Median	Mean	Standard Deviation
DIVORCED			
Elementary School	106.5	131.50	59.31
Junior High School	169.5	190.85	69.98
High School	161.5	160.75	31.07
Total	157.0	161.03	61.12
INTACT			
Elementary School	200.0	197.90	46.97
Junior High School	186.5	190.70	55.87
High School	158.5	170.95	54.81
Total	185.5	184.88	55.07

TABLE 8

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE FOR PARENTS' MARITAL STATUS AND
CHILD'S DEVELOPMENTAL PHASE TO LEVEL OF GENERAL CONFLICT

SOURCE OF VARIATION	df	MS	F
Main Effects			
Parents' Marital Status	1	17564.672	5.457*
Developmental Phase	2	7324.508	2.342
2-Way Interactions			
Marital Status/Developmental Phase	2	14086.469	4.505**

*$p < .05$
**$p < .01$

.01. Results showed that this difference in level of General Conflict was most pronounced in the Elementary School sample with the divorced subjects reporting far less General Conflict ($\underline{M}$ = 131.50) than the intact subjects ($\underline{M}$ = 197.90). This finding is in contrast to the usual assumption that a higher level of conflict will exist in the predivorce home as opposed to the intact home.

Pearson product-moment correlations were computed to ascertain whether the level of General Conflict was related to Marital Attitude scores. While, overall, there was no significant correlation, when computations were done separately for intact and divorced samples, a significant negative correlation between level of General Conflict in divorced homes and Marital Attitude scores was found, $\underline{r}$ (58) = -.21, $\underline{p}$ < .05, lending some support to the hypothesis that a high level of conflict would be associated with negative attitudes towards marriage. A summary of all Pearson product-moment correlations is presented in Table 9.

Discussion

The first hypothesis that a high level of conflict is a more powerful predictor of negative marital attitudes than divorce was not supported.

Contrary to expectations, results indicated a consistent highly significant association between Parental Divorce and negative Marital Attitudes, regardless of the level of General Conflict in the family prior to the divorce. While it is somewhat surprising that overall General Conflict had so little impact, this finding strongly underscores

TABLE 9

SUMMARY OF PEARSON PRODUCT-MOMENT CORRELATIONS FOR
CONFLICT SCORES WITH MARITAL ATTITUDE SCORES

| | MARITAL ATTITUDES | | |
	Total	Divorced	Intact
General Conflict	−.02	−.21*	.02
Sibling Conflict	.00	−.17	.04
Father-Child Conflict	.07	−.17	.07
Mother-Child Conflict	.05	−.11	.06
Parental Conflict	−.17	−.15	−.02
Intrafamilial Reasoning	.19	−.12	.27**
Intrafamilial Verbal Aggression	−.06	−.09	−.14
Intrafamilial Violence	−.16*	−.27**	.06
Sibling to Child Conflict	−.01	−.18	.08
Child to Sibling Conflict	.00	−.16	.00
Father to Child Conflict	.00	−.18	.04
Child to Father Conflict	.14*	−.09	.08
Mother to Child Conflict	.04	−.16	.06

* $p \leq .05$
** $p \leq .01$
*** $p \leq .001$

TABLE 9 Continued

SUMMARY OF PEARSON PRODUCT-MOMENT CORRELATIONS FOR
CONFLICT SCORES WITH MARITAL ATTITUDE SCORES

| | MARITAL ATTITUDES | | |
	Total	Divorced	Intact
Child to Mother Conflict	.09	-.13	.04
Father to Mother Conflict	-.18*	-.12	.08
Mother to Father Conflict	-.14*	-.15	.02
Sibling-Child Reasoning	.00	-.22*	.06
Father-Child Reasoning	.21**	-.11	.29**
Mother-Child Reasoning	.05*	-.07	.20*
Parental Reasoning	.25**	.04	.28**
Sibling-Child Verbal Aggression	.05	-.02	-.01
Father-Child Verbal Aggression	.01	-.06	-.09
Mother-Child Verbal Aggression	-.03	-.13	-.13

* $p \leq .05$
** $p \leq .01$
*** $p \leq .001$

TABLE 9 Continued

SUMMARY OF PEARSON PRODUCT-MOMENT CORRELATIONS FOR
CONFLICT SCORES WITH MARITAL ATTITUDE SCORES

| | MARITAL ATTITUDES | | |
	Total	Divorced	Intact
Parental Verbal Aggression	-.19**	-.01	-.20
Sibling-Child Violence	-.08	-.16	.04
Father-Child Violence	-.07	-.14	.04
Mother-Child Violence	-.04	-.18	.00
Parental Violence	-.33***	-.29**	-.15

   * p ≤ .05
  ** p ≤ .01
 *** p ≤ .001

the importance of parental divorce for children even years after the event itself.

There may be several reasons why this hypothesis was not supported. The first of these relates specifically to the nature of the dependent variable. Feelings and attitudes about marriage, family, and interpersonal intimacy may be specific areas in which residual effects of parental divorce persist even after equilibrium has been restored in other areas of functioning. Other studies, which have offered more optimistic views, reporting few long-term adverse effects related to parental divorce alone, have tended to focus on a more global assessment of adjustment. For example, Kurdek et al. (in press) based their assessment of child adjustment on a composite of several questionnaires administered to both parents and children encompassing a broad spectrum of variables, including: (a) personality and behavioral variables, e.g., anxiety, achievement, social skills; (b) children's perceptions of the divorce, e.g., "What does it mean when two people get divorced?"; and (c) feeling reactions, e.g., initial reactions to news of the divorce, and acceptance of parents. Similarly, Reinhard's (1977) questionnaire on overall adjustment to parental divorce included questions in 10 different areas from "Loss of Parent" to "School Performance" to "General Reaction." In contrast, this study focused specifically on only one area in which parental divorce might have an impact, i.e., marital attitudes.

It may be that, while children of divorce are well-functioning in many life areas, giving the impression of overall good adjustment, that effects of the parental divorce experience persist in more subtle

ways, in relatively circumscribed areas, such as marriage and family life. Some evidence for this possibility was presented in Kulka and Weingarten's (cited in Rubenstein, 1980) study that found no differences between young adults from divorced and intact family backgrounds in overall adjustment or depression, but did find differences in frequency of marital problems and ideological orientation to marriage, Similarly, Wallerstein (Chicago Tribune, April 19, 1982) reported that, 10 years post-divorce, children of divorce expressed a variety of concerns specifically to do with marriage.

The main finding of this study may indicate that marital attitudes represent one of these circumscribed areas in which parental divorce leaves its mark long after its effects in other areas have faded. Thus one interpretation of the results in this study is that, at least with regard to the area of marital attitudes, parental divorce does have a longstanding impact. That impact outweighs differences that appear to occur as correlates of general intrafamilial conflict.

Another possible explanation for the nonsignificant effect of General Conflict and the highly significant effect of Parents' Marital Status, is that conflict is viewed differently depending on the outcome. Thus, children of divorce may have come to believe that conflict resolution tactics are unsuccessful and conclude that any conflict will therefore inevitably lead to the dissolution of a relationship, while subjects from intact backgrounds may have a more benign view of conflict in general.

A third reason why the relationship between General Conflict scores and Marital Attitudes might have proved to be nonsignificant is

because General Conflict alone was too broad a variable to account for the more subtle differences in the nature of conflict experienced in divorced versus intact homes. It may have been that the type of conflict prevalent in the intact families was so different from that in divorced families that direct comparison between the two on levels of General Conflict would be meaningless.

In order to find evidence that might support these two latter possibilities, it is necessary to look at the results of the analyses done on specific conflict resolution tactics, in the following sections. Thus, these two possibilities will be discussed more fully in the next chapter.

RELATIONSHIP OF MARITAL ATTITUDES WITH PARENTS'
MARITAL STATUS, CHILD'S DEVELOPMENTAL PHASE, AND
CONFLICT TACTICS

In order to further clarify the role, if any, of intrafamilial conflict on the formation of marital attitudes, additional analyses were performed on Conflict Tactics scores. Separate three-way analyses of variance were used to analyze the relationship of Parents' Marital Status, Developmental Phase, and (a) level of Reasoning; (b) level of Verbal Aggression; and (c) level of Violence with Marital Attitude scores. Again median splits within each cell were used to define high and low tactics levels.

Secondly, in order to discern possible differences in the frequency with which the three conflict tactics were employed in intact

versus divorced families, separate two-way analyses of variance were done analyzing; (a) Reasoning, (b) Verbal Aggression and (c) Violence, by Parents' Marital Status and Developmental Phase.

Finally, Pearson product-moment correlations between the various Conflict Tactics scores and Marital Attitude scores were computed.

It was expected that the nature of the tactics used to resolve conflict would further influence marital attitudes. Specifically, it was hypothesized that a high level of Intrafamilial Violence is more closely associated with negative Marital Attitudes than high levels of Reasoning or Verbal Aggression.

Results

Reasoning. In the three-way analysis of variance investigating the relationship of Parents' Marital Status, Developmental Phase, and Reasoning with Marital Attitudes, the significant main effect of Marital Status was again confirmed, F (1,108) = 13.836, p <.001. (This finding appeared in all three-way analyses of variance.) No additional main effects were found to be significant at or beyond the .05 level. The interaction between Marital Status and level of Reasoning, however, was significant, F (1,108) = 6.191, p < .01. Results are presented in Table 10.

Results show that, while Marital Attitude scores tended to be lower, or more negative across the board in the divorced group, where Reasoning is a preferred tactic (i.e., high level of Reasoning), attitude scores for divorced subjects tended to be even lower, while high levels of Reasoning were associated with more positive attitudes

TABLE 10

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE FOR PARENTS' MARITAL STATUS,
CHILD'S DEVELOPMENTAL PHASE, AND LEVEL OF INTRAFAMILIAL
REASONING TO ATTITUDES TOWARDS MARRIAGE

SOURCE OF VARIATION	df	MS	F
Main Effects			
Parent's Marital Status	1	730.133	13.836***
Development Phase	2	25.733	.488
Level of Intrafamilial Reasoning	1	20.833	.395
2-Way Interactions			
Marital Status/Reasoning	1	326.700	6.191**
Marital Status/ Developmental Phase	2	40.433	.766
Reasoning/Developmental Phase	2	24.033	.455
3-Way Interactions			
Marital Status/Developmental Phase/Reasoning	2	48.100	.912

**p $\leq$ .01
***p $\leq$ .001

within the intact sample. This relationship can be viewed more clearly in Figure 2.

In the two-way analysis of variance analyzing the Reasoning scores in relation to Marital Status and Developmental Phase, main effects of Marital Status, F (1,114) = 33,265, p < .001, and Developmental Phase, F (2,114) = 3.381, p < .05, and the interaction effect, F (2,114) = 5.303, p < .01, were all significant. Results are presented in Table 11.

Results indicate that Reasoning as a tactic for conflict resolution was used significantly more frequently in the intact families than in the divorced families. This difference was most pronounced in the Elementary School phase, where far less Reasoning was reported by divorced subjects. This relationship can be viewed more clearly in Figure 3.

The Pearson correlations indicated that the extent to which Reasoning was employed in the family was significantly related to Marital Attitudes, r (118) = .19, p < .01. This correlation for just intact subjects was larger, r (58) = .27, p < .01, as can be seen in Table 9.

Verbal Aggression. The three-way analysis of variance examining the relationship of Parents' Marital Status, Developmental Phase, and level of Verbal Aggression with Marital Attitude scores failed to produce any significant effects other than the aforementioned main effect of Parents' Marital Status. Thus, Verbal Aggression did not appear to be associated with negative attitudes towards marriage in either the divorced or intact samples. Results are presented in Table 12.
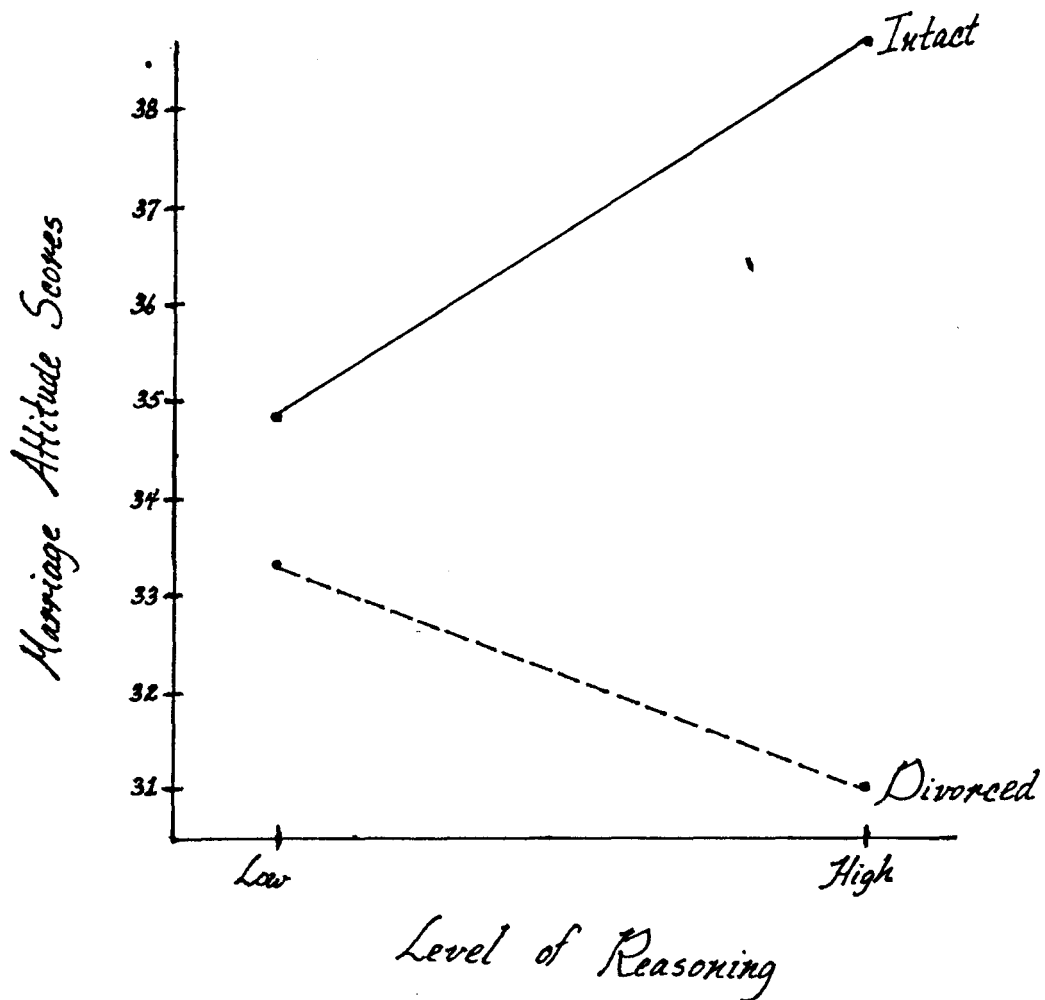
FIGURE 2

INTERACTION EFFECTS OF PARENTS' MARITAL STATUS
AND LEVEL OF INTRAFAMILIAL REASONING ON
MARRIAGE ATTITUDE SCORES

TABLE 11

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE FOR PARENTS´ MARITAL STATUS AND
CHILD´S DEVELOPMENTAL PHASE TO LEVEL OF INTRAFAMILIAL REASONING

SOURCE OF VARIATION	df	MS	F
Main Effects			
Parents´ Marital Status	1	22195.199	33.265***
Developmental Phase	2	2256.059	3.381*
2-Way Interactions			
Parents´ Marital Status/ Developmental Phase	2	3538.084	5.303**

*p < .05
**p < .01
***p < .001
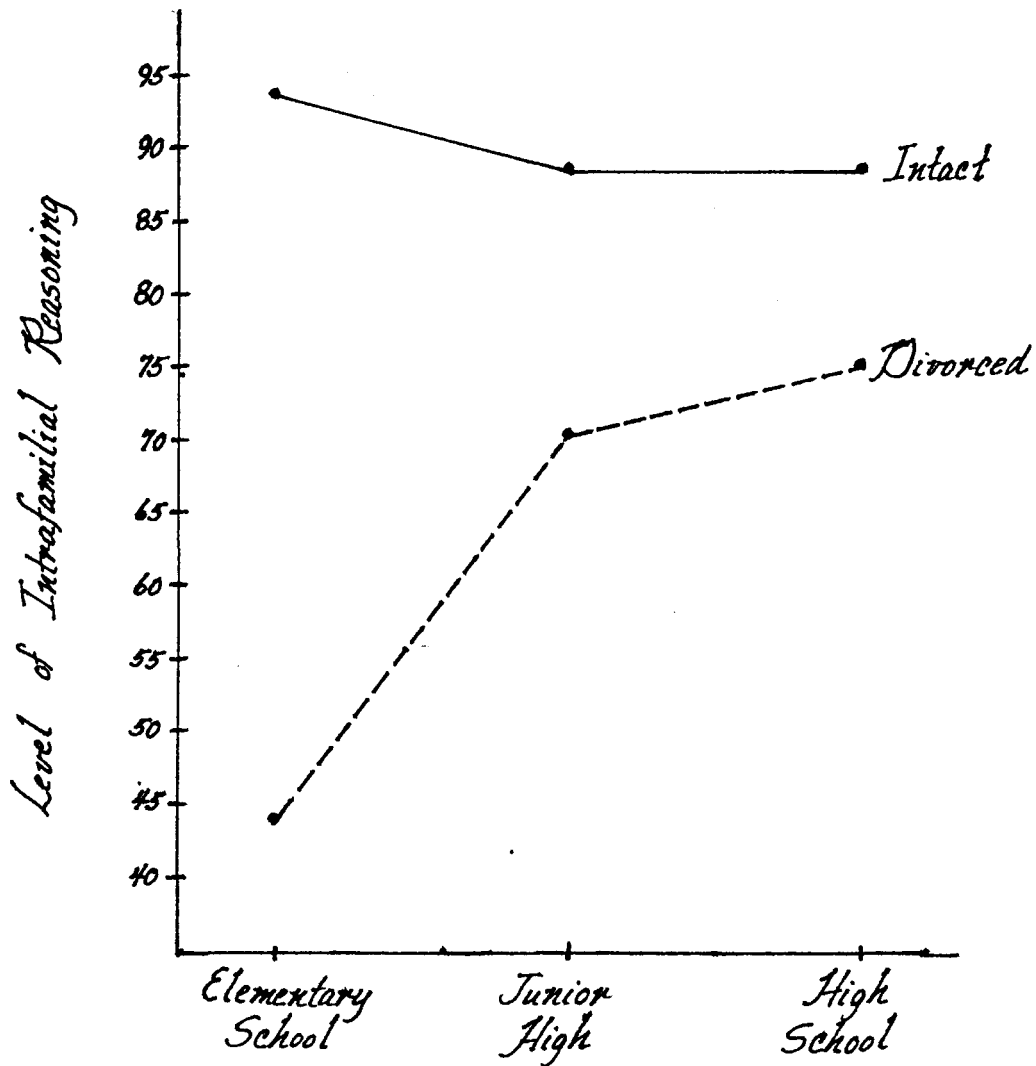
FIGURE 3

INTERACTION EFFECTS OF PARENTS' MARITAL STATUS
AND DEVELOPMENTAL PHASE ON LEVEL OF
INTRAFAMILIAL REASONING

TABLE 12

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE FOR PARENTS' MARITAL STATUS,
CHILD'S DEVELOPMENTAL PHASE, AND LEVEL OF INTRAFAMILIAL
VERBAL AGGRESSION TO ATTITUDES TOWARDS MARRIAGE

SOURCE OF VARIATION	df	MS	F
Main Effects			
Parents' Marital Status	1	730.133	13.209***
Developmental Phase	2	25.733	.466
Level of Intrafamilial Verbal Aggression	1	8.533	.154
2-Way Interactions			
Marital Status/Verbal Aggression	1	13.333	.241
Marital Status/Developmental Phase	2	40.434	.731
Verbal Aggression/ Developmental Phase	2	73.034	1.321
3-Way Interactions			
Marital Status/Developmental Phase/Verbal Aggression	2	26.534	.480

***$p \leq .001$

A two-way analysis of variance analyzing Verbal Aggression in relation to Marital Status and Developmental Phase produced significant main effects for both Marital Status, F (1,114) = 3.815, p < .05, and Developmental Phase, F (2,114) = 4.184, p < .01. Results are presented in Table 13. Results indicate that there was more Verbal Aggression in intact families, and that higher levels of Verbal Aggression were reported by subjects in the Junior High sample.

A Pearson correlation indicated that Verbal Aggression, specifically within the parental relationship, was negatively related to subjects' Marital Attitudes, r (118) = -19, p < .01 in the total sample. Refer to Table 9. This was contributed primarily by the relationship in the intact sample.

Violence. In addition to the significant main effect of Marital Status, the three-way analysis of variance analyzing the relationship of Parents' Marital Status, Developmental Phase, and level of Violence with Marital Attitudes, showed a significant main effect for level of Intrafamilial Violence, F (1,108) = 3.77, p < .05. This result indicated that a high level of Violence in the family was associated with negative views of marriage in both intact and divorced samples. The main effect of Developmental Phase, and the interaction effects did not reach significance in this analysis. Results are presented in Table 14.

A two-way analysis of variance analyzing Intrafamilial Violence in relation to Parents' Marital Status and Developmental Phase produced significant main effects for both Marital Status, F (1,114) = 5.488, p < .01, and Developmental Phase, F (2,114) = 8.18, p < .001. Results

TABLE 13

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE FOR PARENTS' MARITAL STATUS AND CHILD'S DEVELOPMENTAL PHASE TO LEVEL OF INTRAFAMILIAL VERBAL AGGRESSION

SOURCE OF VARIATION	df	MS	F
Main Effects			
Parents' Marital Status	1	1650.800	3.815*
Developmental Phase	2	2907.408	4.184**
2-Way Interactions			
Parents' Marital Status/ Developmental Phase	2	1587.677	2.285

* $p \leq .05$
** $p \leq .01$

TABLE 14

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE FOR PARENTS' MARITAL STATUS,
CHILD'S DEVELOPMENTAL PHASE, AND LEVEL OF INTRAFAMILIAL
VIOLENCE TO ATTITUDES TOWARDS MARRIAGE

SOURCE OF VARIATION	df	MS	F
Main Effects			
Parents' Marital Status	1	730.133	13.242***
Developmental Phase	2	25.733	.467
Level of Intrafamilial Violence	1	208.033	3.773*
2-Way Interactions			
Marital Status/Violence	1	.300	.005
Marital Status/Developmental Phase	2	40.433	.733
Violence/Developmental Phase	2	12.033	.218
3-Way Interactions			
Marital Status/Developmental Phase/Violence	2	1.900	.034

*$p \leq$ .05
***$p \leq$ .001

indicate that the level of Violence reported by the divorced group is significantly higher than that reported by intact subjects. Also, subjects in the High School phase reported far less Violence than those in the younger groups. Results are presented in Table 15.

Pearson correlations indicate that overall, scores for total Intrafamilial Violence were negatively related to Marital Attitude scores, r (118) = -.16, p < .05. This relationship was stronger when scores from only the divorced sample were computed, r (58) = -.27, p < .01. When subscores were analyzed, computation revealed that more specifically, Violence that occurred within the Parental relationship, was highly negatively correlated with Marital Attitudes, r = -.33, p < .001. See Table 9.

Discussion

It was hypothesized that the type of conflict, i.e., Conflict Tactics, influences Marital Attitude scores. More specifically, it was hypothesized that a high level of Violence will be associated with negative Marital Attitudes.

Several findings supported this prediction. As hypothesized, a high level of Intrafamilial Violence was associated with negative Marital Attitudes scores. This relationship held for both groups, but was more marked in the divorce sample, which reported higher levels of Violence.

Reasoning as a conflict tactic was also significant, but the effect of a high level of Reasoning on Marital Attitude scores varied as a function of Parents' Marital Status. For divorced subjects, high

TABLE 15

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE FOR PARENTS' MARITAL STATUS
AND CHILD'S DEVELOPMENTAL PHASE FOR LEVEL OF
INTRAFAMILIAL VIOLENCE

SOURCE OF VARIATION	df	MS	F
Main Effects			
Parents' Marital Status	1	2698.008	5.488*
Developmental Phase	2	4021.227	8.180***
2-Way Interactions			
Parents' Marital Status/ Developmental Phase	2	739.613	1.505

*$p \leq .05$
***$p \leq .001$

Parental Reasoning led to more negative Marital Attitudes, perhaps for the reason suggested earlier, i.e., that interpretation may be viewed in light of the outcome. On the other hand, for intact subjects, a high level of Reasoning was positively correlated with Marital Attitude scores, suggesting again that reasonable conflict resolution that maintains the family is viewed favorably.

The interaction between Parents' Marital Status and level of Reasoning suggests that one's perceptions of marriage may be a function of two variables, i.e., the manner in which conflict was seen to be handled, and the success with which conflict was seen to be handled. Where the nature of the conflict is exceptionally disruptive, as in the case of physical violence, the former variable would appear likely to outweigh the latter. However, where conflict is handled in a relatively non-threatening manner, the latter variable may become a more important determinant of subsequent marital attitudes.

RELATIONSHIP OF MARITAL ATTITUDES WITH PARENTS'

MARITAL STATUS, CHILD'S DEVELOPMENTAL PHASE,

AND SOURCE OF CONFLICT

Again, in order to further clarify the role of intrafamilial conflict on the formation of marital attitudes, additional analyses were performed on Relationship Conflict scores derived from the Conflict Tactics Scale. Separate three-way analyses of variance were used to analyze the relationship of Parents' Marital Status, Developmental Phase, and (a) Conflict within the Sibling-Child relationship; (b)

Conflict within the Father-Child relationship; (c) Conflict within the Mother-Child relationship; and (d) conflict within the Parental relationship with Marital Attitudes. Median splits within each cell were used to define high and low tactics levels.

Secondly, in order to discern possible differences in level of conflict in each of the four relationships, separate two-way analyses of variance were done analyzing; (a) Sibling Conflict, (b) Father-Child Conflict, (c) Mother-Child Conflict, and (d) Parental Conflict, by Parents' Marital Status and Developmental Phase.

Pearson product-moment correlations between Relationship Conflict scores and Marital Attitude scores were computed.

It was expected that the source of the conflict would influence marital attitudes. Specifically, it was hypothesized that a high level of Parental Conflict is more closely associated with negative Marital Attitudes than high levels of Sibling or Parent-Child Conflict.

Results

Sibling-Child Conflict. A three-way analysis of variance analyzing Parents' Marital Status, Developmental Phase, and level of Sibling-Child Conflict with Marital Attitudes failed to produce any significant effects other than the above mentioned main effect of Marital Status, p<.001. Results are summarized in Table 16.

A two-way analysis of variance was used to analyze Sibling-Child Conflict in relation to Marital Status and Developmental Phase. A significant main effect of Developmental Phase was found, $F (2,114) = 5.229$, $p < .01$, indicating a higher level of Sibling Conflict during the

TABLE 16

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE FOR PARENTS' MARITAL STATUS,
CHILD'S DEVELOPMENTAL PHASE, AND LEVEL OF SIBLING-CHILD
CONFLICT TO ATTITUDES TOWARDS MARRIAGE

SOURCE OF VARIATION	df	MS	F
Main Effects			
Parents' Marital Status	1	730.133	13.034***
Developmental Phase	2	25.733	.459
Level of Sibling-Child Conflict	1	1.633	.029
2-Way Interactions			
Marital Status/Sibling-Child Conflict	1	93.633	1.671
Marital Status/Developmental Phase	2	40.433	.722
Sibling-Child Conflict/ Developmental Phase	2	8.233	.147
3-Way Interactions			
Marital Status/Developmental Phase/Sibling-Child Conflict	2	14.634	.261

***$p \leq .001$

Junior High phase. The interaction of Marital Status and Developmental Phase was also found to be significant, F (2,114) = 4.071, p < .02, showing a wide discrepancy in Sibling Conflict in the Elementary School phase, with divorced subjects reporting far less Sibling Conflict. It should be noted, however, that these variations in reported Sibling Conflict had no discernible effect on Marital Attitudes. Results are summarized in Table 17.

Father-Child Conflict. A three-way analysis of variance reiterated the significant effect of Parents' Marital Status on Marital Attitudes, but did not produce any other significant effects. Results are presented in Table 18.

A two-way analysis of variance was used to analyze Father-Child Conflict in relation to Marital Status and Developmental Phase. A significant main effect for Marital Status, F (1,114) = 20.022, p < .001, and an interaction effect, F (2,114) = 3.096, p < .05, were found. Results indicate that intact subjects reported significantly more Father-Child Conflict than divorced subjects across all phases, but that this discrepancy was greatest in the Elementary School group. Results are presented in Table 19. These findings will be discussed further in a later section.

Mother-Child Conflict. Again, a three-way analysis of variance confirmed the significant effect of Parents' Marital Status on Marital Attitudes, but did not produce any other significant effects. Results are presented in Table 20.

A two-way analysis of variance was used to analyze Mother-Child Conflict in relation to Marital Status and Developmental Phase. A

TABLE 17

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE FOR PARENTS' MARITAL STATUS
AND CHILD'S DEVELOPMENTAL PHASE TO LEVEL OF
SIBLING-CHILD CONFLICT

SOURCE OF VARIATION	df	MS	F
Main Effects			
Parents' Marital Status	1	1864.408	2.905
Developmental Phase	2	3355.857	5.229**
2-Way Interactions			
Parents' Marital Status/ Developmental Phase	2	2612.867	4.071*

*$p \leq .05$
**$p \leq .01$

TABLE 18

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE FOR PARENTS' MARITAL STATUS,
CHILD'S DEVELOPMENTAL PHASE, AND LEVEL OF FATHER-CHILD
CONFLICT TO ATTITUDES TOWARDS MARRIAGE

SOURCE OF VARIATION	df	MS	F
Main Effects			
Parents' Marital Status	1	730.133	12.998***
Developmental Phase	2	25.733	.458
Level of Father-Child Conflict	1	5.633	.100
2-Way Interactions			
Marital Status/Father-Child Conflict	1	67.500	1.202
Marital Status/Developmental Phase	2	40.433	.720
Father-Child Conflict/ Developmental Phase	2	1.033	.018
3-Way Interactions			
Marital Status/Developmental Phase/Sibling-Child Conflict	2	24.400	.434

***$p \leq .001$

TABLE 19

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE FOR PARENTS' MARITAL STATUS
AND CHILD'S DEVELOPMENTAL PHASE TO LEVEL OF
FATHER-CHILD CONFLICT

SOURCE OF VARIATION	df	MS	F
Main Effects			
Parents' Marital Status	1	5122.133	20.022***
Developmental Phase	2	375.908	1.469
2-Way Interactions			
Parents' Marital Status/ Developmental Phase	2	792.110	3.096*

*p ≤ .05
***p ≤ .001

TABLE 20

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE FOR PARENTS' MARITAL STATUS,
CHILD'S DEVELOPMENTAL PHASE, AND LEVEL OF MOTHER-CHILD
CONFLICT TO ATTITUDES TOWARDS MARRIAGE

SOURCE OF VARIATION	df	MS	F
Main Effects			
Parents' Marital Status	1	730.133	13.490***
Developmental Phase	2	25.733	.475
Level of Mother-Child Conflict	1	64.533	1.192
2-Way Interactions			
Marital Status/Mother-Child Conflict	1	38.533	.712
Marital Status/Developmental Phase	2	40.433	.747
Mother-Child Conflict/ Developmental Phase	2	75.433	1.394
3-Way Interactions			
Marital Status/Developmental Phase/Mother-Child Conflict	2	45.734	.845

***$p \leq .001$

significant main effect for Marital Status, $\underline{F}$ (1,114) = 11.477, $\underline{p}$ < .05, was found. Results indicate that intact subjects reported significantly more Mother-Child Conflict than divorced subjects across all phases, but that this discrepancy was greatest in the Elementary School sample. This interaction is quite similar to results on Father-Child Conflict scores. Results are presented in Table 21.

Parental Conflict. Again, a three-way analysis of variance confirmed the significant effect of Parents' Marital Status on Marital Attitudes, but did not produce any other significant effects. Results are summarized in Table 22.

A two-way analysis of variance was used to analyze Parental Conflict in relation to Marital Status and Developmental Phase. The main effect of Marital Status was found to be significant, $\underline{F}$ (1,114) = 10.512, $\underline{p}$ < .002. However in this instance, in contrast to the other three Relationship scores, significantly more Parental Conflict was reported by divorced subjects than by the intact group. Results are presented in Table 23.

A Pearson correlation indicated that Parental Conflict was significantly related to Marital Attitude scores for the sample as a whole, $\underline{r}$ (118) = .17, $\underline{p}$ < .05), a finding which would appear to be primarily a function of the divorced sample, $\underline{r}$ (58) = .15. Refer to Table 9.

Discussion

It was expected that the source of the family conflict would influence marriage attitudes with a high level of Conflict between

TABLE 21

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE FOR PARENTS' MARITAL STATUS,
AND CHILD'S DEVELOPMENTAL PHASE TO LEVEL OF MOTHER-CHILD CONFLICT

SOURCE OF VARIATION	df	MS	F
Main Effects			
Parents' Marital Status	1	4177.199	11.477***
Developmental Phase	2	862.976	2.371
2-Way Interactions			
Parents' Marital Status/ Developmental Phase	2	1160.278	3.188*

*p ≤ .05
***p ≤ .001

TABLE 22

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE FOR PARENTS' MARITAL STATUS,
CHILD'S DEVELOPMENTAL PHASE, AND LEVEL OF PARENTAL
CONFLICT TO ATTITUDES TOWARDS MARRIAGE

SOURCE OF VARIATION	df	MS	F
Main Effects			
Parents' Marital Status	1	730.133	13.524***
Developmental Phase	2	25.733	.477
Level of Parental Conflict	1	50.700	.939
2-Way Interactions			
Marital Status/Parental Conflict	1	24.300	.450
Marital Status/Developmental Phase	2	40.434	.749
Parental Conflict/ Developmental Phase	2	102.701	1.902
3-Way Interactions			
Marital Status/Developmental Phase/Parental Conflict	2	39.901	.739

***$p \leq .001$

TABLE 23

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE FOR PARENTS' MARITAL STATUS,
AND CHILD'S DEVELOPMENTAL PHASE TO LEVEL OF PARENTAL CONFLICT

SOURCE OF VARIATION	df	MS	F
Main Effects			
Parents' Marital Status	1	2394.133	10.512*
Developmental Phase	2	25.733	.086
2-Way Interactions			
Parents' Marital Status/ Developmental Phase	2	200.159	.879

*$\underline{p} \leq .002$

Parents would be more closely associated with Negative Marital Attitude scores than either Parent-Child or Sibling Conflict. Results supported this position. Parental Conflict in general was negatively correlated with Marital Attitude scores. Recalling the hypotheses and findings relevant to type of tactics used in conflict resolution, it appears that source of conflict and conflict tactics worked together. It was noted that there was a strong negative correlation between Parental Violence and Marital Attitudes, and a positive correlation between Parental Reasoning and Marital Attitudes, produced by subjects' from intact families.

Taken together, these findings suggest that the type of Conflict Resolution Tactics modeled by one's parents in relation to each other strongly contributes to a person's attitudes towards marriage. The parental marital relationship, more than any other family relationship, may serve as a prototype of expected adult interpersonal relationships. Thus, it may predispose a person either positively or negatively towards entering into such a relationship, depending on whether conflict was viewed as being handled in a positive (Reasoning) or negative (Violence) manner.

CHILD'S DEVELOPMENTAL PHASE AT THE TIME
OF PARENTAL SEPARATION/DIVORCE

It was hypothesized that the age of the subject at the time of parental separation/divorce would be a variable influencing subsequent Attitudes towards Marriage. More specifically, it was hypothesized: (a)

that for the youngest group of children of divorce, the level of conflict will have less of a differential impact on marital attitudes than for the older groups; and (b) that in the two older groups, the level of conflict will be inversely related to marital attitudes, i.e., high conflict will be related to negative attitudes.

Results and Discussion

These hypotheses were not supported in terms of Marital Attitude scores, i.e., different age groups did not show significant quantitative differences in overall Marital Attitude scores. The eight three-way analyses of variance analyzing the relationship of Parent's Marital Status, Developmental Phase, and various Conflict variables to Marital Attitudes (Tables 6, 10, 12, 14, 16, 18, 20, and 22) failed to produce any significant main effect of Developmental Phase.

Two explanations for this failure to support these hypotheses were considered. One possibility is that different patterns of conflict are perceived at different developmental stages, making it difficult to directly compare the impact of high and low conflict in the three groups. To investigate this possibility, the results of the eight two-way analyses of variance analyzing the relationship of Parents' Marital Status and Developmental Phase to various Conflict variables were examined. (Refer to Tables 8, 11, 13, 15, 17, 19, 21, and 23.)

Results indicated that as with the marital status variable, there were different patterns of conflict evident at the three developmental stages. Among children of divorce, the Elementary School-aged group reported far less Sibling or Parent-Child Conflict than

either of the other two. Also, compared to the other two groups, this group reported markedly lower levels of Reasoning and Verbal Aggression, while the level of Violence remained comparable to the other two divorced groups.

Such findings tend to suggest several possibilities. First, younger children may be more likely to try to stay out of parental disputes, thus resulting in less Parent-Child Conflict. This is congruent with Wallerstein and Kelly's (1980) study indicating that latency-aged children tended to refrain from forming alignments with one parent and were more likely to retain loyalty to both parents than were their older counterparts. Along with this, lower levels of sibling conflict among young children of divorce, a difference not noted in the young, intact group, may also reflect a desire to not overtax a troubled marital relationship.

With regard to Conflict Tactic differences, one explanation to account for lower levels of Reasoning in both the Parental and Parent-Child relationships is that parents moving towards separation/divorce may attempt to hide their marital conflict from their young children. If so, it is more likely that they would be successful at keeping private the less disruptive conflict tactics of Reasoning and Verbal Aggression, i.e., verbal disagreements, but find it difficult to disguise arguments that escalated to physical aggression (Violence). As a result, the younger divorced group may be unaware of or able to deny lower level conflict between parents, but not be able to do the same

with physical aggression. Similarly, parents may be too preoccupied with their own marital difficulties, or consider it unimportant, to "reason with," i.e., discuss or explain things to their children.

Junior High School-aged children in both groups reported the highest level of Intrafamilial Conflict across the board, along with the highest levels of Verbal Aggression and Violence. This trend probably reflects normal preadolescent and early adolescent rebelliousness. The relatively higher levels of Parent-Child Conflict and Sibling Conflict among children of divorce, at this developmental stage may be a product of the "intense, conscious anger," cited by Wallerstein and Kelly (1980) to be characteristic of children of divorce in this age group. It may be that even in the year prior to the separation, these children are already anticipating the parental divorce and are "choosing up sides." Higher levels of Sibling Conflict, at this time may be a displacement of aggression, a bid for attention from the parents, or simply a reflection of the general climate within the family.

Compared to the other two divorced groups, the High School-aged sample had the middle level of General Conflict, with the highest level of Reasoning, the lowest level of Violence, and less Verbal Aggression than the Junior High group. The amount of Sibling Conflict lessened, but Parent-Child Conflict remained approximately the same as in the immediately younger group. The change in conflict tactics seems to suggest that the older adolescent is becoming more objective, and may be settling conflicts with parents and siblings in a more mature manner. The change may also reflect a greater willingness on the part of the parent to reasonably discuss issues with older children.

A second possible explanation for the failure to support the hypothesis that Developmental Phase is related to Marital Attitude scores is that the scores alone (i.e., positive vs. negative) may mask more subtle qualitative differences that exist in the attitudes expressed by the three developmental groups. In order to explore this possibility more fully, it is necessary to turn to the results of analyses done on the Attitudes Towards Marriage Questionnaire. These results will be reported in the following section.

ATTITUDES TOWARDS MARRIAGE

Scores in the Attitudes Towards Marriage Questionnaire ranged from 15 to 48 with a median of 34.5 ($\underline{M}$ = 34.43, $\underline{SD}$ = 7.69). Scores in the lower end of the continuum reflected more negative attitudes while higher scores were reflective of positive attitudes.

The Marital Attitudes score was the dependent variable in all three-way analyses of variance, and was correlated with all conflict subscores. Results of these analyses have already been reported.

To further clarify differences in Marital Attitudes, an item analysis of the Attitudes Towards Marriage Questionnaire was performed, contrasting the frequency of subjects' agreement to each item of the questionnaire. Two basic comparisons were done: (a) a comparison of the two marital status conditions, i.e., divorced subjects vs. intact; and (b) a comparison of the developmental phases during which the parental separation occurred in children of divorce only, i.e., Elementary School sample vs. Junior High sample vs. High School sample. Chi Square

analyses were used to detect significant differences in frequencies. No specific hypotheses have been made with regard to Marital Attitude Questionnaire items.

Results and Discussion

Effects of Marital Status. Intact subjects significantly more often than divorced subjects viewed marriage as a commitment "until death do us part," and as "a foundation that could hold a person together during rough times." They also reported having a realistic picture of marriage, and a better chance at a successful marriage than most people, and expressed that a good marriage was one of their most important life goals and that they would be happy if they could experience a marriage as good as their parents.

In contrast, children of divorce significantly more often reported that they were bitter about marriage. They also agreed that seeing their parents´ marriage had made them aware of the consequences of failure and that they were determined to make a better choice than their parents had. And they also reported that seeing their parents´ relationship had made them more cautious about marriage.

These findings tend to reiterate the relationship between Parent´s Marital Status and children´s subsequent Marital Attitudes.

Frequency distribution and levels of significance for Chi squares can be found in Table 24.

Effects of Developmental Phase. Children of divorce who were Elementary School-aged at the time of the parental separation, significantly more often agreed that too much emphasis was placed on the

TABLE 24

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF WAYS IN WHICH PARENTS'
MARITAL STATUS AFFECTS SUBJECT'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS MARRIAGE

	Number Expressing Agreement (Percentage)		Chi Square (df = 1)	Statistical Significance
	Divorced	Intact		
Seeing My parents' relationship has given me a realistic picture of what marriage is really like.	32 (53)	56 (93)	24.37	.01
I think that I have a better chance at a successful marriage than most people do.	42 (70)	53 (88)	6.1	.05
I think that marriage is a foundation that allows a person to hold him or herself together during rough times.	34 (57)	53 (88)	15.27	.01
After seeing my parents' relationship, I'm pretty bitter about marriage.	15 (25)	4 (7)	7.56	.01
I am determined to make a better choice than my parents did, with regard to marriage.	55 (92)	23 (38)	37.5	.01

*Only Chi Squares significant at or beyond $p < .05$ are reported.

TABLE 24 Continued

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF WAYS IN WHICH PARENTS'
MARITAL STATUS AFFECTS SUBJECT'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS MARRIAGE

	Number Expressing Agreement (Percentage)		Chi Square (df = 1)	Statistical Significance
	Divorced	Intact		
I would be happy if I could experience a marriage as good as my parents'.	6 (10)	43 (72)	47.15	.01
Seeing my parents' marriage has made me aware of the consequences of failure.	44 (73)	17 (28)	24.32	.01
I view marriage as a commitment "until death do us part."	47 (78)	57 (95)	7.22	.01
Making a good marriage is one of my most important life goals.	37 (62)	49 (82)	5.96	.05
Seeing my parents' relationship has made me more cautious about marriage.	49 (82)	25 (42)	20.3	.01

*Only Chi Squares significant at or beyond $p \leq$ .05 are reported.

importance of marriage and family life than did other children of divorce. The Junior High divorced sample least often reported that their parents' relationship had given them a realistic picture of what marriage is like.

In contrast to the Junior High sample, 80% of the High School divorced sample agreed that they had a realistic picture of marriage and 45% reported that after seeing their parents' relationship, they were bitter about marriage. This latter finding compared to only 15% in each of the younger groups and represented a significant effect of developmental phase.

Frequency distributions and levels of significance for Chi squares can be found in Table 25.

As alluded to earlier, these findings suggest that while the analyses of variance (See Tables 6, 10, 12, 14, 16, 18, 20, and 22) did not provide evidence of significant quantitative differences among the three developmental groups, some qualitative differences might exist. Such differences tend to support Hetherington's (1979) view that while the extent of the trauma precipitated by parental divorce may not be more or less severe at different ages, that the particular developmental stage the child is in, at the time of the parental divorce, may produce more subtle, qualitative differences in the way he/she reacts. For example, different coping mechanisms may be more prevalent at different ages, i.e., reaction-formation in the younger group vs. more direct expression of anger (or bitterness) in the older group.

A clearcut interpretation of the high frequency (45%) with which the High-School-aged divorced sample expressed bitterness towards

TABLE 25

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF WAYS IN WHICH DEVELOPMENTAL
PHASE AT THE TIME OF PARENTAL DIVORCE AFFECTS THE ATTITUDES
TOWARDS MARRIAGE AMONG CHILDREN OF DIVORCE

	Number Expressing Agreement (Percentage)				
	Elementary School	Junior High	High School	Chi Square (df = 2)	Statistical* Significance
Seeing my parents' relationship has given me a realistic picture of what marriage is really like.	11 (55)	5 (25)	16 (80)	25.56	.01
After seeing my parents' relationship, I'm pretty bitter about marriage.	3 (15)	3 (15)	9 (45)	6.41	.05
I think altogether too much emphasis is placed on the importance of marriage and family life.	9 (45)	2 (10)	1 (5)	11.87	.01

*Only items significant at or beyond p ≤ .05 are reported.

marriage, however, is, unfortunately, complicated by the confounding factor of recency, that is, less time has passed since the divorce for the older subjects. And since the recency hypothesis suggests that the amount of distress will be greatest immediately following the divorce and will dissipate with time (Kalter & Rembar, 1981), it is equally possible that the bitterness expressed by the older group reflects their more recent experience of the divorce, rather than a long-standing attitudinal difference particular to that developmental stage.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS

This study investigated the effects of parents' marital status and general conflict on the subsequent attitudes towards marriage held by their offspring. In recent literature, some researchers have suggested that children of divorce may remain somewhat wary of marriage, and be reluctant to enter into it as an adult (Hammond, 1979; Kelly & Berg, 1978; Spreitzer & Riley, 1974). Kulka and Weingarten (cited in Rubenstein, 1980) also reported that when grown children of divorce do decide to marry, they enter into marriage with a different orientation than persons from intact family backgrounds. These studies seemed to suggest that children of divorce form different attitudes towards marriage, though there remains some disagreement among researchers as to whether these differences reflect a more realistic or a more negative orientation (Bernard & Nesbitt, 1981; Kurdek & Siesky, 1980; Moore, 1976; Rosen, 1977). Additionally, a number of authors had suggested that, when they do occur, negative consequences generally attributed to divorce may actually stem from the predivorce conflict experienced in the home, rather than from the parental separation itself (Goode, 1956; Burchinal, 1964; Herzog & Sudia, 1971; Lamb, 1977; Rosen, 1977; Berg & Kelly, 1979).

The purpose of this study was to test that hypothesis, that is, the hypothesis that negative marital attitudes would be more closely

associated with the level of intrafamilial conflict than with parents'
marital status. This investigation also aimed at learning more about
the nature of the conflict found in both intact and divorced families
and more about the nature of the marital attitudes held by children of
divorce. Because developmental level has been found to be a significant
intervening variable in divorce research, the age of the child at the
time of the parental separation was also considered.

Summary of Findings

Hypothesis 1. It was hypothesized that the level of
intrafamilial conflict is a more powerful predictor of attitudes toward
marriage than parental marital status. Specifically, it was
hypothesized that a high level of conflict is associated with more
negative attitudes towards marriage.

This hypothesis was not supported. Instead, contrary to
expectations, results indicated a consistent highly significant
association between parental divorce and negative marital attitudes,
regardless of the level of general conflict in the family prior to the
divorce. While it is somewhat surprising that overall general conflict
had so little impact, this finding strongly underscores the importance
of parental divorce for children even years after the event itself.

There may be several reasons why this hypothesis was not
supported. One possibility to explain this unexpected finding, is that,
in contrast to the dependent variables used in other, more optimistic
studies (Kurdek et al., in press; Reinhard, 1977), attitudes
specifically with regard to marriage and family life, represent an area

that is more vulnerable to long-lasting effects of parental divorce, than are many other areas of functioning. A fuller discussion of this possibility has been presented in Chapter IV.

A second possible explanation for the non significant effect of Conflict and the highly significant effect of Parents' Marital Status, is that conflict resolution tactics are viewed differently depending on the outcome. Thus, children of divorce may have come to believe that conflict resolution tactics are unsuccessful and conclude that any conflict will therefore inevitably lead to the dissolution of a relationship, while subjects from intact backgrounds may have a more benign view of conflict in general.

Some evidence to support this possibility was found in the significant interaction of Intrafamilial Reasoning and Parents' Marital Status. This finding demonstrated that, in this study, a high level of Reasoning, as a tactic for conflict resolution, was associated with negative Marital Attitudes among children of divorce, but associated with positive Marital Attitudes among children from intact backgrounds. Since Reasoning is usually thought to be a relatively mature, positive tactic for conflict resolution, these results may suggest, that where the outcome is that the family is maintained, in spite of some conflict, the image of "reasoning" family members who are able to overcome differences, positively predisposes intact subjects to marriage. On the other hand, children of divorce may be negatively inclined towards marriage if they interpret their parents' divorce as evidence that even "reasonable" attempts at conflict resolution are likely to fail, and that any conflict may be dangerous, and signal a relationship doomed to failure.

This interpretation is further supported by the results of the item analysis of the Marital Attitudes Questionnaire. For example, even though the mean level of conflict was actually slightly higher in the intact group, divorced subjects significantly <u>more often</u> agreed with the statements, "Seeing my parents' relationship has made me more cautious about marriage" and "Seeing my parents' marriage has made me aware of the consequences of failure." They also significantly <u>less often</u> indicated that they viewed marriage as a "commitment until death do us part" or as a "foundation that allows a person to hold him- or herself together during rough times."

There is no other research, at this point, to lend support to or to disconfirm this supposition that children of divorce may view intrafamilial conflict differently than persons from intact backgrounds based on the outcome of the marital relationship. However, this possible difference in perspective may prove to be an interesting hypothesis for future investigation.

A third reason why the relationship between General Conflict scores and Marital Attitudes might have proved to be non-significant is because General Conflict alone was too broad a variable to account for the more subtle differences in the nature of conflict experienced in divorced versus intact homes. There was some evidence in the conflict analyses that suggested that the type of conflict prevalent in the intact families was so different from that in divorced families that direct comparison between the two on levels of General Conflict would be meaningless.

More specifically, results indicated that the frequency with which different Conflict Resolution Tactics were used differed in the intact and divorced family groups. Higher levels of Reasoning and Verbal Aggression were found in the intact families, while higher levels of physical Violence, usually assumed to be more distressing, were found in the divorced families. In a similar vein, the source of family conflict also differed in the two groups, with higher levels of Sibling and Parent-Child conflict occurring in the intact families, and higher levels of Parental Conflict occurring in the divorced families. As it was also hypothesized in this study that the type and source of conflict would further influence marital attitudes, the extreme differences in the nature of the conflict in these two groups suggests that Parents' Marital Status and various Conflict variables may not be entirely independent.

Hypothesis 2. It was hypothesized that both the nature of the tactics used to resolve conflict, and the source of the intrafamilial conflict will influence marital attitudes. More specifically, it was hypothesized: (a) that a high level of Violence is closely associated with negative Marital Attitudes; and (b) that a high level of Parental Conflict is associated with negative Marital Attitudes.

This set of hypotheses was supported. High levels of Violence were found to be associated with negative Marital Attitudes. This relationship held for both groups, but was more marked in the divorced sample, which reported higher levels of Violence. Additionally, Parental Reasoning and Parental Violence were found to be related to Marital Attitude scores.

Unexpectedly, reasoning as a conflict tactic was also significant, but the effect of a high level of Reasoning on Marriage Attitude scores varied as a function of Parents' Marital Status, as mentioned before. For divorced subjects, high Parental Reasoning lead to more negative Marital Attitudes, perhaps for the reason discussed earlier, i.e., that interpretation may be viewed in light of the outcome. On the other hand, for intact subjects, a high level of Reasoning was positively correlated with Marital Attitude scores, suggesting again that "reasonable" conflict resolution that maintains the family is viewed favorably.

The two hypotheses regarding tactics and Parental Conflict worked together, so that there was a strong negative correlation between Parental Violence and Marital Attitudes, and a positive correlation between Parental Reasoning and Marital Attitudes, particularly for subjects' from intact families.

Taken together, these findings suggest that the type of Conflict Resolution Tactics modeled by one's parents in relation to each other strongly contributes to a person's attitudes towards marriage.

As mentioned before, the interaction between Parents' Marital Status and level of Reasoning, however, suggests that one's perceptions of marriage may be a function of two variables, i.e., the manner in which conflict was seen to be handled, and the success with which conflict was seen to be handled. Where the nature of the conflict is exceptionally disruptive, as in the case of physical violence, the

former variable may be the more important. However, where conflict is handled in a relatively positive manner, the latter variable may become a more important determinant of subsequent marital attitudes.

Hypothesis 3. It was hypothesized that the age of the subject at the time of parental separation/divorce would be an intervening variable influencing subsequent attitudes towards marriage.

This hypothesis was not supported in terms of marriage scores, i.e., different age groups did not show significant quantitative differences in overall Marital Attitude scores. However, an item analysis of the Attitudes Towards Marriage Questionnaire suggested that some qualitative differences might exist. For example, among children of divorce, Elementary School-aged subjects more often agreed that two much emphasis was placed on the importance of marriage and family life; Junior High School-aged subjects were least likely to agree that their parents' relationship had given them a realistic picture of marriage; and High School-aged subjects were three times more likely than the other two groups to express bitterness towards marriage.

Results also indicated that different patterns of conflict were evident at the three different developmental stages, thus making it difficult to directly compare high and low levels of conflict variables. These patterns are discussed more extensively in Chapter IV.

Methodological Limitations

In drawing conclusions from the results of this study, several methodological limitations should be kept in mind. First, because data gathered from the Conflict Tactics Scale are retrospective, they are

necessarily subject to the distortion of memory and the subject's defensive structure. Even while it is assumed that the subject's perception of conflict is more important than objective reality, it is still likely that perceptions will change over time. Thus, early experiences of family conflict may differ from later perceptions of it.

This distortion may be even greater for those in the intact sample, who were asked to recall the atmosphere of the family at, what is for them, a randomly assigned time period, not marked by any particular landmark event, such as a divorce. Additionally, for those who may still be living at home, their memory of the conflict in the family at an earlier time may be further confounded by the current climate of conflict in the family. This would not be true for those in the divorced sample since the family composition would have changed at the time of the separation/divorce.

Secondly, as mentioned earlier in this discussion, the recency variable may confound interpretation of results, particularly among the oldest group of children of divorce. Since the divorce itself occurred more recently for that group, it is possible that results may reflect the effect of the amount of time passed since the separation/divorce, as well as the effect of developmental differences.

Thirdly, this sample was drawn from a predominantly Catholic population, where it is expected that divorce is discouraged. Based on the low percentage (about 10%) of persons from divorced backgrounds found in this particular population by this investigator, it is possible

that conflict patterns may not be directly generalizable to all divorced groups. For example, it may be that Catholics stay together longer, or that only the more seriously conflictual couples become divorced.

Finally, because the Attitudes Towards Marriage Questionnaire was a preliminary attempt to assess these attitudes, developed specifically for this study, there is no reliability or validity data to determine its usefulness in determining the positive or negative valence of marital attitudes. Thus, while the scale seems to have face validity and produced a reasonable variance, it is otherwise untested.

Conclusions and Suggestions for Future Research.

Based on the results of this study, one might conclude that parental separation/divorce negatively influences the attitudes that children of divorce hold with regard to marriage. However, because results also indicate that divorced and intact families may show distinctly different patterns of conflict with regard to Conflict Resolution Tactics and the Source of Intrafamilial Conflict, resulting differences in Marital Attitudes may be a function of Parents' Marital Status, Conflict factors, or an interaction of the two.

One hypothesis for future research regarding such an interaction is that the perceived outcome of conflict, i.e., the relationship is maintained (intact family) or dissolved (divorced family), may affect the way in which conflict is viewed. Specifically, one might ask, "Are children of divorce more likely to view any conflict as unresolvable and inevitably disruptive?" If so, how might this influence their attitudes towards intimacy and interpersonal relations?" "Do children of divorce

try to avoid conflict in general, or do they handle it differently than persons from other family backgrounds?"; "Is conflict remembered differently in the light of a specific outcome? For example, do children of divorce later remember their parents' relationship as more volatile than it actually was?" Such questions need to be explored further.

Another conclusion that may be drawn from these results is that intrafamilial violence is strongly associated with subsequent negative attitudes towards marriage, regardless of parents' marital status. Such a finding may have to do with fears about the "cycle of violence," as proposed by Gelles (1973), i.e., that children from violent homes tend to be more violent with their own families, as adults; or with fears that intimate relationships will inevitably lead to physical aggression. One question to be asked is, "Do children from a violent family background avoid intimacy, for fear of being hurt or hurting others?"

Results of this study also suggest that the nature of conflict within the parental relationship is of critical importance in determining subsequent marital attitudes. Specifically while high levels of Parental Reasoning are associated with positive Marital Attitudes, high levels of Parental Violence are associated with negative attitudes. This finding tends to underscore the importance of the parents' marriage as a prototype or model for adult interpersonal relationships. Some research evidence has suggested that children may follow closely in their parents' footsteps, e.g., the intergenerational transmission of marital instability (Spreitzer & Riley, 1974; Pope & Mueller, 1976). Questions for future research include: "Do differences

in attitudes towards marriage actually reflect behavioral differences with regard to marriage?"; "Does the intergenerational transmission of marital instability reflect more conflict, based on some deficiency in interpersonal relations or less tolerance for even low levels of conflict?"; "If parents do serve as models for marriage and adult relationships, is it observed behavior, e.g., conflict, that influences children's subsequent attitudes, or is it expressed attitudes, e.g., a custodial parent's verbalized attitude towards marriage, that is more influential?"; "Are children of divorce more fearful of separation in interpersonal relationships, because of their parent's marital relationship ending? If so, what impact does this have on their own marriages?"

Finally, there is some evidence that the developmental level of the child at the time of parental divorce produces qualitative differences in attitude toward marriage, but does not necessarily result in overall attitudes being more positive or negative. Some specific differences were noted in marital attitude items. Future research might focus on more clearly identifying such differences, and also on investigating whether attitudinal differences mirror behavioral differences among the different developmental groups.

In summary, much is, as yet, unknown about the consequences of parental divorce and family conflict for children's subsequent views of marriage. Specific conflict variables, i.e., violence and reasoning, seem to be important, as well as the child's perception of the outcome of conflict. Likewise, the nature of the parents' marital relationship, in particular, seems to be a critical variable. Developmental factors

merit further consideration, as well. Many questions remain unanswered, but pose a myriad of possibilities for future research.

SUMMARY

The purpose of this thesis was to investigate the effects of parents' marital status and intrafamilial conflict on attitudes towards marriage among children of divorce. Subjects were 120 undergraduates of Loyola University of Chicago. On the basis of information from a short screening questionnaire, the following groups of 20 were formed: Subjects who had experienced a parental separation/divorce (a) between the ages of 6-9 (Elementary School sample); (b) between the ages of 10-13 (Junior High sample); and (c) between the ages of 14-18 (High School sample); and subjects from intact family backgrounds randomly assigned to three corresponding age groups. The Conflict Tactics Scale (Straus, 1979) was then administered under four instructional conditions. Subjects in the separated/divorced groups were asked to fill out the scale as they remembered conditions in their family during the year prior to the divorce, while subjects in the "intact" subsamples were asked to complete the scale in accordance with their assignment to age groups, e.g., Elementary School sample as they remembered conditions in their family during that period. All subjects were administered a 22 item questionnaire designed to reveal attitudes towards marriage. On the basis of Conflict Tactics Scale scores, high and low levels of General Conflict as well as other conflict variables were determined.

Analyses of variance were done to investigate the effect of Marital Status, Age, and Various Conflict Variables on Marital Attitude scores. Additional analyses were also performed to further clarify the

152

different patterns of conflict evident in intact vs. divorced homes, and how these patterns might be associated with marital attitudes.

Results indicated that the divorced group held consistently more negative attitudes towards marriage than the intact. Though the hypothesis that high levels of General Intrafamilial Conflict would be associated with negative Marital Attitudes was not supported, several specific conflict variables, i.e., Reasoning, Violence, Parental Conflict, were found to be associated with Marital Attitude scores. Discussion of the results suggest that the impact of parental divorce: (a) may persist in the area of attitudes towards marriage long after other aspects of a child's life adjustment have returned to equilibrium; (b) may influence the way in which children subsequently view conflict and conflict resolution; and (c) may result in qualitatively different attitudes depending on the age of the child at the time of the divorce.

REFERENCE NOTES

1. Raschke, H. J. "Research in progress, or completed, but unpublished." Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Southern Sociological Society, Atlanta (April), 1979.

2. Levy, T. & Joffe, W. "Counseling couples through separation: A developmental aproach." Paper presented at the annual meeting of the National Council on Family Relations, San Diego, October, 1977.

3. Meyers, J. "The Adjustment of women to marital separation: The effects of sex role identification and stage in family life." Unpublished manuscript, 1976.

4. Bulcroft, R. & Straus, M. A. "Validity of husband, wife, and child reports of intrafamily violence and power." University of New Hampshire, Family Violence Research Program. Unpublished manuscript, 1975.

REFERENCES

Andrew, J. Delinquency, sex and family variables. Social Biology, 1976, 23, 168-171.

Anthony, E.J. Children at risk from divorce. In E. Anthony & C. Koupernik (Eds.) The child in his family: Children at psychiatric risk. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1974.

Bane, M. J. Marital disruption and the lives of children. In G. Levinger and O. C. Moles (Eds.) Divorce and Separation: Context, Causes, and Consequences. New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1979.

Barry, H., Barry, H., & Lindemann, E. Dependency in adult patients following maternal bereavement. Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease, 1965, 40, 196-206.

Berg, B. & Kelly, R. The measured self-esteem of children from broken, rejected, and accepted families. Journal of Divorce, 1979, 2, 363-369.

Bernard, J. & Nesbitt, S. Divorce: An unreliable predictor of children's emotional predispositions. Journal of Divorce, 1981, 4, 31-42.

Biller, H. Father absence and the personality development of the male child. Developmental Psychology, 1970, 2, 181-201.

Blaine, G. & Carmen, C. Causal factors in suicide attempts by male and female college students. American Journal of Psychiatry, 1968, 125, 146-149.

Bloom, B., Asher, S. & White, S. Marital disruption as a stressor: A review and analysis. Psychological Bulletin, 1978, 85, 867-894.

Bloom, B., White, W. & Asher, S. Marital disruption as a stressful life event. In G. Levinger & O. Moles (Eds.) Divorce and Separation. New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1979.

Blos, P. On Adolescence. New York: Free Press, 1962.

Bohannan, P. (Ed.) Divorce and after. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Co., 1975.

Bowlby, J. Maternal deprivation. Geneva: World Health Organization, 1962.

155

Brown, F. Depression and childhood bereavement. Journal of Mental Science, 1961, 11, 754-777.

Brown, E. Divorce Counseling. In D. Olson (Ed.) Treating Relationships. Lake Mills, Iowa: Graphic Publishing Co., 1976.

Bumpass, L. & Sweet, J. Differentials in marital instability: 1970. American Sociological Review, 1972, 37, 754-766.

Burchinal, L. G. Characteristics of adolescents from unbroken, broken, and reconstituted families. Journal of Marriage and the Family, 1964, 26, 44-51.

Carter, H. & Glick, P. C. Marriage and Divorce: A Social And Economic Study. (Rev. Ed.). Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976.

Chiriboga, D., Roberts, J. & Stein, J. Psychological well-being during marital separation. Journal of Divorce, 1978, 2, 21-36.

Cline, D. & Westman, J. The impact of divorce on the family. Child Psychiatry and the Human Development, 1971, 2, 78-83.

Daniel, R. Father-child intimacy in divorced families. Dissertation Abstracts International, 1977, 38 (B), 2854.

Despert, J. L. Children of divorce. Garden City: Doubleday & Co., 1953.

Erikson, E. Childhood and society. New York: W. W. Norton, 1964.

Felner, R., Stoberg, A. & Cowen, E. Crisis events and school mental health referral patterns of young children. Journal of Consulting & Clinical Psychology, 1975, 43, 305-310.

Froiland, D. & Hozeman, T. Counseling for constructive divorce. Personal and Guidance Journal, 1977, 55, 525-529.

Furstenberg, F. Premarital pregnancy and marital instability. In G. Levinger & O. Moles (Eds.) Divorce and Separation. New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1979.

Gardner, R. Children of divorce: Some legal and psychological considerations. Journal of Clinical Child Psychology, 1977, 6, 3-6.

Gelles, R. Child abuse as psychopathology: A sociological critique and reformulation. American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 1973, 43, 611-621.

Glick, P.C. & Norton, A. J. Marrying, divorcing and living together in the U. S. today. Population Bulletin, 1978, 32, 3-38.

Glick, P. C. Children of divorced parents in demographic perspective. Journal of Social Issues, 1979, 35, 170-182.

Goldstein, J., Freud, A. & Solnit, A. Beyond the best interest of the child. New York: The Free Press, 1973.

Goode, Paul H. The broken home in teen-age adjustments. Washington Agricultural Experiments Stations Bulletin, No. 542, June, 1953.

Goode, W. J. After Divorce. New York: The Free Press, 1956.

Henning, J. Child advocacy in adoption and divorce cases: Where is the wisdom of Solomon when we really need it? Journal of Clinical Child Psychology, 1976, 5, 50-53.

Henning, J. & Oldham, J. Children of divorce: Legal and psychological crisis. Journal of Clinical Child Psychology, 1977, 6, 55-59.

Herrman, S. Divorce: A grief process. Perspectives in Psychiatric Care, 1974, 12, 108-112.

Herzog, E. & Sudia, C. E. Children in fatherless familes. In B. M. Caldwell & H. N. Ricciuti (Eds.) Review of Child Development Research. (Vol. 3). Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1973.

Hetherington, E. M. Effects of father absence on personality development in adolescent daughters. Developmental Psychology, 1972, 7, 313-326.

Hetherington, E. M. Divorce: A child's perspective. American Psychologist, 1979, 34, 851-858.

Hetherington, E. M., Cox, M. & Cox, R. Divorced fathers. The Family Coordinator, 1976, 25, 416-428.

Hetherington, E., Cox, M. & Cox, R. The aftermath of divorce. In J. H. Stevens, Jr. & M. Mathews (Eds.) Mother-child, Father-child Relations. Washington, D.C.: National Association for the Education of Young Children, 1977.

Hetherington, E. M., Cox, M. & Cox. R. The aftermath of divorce. In J. H. Steven, Jr. & M. Matthews (Eds.), Mother-child, Father-child Relations. Washington, D.C.: NAEYC, 1978. (a)

Hetherington, E., Cox, M. & Cox, R. Play and social interaction in children following divorce. Journal of Social Issues, 1979, 35, 26-49. (b)

Hicks, M. W. & Platt, M. Marital happiness and stability: A review of research in the sixties. Journal of Marriage and the Family, 1970, 32, 553-574.

Hill, C., Rubin, Z. & Peplau, L. Break-ups before marriage: The end of 103 affairs. In G. Levinger & O. Moles (Eds.) Divorce and Separation. New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1979.

Hodges, W., Wechsler, R. & Ballantine, C. Divorce and the preschool child: Cumulative stress. Journal of Divorce, 1979, 3, 55-57.

Hunt, M. & Hunt, B. The divorce experience. New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc., 1977.

Jacobson, D.C. The impact of marital separation/divorce on children: I. Parent-child separation and child adjustment. Journal of Divorce, 1978, 1, 341-360. (a)

Jacobson, D. S. The impact of marital separation/divorce on children: II. Interparent hostility and child adjustment. Journal of Divorce, 1978, 2, 3-19. (b)

Jacobson, D. S. The impact of marital separation/divorce on children: III. Parent-child communication and child adjustment, and regression analysis of findings from overall study. Journal of Divorce, 1978, 2, 175-195. (c)

Justice, B. & Duncan, D. Running away: an epidemic problem of adolescence. Adolescence, 1976, 11, 365-371.

Kalter, N. & Rembar, J. The significance of a child's age at the time of parental divorce. American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 1981, 51, 81-100.

Kelly, J. B. & Wallerstein, J. S. The effects of parental divorce: Experiences of the child in early latency. American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 1976, 46, 20-32.

Kelly, J. & Wallerstein, J. Part-time parent, part-time child: Visiting after divorce. Journal of Clinical Child Psychology, 1977, 6, 51-54.

Kessler, S. The American way of divorce: Prescriptions for change. Chicago: Nelson-Hall, 1975.

Kitson, G. & Raschke, H. Divorce research: What we know; What we need to know. Journal of Divorce, 1981, 4, 1-37.

Klatskin, E. Developmental factors. In I. Stuart & L. Abt (Eds.) Children of separation and divorce. New York: Grossman, 1972.

Kohen, J., Brown, C. & Feldberg, R. Divorced mothers: The costs and benefits of female family control. In G. Levinger & O. Moles (Eds.) Divorce and Separation. New York: Basic Books, Inc. 1979.

Krantzler, M. Creative divorce: A new opportunity for personal growth. New York: Evans and Co., 1973.

Kressel, K., Lopez-Morillas, Weinglass, J. & Deutsch, M. Professional intervention in divorce: The views of lawyers, psychotherapists and clergy. In G. Levinger & O. Moles (Eds.) Divorce and Separation. New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1979.

Kurdek, L. An integrative perspective on children's divorce adjustment. American Psychologist, in press.

Kurdek, L., Blisk, D. & Siesky, A. Correlates of children's long-term adjustment to their parents' divorce. Developmental Psychology, in press.

Kurdek, L. A. & Siesky, A. E. Children's perception of their parents' divorce. Journal of Divorce, 1980, 3, 339-378.

Lamb, M. E. The effects of divorce on children's personality development. Journal of Divorce, 1977, 1, 163-174.

Landis, J. T. The trauma of children when parents divorce. Journal of Marriage and the Family, 1960, 22, 7-13.

Landis, J. T. Some correlates of divorce on non-divorce among the unhappily married. Marriage and Family Living, 1963, 25, 178-180.

Langner, T. & Michael, S. Life stress and mental health. New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1963.

Levinger, G. A social psychological perspective on marital dissolution. In G. Levinger & O. Moles' (Eds.) Divorce and Separation. New York: Basic Books, Inc. 1979.

Lichtenberger, J. P. Divorce: A Social interpretation. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1931.

Longfellow, C. Divorce in context: Its impact on children, In G. Levinger & O. Moles (Eds.) Divorce and Separation. New York: Basic Books, 1979.

Lowenstein, J. & Koopman, E. A comparison of the self-esteem between boys living with single-parent mothers and single-parent fathers. Journal of Divorce, 1978, 2, 195-208.

Mahler, M. & Rabinovitch, R. The effects of marital conflict on child development. In V. W. Eisenstein (Ed.) Neurotic interaction in marriage. New York: Basic Books, 1956.

Marotz-Baden, R., Adams, G., Bueche, N., Munro, B. & Munro, G. Family forms or family process? Reconsidering the deficit family model approach. Family Coordinator, 1979, 28, 5-14.

Marotz-Baden, R., & Adams, G. What makes a family function is not its setting, but its soul. Family Advocate, 1979, 1, 6-9, 38.

Miller, D. Adolescence: psychology, psychopathy, and psychotherapy. New York: Aronson, 1974.

Mott, F. & Moore, S. The causes of marital disruption among young American women: An interdisciplinary perspective. Journal of Marriage and the Family, 1979, 41, 355-365.

Munroe, A. Parental deprivation in depressive patients. British Journal of Psychiatry, 1966, 112, 443-457.

McDermott, J. Parental divorce in early childhood. American Journal of Psychiatry, 1968, 124, 1424-1432.

McDermott, J. Divorce and its psychiatric sequelae in children. Archives of General Psychiatry, 1970, 23, 421-428.

McKenney, M. Divorce: A selected annotated bibliography. Metuchen, New Jersey: Scarecrow Press, 1975.

National Center For Health Statistics. Marriage and divorce. Vital Statistics of the United States. 1973, III. Washington, D.C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1977.

National Center For Health Statistics. Births, marriages, divorces, and deaths for 1977. Monthly Vital Statistics Report, 26:12. Washington, D.C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1978.

National Center For Health Statistics. Births, marriages, divorces, and deaths for 1979. Monthly. Vital Statistics Report (Vol. 28), No. 12, Provisional Statistics. Hyattsville, Maryland: U. S. Dept. of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1980.

Nelson, G. Moderators of women's and children's adjustment following parental divorce. Journal of Divorce, 1981, 4, 71-83.

Neubauer, P. The one-parent child and his Oedipal development. Psychoanalytic Study of the Child, 1960, 23, 421-427.

Norton, A. & Glick, P. Marital instability in America: Past, present, and future. In G. Levinger & O. Moles' (Eds.) Divorce and Separation. New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1979.

Nye, F. I. Child adjustment in broken and unbroken homes. Marriage and Family Living, 1957, 19, 356-360.

Nye, F. Choice, exchange and the family. In W. R. Burr, R. Hill, F. Nye & I. Reiss (Eds.). Contemporary theories about the family (Vol. 2). New York: The Free Press, 1979.

Perry, N. & Millimet, C. Child-rearing antecedents of low and high anxiety eighth-grade children. In Spielberger, C., Stress and Anxiety, Vol. 4. Washington: Hemisphere, 1977, pp. 189-204.

Piaget, J. The child's construction of reality. London: Rutledge & Kegan Paul, 1955.

Piaget, J. Intellectual evolution from adolescence to adulthood. Human Development, 1972, 15, 1-12.

Pope, H. & Mueller, C. W. The intergenerational transmission of marital instability: Comparisons by race and sex. Journal of Social Issues, 1976, 32, 49-66.

Price-Bonham, S. & Balswick, J. O. The noninstitutions: Divorce, desertion, and remarriage. Journal of Marriage and the Family, 1980, 42, 959-972.

Raschke, H. The role of social participation in post-separation and post divorce adjustment. Journal of Divorce, 1977, 1, 129-139.

Raschke, H. & Barringer, K. Postdivorce adjustment among persons participating in Parents Without Partners organizations. Family Perspective, 1977, 11, 23-34.

Raschke, H. J. & Raschke, V. J. Family conflict and children's self-concepts: A comparison of intact and single-parent families. Journal of Marriage and the Family, 1979, 41, 367-374.

Renne, K. Health and marital experience in an urban population. Journal of Marriage and the Family, 1971, 23, 338-350.

Robinson, W. & Williams, M. Children of separated parents. Medical Journal of Australia, 1973, 2, 899-902.

Rohrlich, J., Ranier, R., Berg-Cross, L. & Berg-Cross, G. The effects of divorce: A research review with a developmental perspective. Journal of Clinical Child Psychology, 1977, 6, 15-20.

Rosen, R. Children of divorce: What they feel about access and other aspects of the divorce experience. Journal of Clinical Child Psychology, 1977, 6, 24-27.

Rosen, R. Some crucial issues concerning children of divorce. Journal of Divorce, 1979, 3, 19-25.

Rosow, I. & Rose, K. Divorce among doctors. Journal of Marriage and the Family, 1972, 34, 587-598.

Rubenstein, C. The children of divorce as adults. Psychology Today, 1980, 13 (8), 74-75.

Salts, C. Divorce process: Integrations of theory. Journal of Divorce, 1979, 2, 233-240.

Santrock, J. & Trace, R. Effect of children's family structure status on the development of stereotypes by children. Journal of Educational Psychology, 1978, 70, 754-757.

Santrock, J. & Warshak, R. Father custody and social development in boys and girls. Journal of Social Issues, 1979, 35, 112-125.

Scanzoni, J. A historical perspective on husband-wife bargaining power and marital dissolution. In G. Levinger & O. Moles (Eds.) Divorce and Separation. New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1979.

Schaengold, M. The relationship between father-absence and encopresis. Child Welfare, 1977, 65, 386-394.

Sell, K. D. & Sell, B. H. Divorce in the United States, Canada, and Great Britain: A guide to information sources. Detroit: Gale Research Company, 1978.

Shinn, M. Father absence and children's cognitive development. Psychological Bulletin, 1978, 85, 295-324.

Smart, L. An application of Erikson's theory to the recovery from divorce process. Journal of Divorce, 1977, 1, 67-79.

Smart, L. An application of Erikson's theory to the recovery-from-divorce process. Journal of Divorce, 1979, 1, 67-79.

Sorosky, A. The psychological effects of divorce on adolescents. Adolescence, 1977, 12, 123-136.

Spanier, G. & Casto, R. Adjustment to separation and divorce: An analysis of 50 case studies. Journal of Divorce, 1979, 2, 241-253.

Spreitzer, E. & Riley, L. E. Factors associated with singlehood. Journal of Marriage and the Family, 1974, 36, 533-542.

Srole, L., Langner, T., Michael, S., Opler, M. & Rennie, T. Mental health in the metropolis: The midtown study (Vol. 1). New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1962.

Stetson, D. & Wright, G. The effects of law on divorce in American states, Journal of Marriage and the Family, 1975, 37, 537-547.

Straus, M. A. Measuring intrafamily conflict and violence: The
    Conflict Tactics (CTS) Scales. Journal of Marriage and the
    Family, 1979, 41, 75-88.

Straus, M., Gelles, R. & Steinmetz, S. Behind closed doors: Violence
    in the American family. Garden City, New York: Doubleday,
    1980.

Straus, M. A. & Kumagai, F. An empirical comparison of eleven methods
    of constructing indexes. Chapter 2 in Murray A. Straus.
    Indexing and Scaling for Social Science Research with SPSS,
    1977.

Tessman, L. Children of parting parents. New York: Aronson, 1978.

Tooley, K. Antisocial behavior and social alienation post-divorce: The
    "man of the house" and his mother. American Journal of
    Orthopsychiatry, 1976, 46, 33-42.

Toomin, M. The child of divorce. In R. E. Hardy and J. Cull (Eds.)
    Therapeutic needs of the family: Problems, descriptions and
    therapeutic approaches. Springfield, Ill.: C. C. Thomas, 1974.

Vaughn, B., Egeland, B. & Sroufe, L. Individual differences in infant-
    mother attachment at twelve and eighteen months. Child
    Development, 1979, 50, 971-975.

Waller, W. W. The Old and the new: Divorce and adjustment (3rd Ed.).
    Carbondale, Illinois: Southern University Press, 1967.

Waller, W. The old love and the new (2nd Ed.). Carbondale, Illinois:
    Southern Illinois University Press, 1958.

Wallerstein, J. & Kelly, J. California's children of divorce.
    Psychology Today, January, 1980, 67-76.

Wallerstein, J. S. & Kelly, J. B. The effects of parental divorce: The
    adolescent experience. In A. Koupernik (Ed.) The child in his
    family: Children at psychiatric risk (Vol. 3). New York:
    Wiley, 1974.

Wallerstein, J. S. & Kelly, J. B. The effects of parental divorce:
    Experiences of the preschool child. Journal of the American
    Academy of Child Psychiatry, 1975, 14, 600-616.

Wallerstein, J. S. & Kelly, J. B. The effects of parental divorce:
    Experiences of the child in later latency. American Journal of
    Orthopsychiatry, 1976, 46, 256-269.

Wallerstein, J. S. & Kelly, J. B. Surviving the Break-up. New York:
    Basic Books, Inc., 1980.

Weiss, R. Marital separation. New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1975.

Weiss, R. The emotional impact of marital separation. In G. Levinger &
        O. Moles (Eds.) Divorce and Separation. New York: Basic
        Books, Inc., 1979.

Westman, J., Cline, D., Swift, W., & Cramer, D. The role of psychiatry
        in divorce. Archives of General Psychiatry, 1970, 23, 413-420.

Wiseman, R. Crisis theory and the process of divorce. Social Casework,
        1975, 56, 233-240.

Wright, G. & Stetson, D. The impact of no-fault divorce law reform on
        divorce in American states. Journal of Marriage and the Family,
        1978, 40, 575-580.

APPENDIX A

QUESTIONNAIRE   *Code* _____

The focus of this questionnaire is on family composition and living
arrangements in families. This study is particularly concerned
with those families in which a parental separation and/or divorce
has occurred.

1. Age: _____   *Race* _____

2. Sex: Male _____   Female _____

3. Year in College: Frosh ____ Soph ____ Jr. ____ Sr. ____

4. Family Position:

    Please list the age and sex of each child in your family,
    including yourself.

    For example: Brother, 20   _____
                   Self, 18   _____
                   Sister, 15   _____
                   Stepbrother, 8   _____

    _____   _____

    _____   _____

    _____   _____

    _____   _____

5. Marital Status of Parents:

    _____ (a) Married and still living together
    _____ (b) Legally separated
    _____ (c) Divorced
    _____ (d) One or both parents deceased
    _____ (e) Other (please explain) _____

If you answered (b) or (c) to Question 5, please continue on to
answer all questions. If you answered other than (b) or (c) to
Question 5, you can skip ahead to Question 11.

6. Please indicate your age at the time of your parents' separation
    and/or divorce.

        Age at Separation _____

        Age at Divorce   _____

- 2 -

7. Please indicate your status in school at the time of your parents' separation and/or divorce, i.e.:

_____ (a) Preschool years
_____ (b) Primary Grades 'K-3)
_____ (c) Middle Grades (4-5)
_____ (d) Junior High Grades (6-8)
_____ (e) High School
_____ (f) College or Post-High School

School Status at Separation _____

School Status.at Divorce _____

8. With whom did you live following the separation and/or divorce?

_____ (a) Mother
_____ (b) Father
_____:(c) Other Relative (Please indicate what their relationship
          to you was) _____
_____ (d) Foster Home
_____ (e) Residential facility or group home
_____ (f) Other (Please explain) _____

          _____

9. If your parents are divorced, did either of them remarry?

_____ (a) Mother remarried
_____ (b) Father remarried
_____ (c) Both parents remarried
_____ (d) Neither parent remarried

10. If either of your parents remarried, what was your age at the time?

          Age when mother remarried _____

          Age when father remarried _____

11. What is your current living situation?

_____ (a) Live at home with both parents
_____ (b) Live at home with mother
_____ (c) Live at home with father
_____ (d) I've at home with other relative (please indicate their
          relationship to you) _____
_____ (e) Live at school, but return home for school breaks
_____ (f) Live at school, and live independently during school
          breaks.
_____ (g) Live independently of parent or parents.
_____ (h) Other (Please explain) _____

          _____

APPENDIX B

FAMILY QUESTIONNAIRE

Here is a list of things that you and your brother or sister might have done when you had a conflict. I would like you to choose the brother or sister in your family with whom you had the most conflict during _____.
Then I would like you to say how often each of you did the things listed during the year _____ when you had a conflict. In the first column, you will circle the number 0 through 5 that indicates how many times your brother or sister engaged in that behavior in a disagreement with you during that year. In the second column, you will indicate how many times you engaged in that behavior in a disagreement with that brother or sister in that year.

0 = Never
1 = Once that year
2 = Two or three times
3 = Often, but less than once a month
4 = About once a month
5 = More than once a month

	The BROTHER or SISTER in Question 27	ME
A. Tried to discuss the issue relatively calmly	0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5
B. Did discuss the issue relatively calmly	0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5
C. Got information to back up his or her side of things	0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5
D. Brought in someone else to help settle things (or tried to)	0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5
E. Argued heatedly but short of yelling	0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5
F. Yelled and/or insulted	0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5
G. Sulked and/or refused to talk about it	0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5
H. Stomped out of the room	0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5
I. Threw something (but not at the other) or smashed something	0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5
J. Threatened to hit or throw something at the other	0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5
K. Threw something at the other	0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5
L. Pushed, grabbed, or shoved the other	0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5
M. Hit (or tried to hit) the other person but not with anything	0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5
N. Hit or tried to hit the other person with something hard	0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5
O. Other. Please describe:_____	0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5

Here is the same list of things that you and your father and you
and your mother might have done when you had a conflict. Now taking
into account all disagreements (not just the most serious one). I
would like you to say how often you did the things listed at any time
during _____.
Answer by circling one of the below-listed numbers for each person.
The first column refers to behaviors your father engaged in while
in conflicts with you. The second column refers to behaviors you
engaged in while in conflicts with your father. The third column
refers to behaviors your mother engaged in during conflicts with
you. The fourth refers to behaviors you engaged in during conflicts
with your mother.

0 = Never
1 = Once that year
2 = Two or three times
3 = Often, but less than once a month
4 = About once a month
5 = More than once a month

FATHER	ME		MOTHER	ME
0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5	A.Tried to discuss the issue relatively calmly	0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5
0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5	B.Did discuss the issue relatively calmly	0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5
0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5	C.Got information to back up his or her side of things	0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5
0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5	D.Brought in someone else to help settle things (or tried to)	0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5
0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5	E.Argued heatedly but short of yelling	0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5
0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5	F.Yelled and/or insulted	0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5
0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5	G.Sulked and/or refused to talk about it	0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5
0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5	H.Stomped out of the room	0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5
0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5	I.Threw something (but not at the other) or smashed something	0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5
0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5	J.Threatened to hit or throw something at the other	0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5
0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5	K.Threw something at the other	0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5
0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5	L.Pushed, grabbed, or shoved the other	0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5
0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5	M.Hit (or tried to hit) the other person but not with anything	0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5
0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5	N.Hit or tried to hit the other person with something hard	0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5
0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5	O.Other. Please describe:_____	0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5

_____

_____

Finally, we have the same list of things your father and mother
might have done when they had a conflict. Now, taking all disagree-
ments into account (not just the most serious one), how often did
they do the things listed below at any time during _____.

The first column refers to behaviors your father engaged in during
conflicts with your mother. The second column refers to conflicts
your mother engaged in during conflicts with your father.

0 = Never
1 = Once that year
2 = Two or three times
3 = Often, but less than once a month
4 = About once a month
5 = More than once a month

	FATHER	MOTHER
A. Tried to discuss the issue relatively calmly	0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5
B. Did discuss the issue relatively calmly	0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5
C. Got information to back up his or her side of .... things	0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5
D. Brought in someone else to help settle things .... (or tried to)	0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5
E. Argued heatedly but short of yelling	0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5
F. Yelled and/or insulted	0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5
G. Sulked and/or refused to talk about it	0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5
H. Stomped out of the room	0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5
I. Threw something (but not at the other) or smashed ... something	0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5
J. Threatened to hit or throw something at the other ...	0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5
K. Threw something at the other person...................	0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5
L. Pushed, grabbed, or shoved the other	0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5
M. Hit (or tried to hit) the other person but not ...... with anything	0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5
N. Hit or tried to hit the other person with .... something hard	0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5
P. Threatened to break up the marriage by .... separation or divorce	0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5
O. Other. Please describe:_____	0 1 2 3 4 5	0 1 2 3 4 5

APPENDIX C

ATTITUDES TOWARDS MARRIAGE
QUESTIONNAIRE

Many things influence attitudes. A child's experience of his or her parent's marriage and home life while growing up is thought to have some impact on his or her own attitudes towards marriage as an adult. Similarly, cultural differences, educational differences, age, and many other factors may also influence your viewpoint. The following statements are aimed at discovering just what your own attitudes towards marriage are, at this point in time.

Next to each statement below are four spaces. Please mark an X in one of the four spaces to indicate whether you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree with each statement.

	Strongly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Somewhat Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Seeing my parents' relationship has given me a realistic picture of what marriage is really like.	___	___	___	___
I think that I have a better chance at a successful marriage than most people do.	___	___	___	___
I really don't know, at this point, if I will ever get married.	___	___	___	___
I think that marriage is a foundation that allows a person to hold him or herself together during rough times.	___	___	___	___
After seeing my parents' relationship, I'm pretty bitter about marriage.	___	___	___	___
I am determined to make a better choice than my parents did, with regard to marriage.	___	___	___	___
I don't think I could be as happy single as I could getting married.	___	___	___	___
After witnessing my parents' relationship, I have a lot to overcome before I can seriously consider marriage.	___	___	___	___
I will wait until I am older to marry.	___	___	___	___

- 2 -

	Strongly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Somewhat Disagree	Strongly Disagree
I have very little confidence that I could make a success of a marriage.	___	___	___	___
I would be happy if I could experience a marriage as good as my parents'.	___	___	___	___
Marriage would get in the way of my pursuing my own needs and goals.	___	___	___	___
Seeing my parents' marriage has made me aware of the consequences of failure.	___	___	___	___
I really feel sorry for people who aren't able or willing to make a life commitment to another person, because they miss so much.	___	___	___	___
I definitely never want to get married.	___	___	___	___
I view marriage as a commitment "until death do us part."	___	___	___	___
I think altogether too much emphasis is placed on the importance of marriage and family life.	___	___	___	___
I am optimistic that I will have a satisfying and successful marriage.	___	___	___	___
Seeing my parents' marriage has made me more willing to compromise in getting along with others.	___	___	___	___
if it weren't for wanting to have children, I would never consider getting married.	___	___	___	___
Making a good marriage is one of my most important life goals.	___	___	___	___
Seeing my parents' relationship has made me more cautious about marriage.	___	___	___	___

APPROVAL SHEET

The thesis submitted by Nancy K. Moersch has been read and approved by the following committee:

> Dr. J. Clifford Kaspar, Director
> Associate Professor, Psychology, Loyola
>
> Dr. Jeanne Foley
> Professor, Psychology, Loyola

The final copies have been examined by the director of the thesis and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated and that the thesis is now given final approval by the committee with reference to content and form.

The thesis is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

Aug 24, 1982   _J Clifford Kaspar_

Date   Director's Signature

176