THE EFFECTS OF DIVORCE ON CHILDREN: FAVORABLE OUTCOMES

DISSERTATION

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By

David Wayne Gately, B.A., M.A.

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Dissertation Committee:

Andrew I. Schwebel

Donald M. Dell

Charles Wenar

Thomas Milburn

Approved by

Adviser

Department of Psychology

To Adrienne, without whose love and support this work could not have been accomplished.

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VITA

July 27, 1961	Born - Huntington, New York
1983	B.A., Psychology, State University of New York at Binghamton, Binghamton, New York
1984-1985	Psychology Trainee, The Counseling and Consultation Service, The Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio
1986	M.A., Counseling Psychology, The Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio
1987	Psychology Trainee, Central Ohio Psychiatric Hospital, Columbus, Ohio
1988-1989	Psychology Trainee, Family Counseling Northwest, Columbus, Ohio
1989-1990	Clinical Psychology Intern, Veterans Administration Medical Center, Northport, New York

FIELDS OF STUDY

Major Field: Psychology.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Over ten million divorces were granted in the United States during the 1980s (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1990). The great number of people affected by divorce in the second half of the 20th century stimulated scholarly interest in this area. One topic that received considerable attention is the effects of parental divorce on children, a group affected at a rate of about one million per year since the mid 1970s (U.S. Bureau of Census, 1990).

Most of the earliest investigations of the effects of parental divorce on children viewed the divorced family as a deviation from the traditional 2-parent family, and attempted to link this "inferior" family structure to negative effects on children's adjustment and psychosocial development (Levitin, 1979). The picture of the effects of parental divorce on children was further colored in a negative way because these projects typically employed clinical samples and studied the crisis period immediately following divorce (Bernstein & Robey, 1962; Kalter, 1977; McDermott, 1968; Westman, 1972).

Later studies of non-clinical samples showed that, although divorce is associated with an initial crisis reaction in most children, long-term consequences are variable (Hetherington, Cox, & Cox, 1982). While longitudinal studies demonstrated that parental divorce may have long-term negative effects on the social, emotional, and cognitive functioning of children (Guidubaldi & Cleminshaw, 1985; Hetherington, Cox, & Cox, 1985), they also showed that children may escape long-term negative outcomes if the crisis of parental divorce is not compounded by multiple stressors and continued adversity (Hetherington, 1979, 1989; Hetherington et al., 1982, 1985).

The finding that divorce does not necessarily result in long-term dysfunction led to a search for individual, family, and environmental factors that moderate children's adjustment. Researchers found the quality of adjustment related to: the child's gender and age at the time of separation/divorce (Guidubaldi & Perry, 1985; Hetherington et al., 1982, 1985; Kalter & Rembar, 1981; Wallerstein & Kelly, 1980a); the child's temperament, locus of control, interpersonal knowledge, and level of coping resources (Ankerbrant, 1986; Hetherington, 1989; Kurdek & Berg; Kurdek, Blisk, & Siesky, 1981; Kurdek & Siesky, 1980a); the amount of interparental conflict prior to, during, and following separation/divorce (Emery, 1982; Hetherington et al., 1982; Jacobson, 1978; Wallerstein & Kelly, 1980b); the quality of parent-child relationships (Hess & Camara, 1979; Hetherington, Cox, & Cox,

1982; Wallerstein & Kelly, 1980a); the parent's mental and physical health (Guidubaldi & Cleminshaw, 1985; Guidubaldi & Perry, 1985); the type of custody arrangement (Ambert, 1984; Lowery & Settle, 1985; Santrock & Warshak, 1979; Santrock, Warshak, & Elliot, 1982; Warshak & Santrock, 1983; Wolchik, Braver, & Sandler, 1985); parental remarriage (Clingempeel & Segal, 1986; Hetherington et al., 1982; Santrock, Warshak, Lindbergh & Meadows, 1982); the number of major life changes experienced following divorce (Hetherington et al., 1985; Stolberg, Camplair, Currier, & Wells, 1987), including the amount of financial decline experienced by the post-divorce family (Desimone-Luis, O'Mahoney, & Hunt, 1979); and the social support available to both the parents and children (Isaacs & Leon, 1986).

Drawing upon the concept of stress, Wallerstein (1983a) and Peterson, Leigh, & Day (1984) developed models that account for the absence of negative outcomes in some children. For example, Wallerstein conceived of divorce as an acute social stressor that had consequences and made unique demands on children (differing from those associated with stressors like the death of a parent). Although families experiencing divorce and the loss of a parent pass through similar transitional stages (Schwebel, Fine, Moreland, & Prindle, 1988), studies comparing the short-and long-term effects on children of separation/divorce and death of a parent support Wallerstein's contention (Boyd & Parish, 1983; Douglas, Ross,

Hammond, & Mulligan, 1966; Felner, Stolberg, & Cowen; 1975; Gibson, 1969; Greenberg & Nay, 1982; Gregory, 1965; Hetherington, 1972; Mueller & Cooper, 1986; Parish, 1980, 1981; Rozendal, 1983; Santrock, 1975; Tuckman & Regan, 1966).

Wallerstein (1983a, 1983b) described the sequence of adjustments a child must make: 1) acknowledge the marital disruption, 2) regain a sense of direction and freedom to pursue customary activities, 3) deal with loss and feelings of rejection, 4) forgive the parents, 5) accept the permanence of divorce and relinquish longings for the restoration of the pre-divorce family, and 6) come to feel comfortable and confident in relationships. The successful completion of these tasks, which allows the child to stay on course developmentally, depends on the child's coping resources and the degree of support available. Of course, the divorce process also may include pre-separation distress, family conflict, and compromised parenting which both place children at risk and call for them to make adjustments well before the time when the legal divorce is granted (Block, Block & Gjerde, 1986).

Reports describing protective factors that could mitigate negative outcomes for children following parental divorce complemented findings being described in stress research. More specifically, several authors (Garmezy, 1981, Rutter, 1985; Werner, 1989; Werner & Smith, 1982) found that some children, although exposed to multiple stressors that put them

at risk, did not experience negative outcomes. Protective factors diminished the impact of these stressors. Although these investigators studied different stressors, their findings were remarkably similar and suggested that the factors which produce "resilience" in children-at-risk fit into three categories: 1) positive personality dispositions (i.e., active, affectionate, socially responsive, autonomous, flexible, intelligent; possessing self-esteem, an internal locus of control, self-control, and a positive mood); 2) a supportive family environment that encourages coping efforts; and 3) a supportive social environment that reinforces coping efforts and provides positive role models.

These protective factors reduce the likelihood of negative outcomes by ways such as: decreasing exposure to or involvement with risk factors; opening of opportunities for successful task accomplishment and growth; and promoting self-esteem and self-efficacy through secure, supportive personal relationships (Rutter, 1987). Besides helping children avoid short-term harm, these resiliency-building factors strengthen children so they will cope more effectively with and master the stressful life events they will encounter in the future. This "steeling" effect is a favorable outcome that develops after an exposure to stressors of a type and degree that is manageable in the context of the child's capacities and social situation (Rutter, 1987).

In contrast to pathogenic models, stress models can explain the absence in children of negative consequences in some areas after parental divorce. However, because the stress models view parental divorce as an inherently negative event that predisposes children to dysfunction and developmental delay unless moderated by variables which protect the child from its detrimental effects (Peterson et al., 1984; Wallerstein, 1983a), they do not lead investigators to search for instances of growth and enhanced functioning in children following parental divorce (Kanoy & Cunningham, 1984; McKenry & Price, 1984, 1988; Scanzoni, Polonko, Teachman, & Thompson, 1988).

Although much of the literature discusses children's struggle to cope with parental divorce and the unfavorable outcomes they may experience in one or more aspects of their lives, some children in adjusting to their changed circumstances before, during, and after parental divorce may also become strengthened in one or more areas. These individuals develop competencies or grow psychologically because of what they learn while undertaking the divorce-related challenges they face and/or because of the changes they experience in their self-view as a result of successfully meeting challenges.

Decades ago Bernstein and Robey (1962) suggested that successful coping with the demands presented by parental divorce can spur emotional and personality growth in children.

Since then a number of investigators have found these favorable outcomes in youngsters relative either to their pre-divorce status or to matched peers from intact family backgrounds. These include: Grossman, Shea, & Adams, 1980; Hetherington, 1989; Kelly & Wallerstein, 1976; Kurdek & Siesky, 1979, 1980a, 1980b, 1980c; MacKinnon, Stoneman & Brody 1984; Reinhard, 1977; Richmond-Abbott, 1984; Rosen, 1977; Santrock & Warshak, 1979; Slater, Stewart, & Linn, 1983; Springer & Wallerstein, 1983; Wallerstein, 1984, 1985a, 1987; Wallerstein & Kelly, 1974, 1976, 1980b; Warshak & Santrock, 1983; Weiss, 1979.

Therefore, a new model, the Challenge Model, is proposed (see Figure 1) that suggests children's long-term adjustment is not simply a function of how they cope with the disruption, pain, and stress of divorce. Instead, the Challenge Model attends to the unique set of challenges children face in their pre- and post-divorce family, and the demands and coping resources associated with each.

The Challenge Model is similar to general models of adaptation to crisis (McCubbin & Patterson, 1981), but was developed specifically to explain children's reactions to parental divorce. It proposes that the process of parental divorce involves a sequence of adjustment challenges that begin before separation and include changes in spousal and parent-child relationships, the allocation of family responsibilities and roles, living arrangements, the

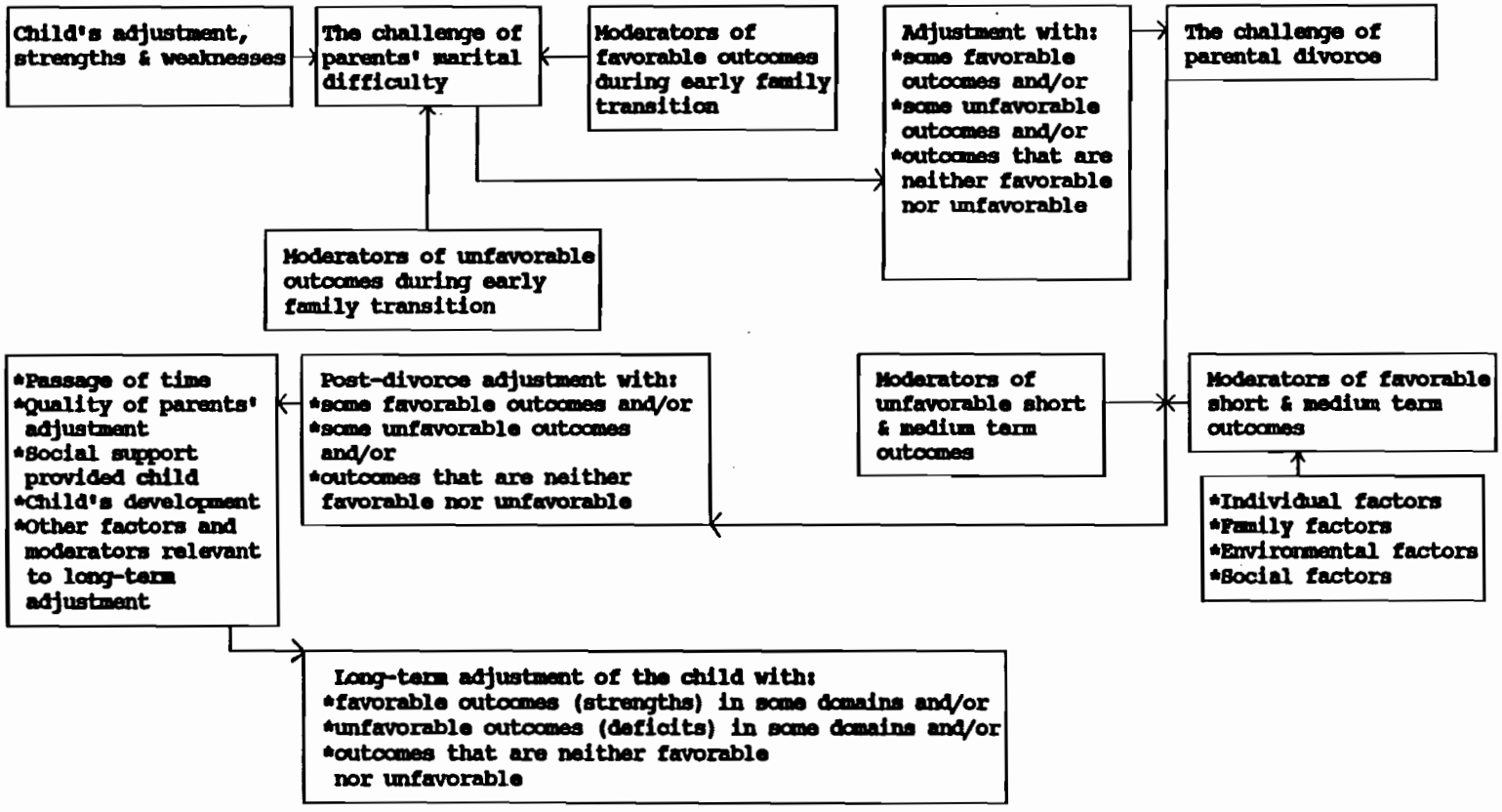

Figure 1

The Challenge Model[a]

[a] Adopted from Gately & Schwebel (unpublished manuscript).

availability of support, etc. (Hetherington, 1979; Price & McKenry, 1988). The success children experience in coping with the demands inherent in each change shapes the quality of their post-divorce adjustment outcomes in particular domains. Growth and enhanced functioning may result if children cope successfully in certain areas, while stunted development and maladjustment may result if children cope less successfully in particular domains. Given this perspective, children's overall post-divorce adjustment can range from primarily favorable to primarily unfavorable, but most typically consists of a mixture of outcomes across a number of domains of functioning.

Consistent with the stress and resilience literature, the Challenge Model maintains that the potential for enhanced functioning in each domain varies as a function of the level of demand placed upon the child and the level of coping resources (including social support) available. The levels of demand and coping resources are moderated by individual, family, environmental, and social-cultural factors. An appropriate challenge does not overwhelm the child, by outweighing his or her coping resources, but rather is within his capability, even if he must "stretch," and, therefore, is expected to enhance functioning and growth. However, if the level of demand exceeds available challenge-meeting resources, then unfavorable outcomes would be more likely.

The model views children's adjustment to divorce as a dynamic developmental process. The influence of individual, family, environmental, and social-cultural factors that moderate children's post-divorce outcomes are thought to vary over time and with children's age and developmental levels. For example, family factors are especially potent in protecting younger children from the adverse effects of divorce, while extra-family experiences and resources in the school and peer group become increasingly important protective factors as children grow older (Hetherington, 1989).

The Challenge Model maintains that the factors which moderate enhanced functioning and other favorable outcomes are not identical to those which influence dysfunction, developmental delay, and other unfavorable outcomes. Evidence for this position has been provided by Stolberg et al. (1987) who conducted a canonical correlation analysis of a set of adjustment measures completed by a non-clinical sample of divorced mothers and their children. The analysis yielded two orthogonal factors, one assessing enhanced, adaptive behavior and the other the presence of psychopathology. High scores on the adaptive/enhanced behavior dimension were associated with a high level of single parenting skills and a low level of pre-divorce marital hostility, while high scores on the maladaptive behavior dimension were associated with low levels of post-divorce custodial parent adjustment and a high frequency of life change experienced by children.

The number of studies that identify favorable outcomes of any type for children following parental divorce is small in contrast to the number of studies that have reported unfavorable outcomes (see reviews by Anthony, 1974; Fry & Addington, 1985; Kelly, 1988; Kurdek, 1981; Long & Forehand, 1987; Lopez, 1987; Santrock, 1987). To state the obvious, this difference in volume of research reports primarily reflects the reality of what children face before, during, and after their parents' divorce. However, a small yet significant part of the difference may be due to the way science has addressed the question of children's outcomes. Specifically, the content of the literature has certainly been shaped, in part, by the fact that neither the pathological nor the stress models heuristically guide researchers to search for favorable outcomes (Kanoy & Cunningham, 1984; McKenry & Price, 1984, 1988; Scanzoni et al., 1988) and the fact that the research methods which have been typically employed are more likely to detect negative consequences than positive ones (Blechman, 1982; Kanoy & Cunningham, 1984). For instance, the wide use of measures that identify weaknesses (Blechman, 1982; Kanoy & Cunningham, 1984), and of subjects drawn from clinical samples, who are more maladjusted than their peers (Isaacs, Leon, & Donohue, 1987), makes the likelihood of detecting favorable outcomes unlikely (Kanoy & Cunningham, 1984).

A similar issue is presented by the tendency among researchers to neglect children as a source of data while

using informants (eg., parents, teachers, clinicians) aware of children's family status (Kanoy & Cunningham, 1984). Teachers hold more negative expectations for children from divorced families than for their counterparts from intact families (Ball, Newman, & Scheuren, 1984) while parents and clinicians, in contrast to the children, tend to overestimate the negative effects of the divorce (Forehand, Brody, Long, Slotkin, & Fauber, 1986; Wolchik, Sandler, Braver, & Fogas, 1985). In fact, correlations between children's ratings of their own post-divorce adjustment and their parent's ratings are typically low (Kurdek & Siesky, 1980b), a finding consistent with correlations found between children's self-ratings and the ratings of adult informants in other areas of the literature (Achenbach, McConaughy & Howell, 1987).

In addition, the literature which is available that does identify favorable outcomes tends to suffer from the same weaknesses found in many of the studies identifying unfavorable outcomes for children after parental divorce: 1) a lack of adequate control for possible confounding variables (e.g., parental conflict, SES), 2) the use of non-representative or inadequately defined samples, 3) the absence of comparison groups of intact families or of subjects matched on relevant variables, 4) measurement problems, including a reliance on informants aware of children's family status, the use of instruments of unknown reliability and validity, and the failure to measure variables that might influence outcomes

(e.g., children's social support, temperament, and emotional and cognitive capacities), 5) a tendency to suggest causal relationships from correlational results, and 6) the absence of multivariate interactional models to explain the range of positive and negative outcomes identified. Therefore, caution must be used in drawing conclusions from this literature.

Nevertheless, a comprehensive review of the research that is currently available suggests that children who cope successfully with parental divorce may experience favorable outcomes in four areas: maturity, self-esteem and self-efficacy, empathy, and androgyny (see Chapter 2, Literature Review). These are investigated in the present study.

Specifically, it appears that: 1) successfully coping with the increased responsibilities acquired and life changes faced in the post-divorce family can for some children result in an enhanced maturity characterized by increased independence, self-control, and responsibility (Kurdek & Siesky, 1980a, 1980b; Reinhard, 1977; Rosen, 1977; Weiss, 1979), 2) the child's attaintment of a position of increased status and responsibility in the post-divorce family, and the acquisition of generalized skills for coping with divorce related responsibilities and changes can lead to increased self-esteem and self-efficacy (Santrock & Warshack, 1979; Slater et al., 1983; Wallerstein & Kelly, 1980a), 3) the practice in role and perspective taking that children of divorcing parents experience as they attempt to understand the

feelings of other family members and provide emotional and practical support can lead to increased empathy (Hetherington, 1989; Kurdek & Siesky, 1980a; Reinhard, 1977; Rosen, 1977; Weiss, 1979), and 4) the modeling of nontraditional attitudes and behaviors by parents (who, following divorce, assume roles previously accomplished by the opposite-sex ex-spouse), and the child's own increased engagement in nontraditional activities following divorce as he or she acquires new responsibilities can result in increased androgyny (Kurdek & Siesky, 1980c; MacKinnon et al., 1984, Richmond-Abbott, 1984, Stevenson & Black, 1988).

In addition, a number of individual, family process, family structure, and environmental factors can be identified which appear to influence the level of demand experienced by children following divorce and the level of coping resources available to them, and thereby moderate the level of growth and enhanced functioning they experience (see Chapter 2, Literature Review). The present study examines several of these.

The individual factors assessed in the present study which are hypothesized to influence the level of favorable outcomes experienced by children following divorce include the child's: 1) gender, 2) race, 3) age at time of divorce, and 4) level of general intelligence.

First, the literature suggests that while some females from divorced families may benefit relative to peers in terms

of increased prosocial behavior (Hetherington, 1989), males appear to benefit in terms of increased self-esteem and maturity (Santrock & Warshak, 1979; Slater et al., 1983). Second, favorable outcomes may be more likely in children from the black community and other social groups who see the single parent home as a viable (rather than deviant) family form (Fine & Schwebel, 1987). Finally, older children and those with higher levels of cognitive-social competency (including I.Q.) are likely to experience greater success in meeting divorce related demands, and thereby experience more favorable outcomes (Ankenbrandt, 1986; Krantz, Clark, Pruyn, & Usher, 1985, Kurdek, 1981; Kurdek & Berg, 1983; Kurdek & Siesky, 1979, 1980a; Rosen, 1977; Weiss, 1979).

The family process variables that were assessed include; 1) the quality of parent-child relationships, 2) the parent's sex-role attitudes, 3) the amount of responsibility acquired by the child, and 4) the amount of interpersonal support available.

First, a quality parent-child relationship is associated with favorable outcomes in children (Kurdek & Siesky, 1980; Santrock & Warshak, 1979; Stolberg, Camplair, Currier, & Wells, 1987). Second, the sex-role attitudes of parents and their degree of acceptance of nontraditional behavior is likely to influence the level of androgyny experienced by children following divorce (Richmond-Abbott, 1984). Third, the increased responsibility for self and others acquired by

children in divorced families is likely to foster a full range of favorable outcomes if demands are appropriate and support sufficient (Hetherington, 1989). Finally, a low conflict, supportive interpersonal environment is associated with favorable outcomes (Camara & Resnick, 1988; Nelson, 1981; Santrock & Warshak, 1979; Slater et al., 1987; Stolberg et al., 1987; Wallerstein & Kelly, 1980a; Wyman, Cowen, Hightower, & Pedro-Carroll, 1985), but may also limit them if the support provided interferes with coping efforts, limits the number of nontraditional activities engaged in by children, or prevents personal attributions following successful coping (Bandura, 1977).

The family structure variables that were assessed include; 1) the number of children in the post-divorce family, 2) the presence or absence of an older sibling, 3) the remarriage of either parent, and 4) the presence or absence of step-siblings.

The number and age of children in the post-divorce family can influence the range of responsibilities adopted by children, and thereby the level of favorable outcomes experienced. When resources (available extended family, funds to hire housekeepers, sitters, etc.) are limited and the number of siblings is small the opportunity to acquire new responsibilities and thereby experience favorable outcomes increases. However, the potential for these favorable outcomes is limited in certain circumstances. For example,

one older child with several young siblings may become overburdened (Fishbein, 1982) and the presence of an older sibling may reduce the need for younger siblings to take on new responsibilities thereby limiting potential benefits.

Some tasks youngsters were performing in the single-parent home may be assumed by a stepparent or step-siblings and the loss may effect the youngsters' self-view and level of androgyny. The early remarriage of the parents may altogether prevent the development of enhanced competencies and self-esteem in children that would have otherwise resulted from extra responsibilities acquired in the single-parent home (Hodges & Bloom, 1984). The loss may be offset by the increased social support and opportunities to develop enhanced coping resources and social competencies that youngsters gain in their new stepparent and stepsibling relationships.

The environmental factors assessed include; 1) the number of life changes experienced, 2) the perceived change in financial status following divorce, 3) the perceived financial status of the current family, and 4) the use of divorce related professional help.

First, a large number of major life changes following divorce can overburden parents and children, thereby limiting their potential for growth (Hetherington et al., 1985; Raphe & Arthur, 1978; Stolberg et al., 1987). Second, a moderate post-divorce financial decline in middle and upper class families can foster increased maturity in adolescents,

characterized by reasonable, adult-like attitudes toward financial matters and a greater appreciation for the value of goods (Wallerstein, 1984; 1987; Wallerstein & Kelly, 1974). However, many post-divorce families experience financial hardships (Brown, Feldberg, Fox, & Kohen, 1976; Buelher, Hogan, Robinson, & Levey, 1987; Espenshade, 1979; McLanahan, 1983) and the demands of life in such families can be so extreme that divorce serves only to overwhelm family members, rather then provide them with an opportunity for growth and enhanced functioning (Ambert, 1982; 1984; Colletta, 1979, 1983; Desimone-Luis, O'Mahoney, & Hunt, 1979; Shaw & Emery, 1987). Finally, those children who are brought to helping professionals for treatment are likely to be among the most maladjusted, but if treated successfully may experience favorable outcomes.

The purpose of the present study is to provide a test of the Challenge Model by directly searching for favorable outcomes and the factors which influence them in individuals who have experienced parental divorce. The study was designed to avoid the conceptual and methodological biases and weaknesses of earlier studies. A well defined sample was drawn from a non-clinical, educationally advantaged population. Objective self-report measures of known reliability and validity were employed to measure favorable outcomes and their moderators. A control group of participants from intact families matched on age and gender

was included, and statistical controls for possible confounding variables were employed.

The results of the present study are expected to produce a number of benefits, including the advancement of theory in the area, the development of guidelines for interventions designed to foster favorable outcomes for children, and the provision of information to parent's considering or in the process of adjusting to divorce. It is expected that the information generated will help them proceed in ways that increase the likelihood of favorable outcomes for their children.

Hypotheses

It is hypothesized that individuals from divorced family backgrounds will demonstrate growth and enhanced functioning in a number of areas relative to individuals from intact families. Specifically, it is hypothesized that:

1) Individuals from divorced families will have acquired more responsibilities and experienced more life change than those from intact families, and when challenge meeting resources are held constant will show increased maturity, self-esteem, self-efficacy, empathy, and androgyny.

2) Individuals from divorced families who following parental divorce acquire a high level of responsibilities and experience a high level of interpersonal support will, when additional challenge meeting resources are held constant,

show more maturity, self-esteem, self-efficacy, empathy, and androgyny than individuals from intact families.

Since, it is hypothesized that children's favorable outcomes after divorce are influenced by a number of factors which moderate the level of demand experienced and coping resources available. It is further hypothesized that:

3) A number of individual, family, and environmental factors will be identified which significantly influence the level of favorable outcomes experienced by individuals from divorced families.

Finally, since it is possible that those individuals from divorced families who experience more favorable outcomes, may do so relative to their counterparts from intact families it is further hypothesized that:

4) From the set of factors which are found to significantly influence the level of favorable outcomes experienced by individuals from divorced families, a number of factors will be identified which will also moderate the relationship between family background and favorable outcomes.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

Many studies have reported negative outcomes for children following parental divorce and reviews of this literature are available elsewhere (see reviews by Anthony, 1974; Fry & Addington, 1985; Kelly, 1988; Kurdek, 1981; Long & Forehand, 1987; Lopez, 1987; Santrock, 1987). The present literature review focuses on research identifying favorable outcomes and the factors which influence them in individuals who have experienced parental divorce.

It is based on a comprehensive search of the literature that has investigated post-divorce outcomes in children. The review includes literature generated from computer searches of the Psychological Abstracts, Family Resources, and Educational Resources Information Center data bases. Manual searches of the Psychological Abstracts, The Inventory of Marriage and Family Literature, and the Social Sciences Index bases were conducted to supplement the computer searches. Finally, empirical and theoretical contributions published in books, chapters, and Dissertation Abstracts were reviewed.

First, those studies that reported favorable outcomes in children following parental divorce will be discussed. Then the results of studies that have identified factors which appear to influence the level of favorable outcomes experienced by children will be presented.

Reports of Favorable Post-Divorce Outcomes

Along with the methodologically sound investigations identifying favorable post-divorce outcomes in children, there are some studies which suffer from the same weaknesses found in some studies identifying unfavorable post-divorce outcomes: 1) a lack of adequate control for possible confounding variables (i.e., SES, parental conflict), 2) the use of non-representative or inadequately defined samples, 3) the absence of comparison groups of intact families or of subjects matched on relevant variables, 4) measurement problems, including a reliance on informants aware of children's family status, the use of instruments of unknown reliability and validity, and the failure to take into account variables that might influence outcomes (i.e., children's social support, temperament, and emotional and cognitive capacities), 5) a tendency to suggest causal relationships from correlational results, and 6) the absence of multivariate interactional models to explain the range of positive and negative outcomes identified. Therefore caution must be used in drawing conclusions from this literature.

The Developmental Perspective

The research programs of Hetherington and Wallerstein and Kelly and their collaborators show the value of longitudinal work in this area and its power to direct attention to two basic factors: children's developmental level at the time of their parents' separation and divorce and the amount of time that has elapsed between measurement and the point of separation/divorce. Wallerstein and Kelly (1980a) traced the adjustment of an initial convenience sample of 131 children, aged 2½ to 18 years old, from 60 mother-custody families who were offered prevention-oriented psychological assistance. They interviewed children and family members at separation, and 1, 5, and 10 years post-separation.

At one year post-separation, no positive outcomes were identified for preschoolers (2½ to 6 years old) (Wallerstein & Kelly, 1975). However, a number of early latency age children (7 to 8 years old) had acquired a more realistic view of the world and enhanced self-esteem (Wallerstein & Kelly, 1976). This increase in self-esteem was found only in children who had distanced themselves from parental pressures for allegiance and, in this way, evidently experienced mastery of a difficult situation. Later latency age (9 to 10 years old) children demonstrated an increased empathy towards one or both parents (Wallerstein & Kelly, 1976), appearing to perceive their parents' needs with great sensitivity. They also provided emotional support to and assumed

responsibilities for younger siblings, seemingly benefiting in terms of an enhanced interpersonal knowledge and skill.

Positive outcomes at one year post-separation for adolescents (12 to 18 years) included increases in maturity, independence, self-esteem, and empathy (Springer & Wallerstein, 1983; Wallerstein & Kelly 1974), as evidenced by mature attitudes toward financial matters (e.g., increased capacity for delay of gratification, more realistic understanding of financial priorities, and gratefulness for what they had), an increased understanding of the need for self-reliance, a more realistic view of their parents' strengths, weaknesses, and personality differences, a more realistic view of the hazards and potentials of marriage, a consolidation of independent moral and ethical standards, and an increased willingness to assume responsibilities for self and family. Gains in self-esteem and empathy appeared to be a function of successful coping with parental pressures for allegiance, an increased sense of competence associated with a marked growth in independence, and an increase in compassion and warmth toward one or both parents.

At five years post-divorce, Wallerstein and Kelly (1980b) reported that 34% of the children possessed high levels of self-esteem and were coping competently at home and school. A number of children at all ages displayed signs of increased maturity, independence, and empathy.

At 10 years post-divorce, maturity and empathy were evident in many children who were preschoolers at the time of divorce (Wallerstein, 1984). They reported appreciating the efforts and sacrifices of their custodial mothers, an increased awareness of financial matters, and a respect for the importance of carefully choosing a marital partner. Many children who were early latency age at the time of divorce spoke proudly of their independence and self-sufficiency (Wallerstein, 1987), and many who had been in their late latency or adolescence reported having a fuller appreciation of the mate-selection task, and an enhanced inner-strength and sense of realism, determination, and responsibility to self and others (Wallerstein, 1985a).

Wallerstein and Kelly's work suggests the kinds of favorable outcomes that can emerge in the aftermath of parental divorce. However, the confidence in and the generalizability of their findings are limited by the absence of an appropriate intact family control group, the fact that the subjects were offered treatment, and the lack of demonstrated reliability and validity of the interview methods employed.

Hetherington et al., (1982, 1985) initially studied 144 preschoolers, half of whom were from divorced, mother-custody homes and half (matched on age, sex, birth order, and preschool attended) from never-divorced intact families. Subjects were not offered treatment, and child adjustment was

assessed using a multimethod, multisource approach which included measures of good reliability and validity. Six years later additional data was collected from 124 of the original families and from new subjects, including children from single-parent mother custody, two parent intact, and remarried stepfather families.

A cluster analysis of measures of current adjustment at the time of follow-up indicated that while children from divorced and remarried families exhibited some maladaptive qualities, they had adapted exceptionally well in the opportunistic-competent and caring-competent clusters (Hetherington, 1989). These children were unusually competent, flexible, and persistent in dealing with demanding and stressful situations and were described by others as curious, energetic, assertive, self-sufficient, and interpersonally skilled. Finally, they were high in self-esteem, popular with peers and teachers, low in behavior problems, and achieving at an average to above average level academically. Although they shared similar positive characteristics, children in the opportunistic-competent cluster possessed a manipulative quality that children in the caring-competent cluster did not, and they lacked the latter group's altruism and compassion.

Hetherington (1989) found that contact with a caring adult was the most salient characteristic in the background of all these children. Besides that, the children in the

opportunistic-competent cluster frequently came from high conflict families and those in which one parent had problems in personal adjustment or rejected or neglected them. Almost all children in the caring-competent cluster were girls, half of whom were from divorced mother-headed households. A unique factor in their background was that they assumed responsibility for the care of others at a young age.

The review of the findings from these projects and from other divorce-adjustment studies suggests four areas in which children may have favorable outcomes: in maturity, self-esteem, empathy, and androgyny. Each is discussed below.

Maturity

Intact families have an "echelon structure" in which parents form the executive unit. In the single-parent home this structure is replaced by a parent-child partnership that encourages children to assume more self and family responsibility and to participate more fully in important family decisions (Weiss, 1979). Such involvement fosters a maturity evidenced by increased levels of responsibility, independence, and awareness of adult values and concerns.

A number of studies employing nonclinical samples support Weiss's conclusions. Kurdek and Siesky (1980a) reported that about 80% of the 132, 5 to 19 year-old children they sampled (four years post-separation) believed they had assumed increased responsibilities after the divorce and learned to rely on themselves more. Their parents agreed, with about 75%

of the 74 parents sampled rating their children as more mature and independent (Kurdek & Siesky, 1980b). Similar findings were reported by Rosen (1977), who assessed subjects 6-10 years after their parents divorce and by Reinhard (1977), who surveyed 46 adolescents three years post-divorce.

Children from single-parent families spend more time working in the home and taking care of siblings (Amato, 1987; Bohannon & Erikson, 1978; Hetherington, 1989; Zakariya, 1982). This can foster maturity, evidenced by an increased level of independence, realism, and identity development, in those with appropriate work loads and support. Further, single-parents tend to foster maturity when they 1) involve children in appropriate decision making and in a healthy range of responsibilities in the post-divorce family (Bohannon & Erikson, 1978; Devall, Stoneman, & Brody, 1986; Hetherington, 1989; Kurdek & Siesky, 1979, 1980a; Reinhard, 1977; Wallerstein, 1985a; Weiss, 1979; Zakariya, 1982), and 2) allow children appropriate access to feelings that they, the adult caretakers, have as vulnerable individuals who may not always be able to meet the children's needs (Springer & Wallerstein, 1983; Wallerstein & Kelly, 1974).

Finally, a distinction is needed between pseudomaturity, a precocious adoption of adult roles and responsibilities, and maturity, an adaptive development that helps individuals cope more effectively. Pseudomaturity is seen in females from divorced families who display flirtatious and attention-

seeking behavior with male interviewers (Hetherington, 1972), and who engage in earlier and more frequent sexual activity (Boss, 1987; Hetherington, 1972; Kinnaird & Gerrard, 1986) and possess a greater likelihood of premarital pregnancy (Boss, 1987) than counterparts from intact families. Pseudomaturity is also seen in both males and females from divorced families who engage in earlier and more frequent dating activity (Booth, Brinkerhoff & White, 1984; Hetherington, 1972) and marry earlier (Boss, 1987; Glenn & Kramer, 1987; Mueller & Pope, 1977) than peers from intact families.

Self-Esteem

Children may experience increased self-esteem in the aftermath of parental divorce because they cope effectively with changed circumstances, and are asked to assume and successfully perform new responsibilities. Santrock and Warshak (1979) studied 6-11 year old children, three years after their parents' divorce, and matched youngsters from intact, mother-custody, and father-custody families. Father-custody boys demonstrated higher levels of self-esteem and lower levels of anxiety than intact family boys, while the opposite was true for girls. Slater et al. (1983) studied matched adolescents and found that boys from divorced family backgrounds possessed significantly higher levels of self-esteem than boys from intact and girls from both intact and divorced family backgrounds. Girls from divorced family backgrounds had lower levels of self-esteem than their

counterparts from intact families. These results are consistent with Wallerstein and Kelly's (1980a).

One circumstance that appears to foster boys' self-esteem is that they may be more heavily relied upon by custodial parents (most of whom are women) than girls, and as a result may gain a position of increased responsibility and status in the post-divorce family. A study of children raised during the Great Depression indicated that older children were strengthened by assuming domestic responsibilities and part-time work (Elder, 1974).

Increased self-esteem may also stem from feelings of self-efficacy, as the individual copes successfully with the challenges presented by the divorce experience. Feelings of self-efficacy may also develop from vicarious experience, verbal persuasion, and a reduction in the level of fear associated with performing particular behaviors (Bandura, Adams, and Beyer, 1977). Concretely, this suggests that divorcing parents can benefit their children by modeling adaptive coping behavior (Kaslow & Hyatt, 1982) and by persuading children to cope more effectively. Children are most likely to develop hardiness if the post-divorce family environment is characterized by a moderate level of demand, a positive view of divorce-related changes, and parental support of children's efforts to perform new responsibilities (Maddi & Kobasa, 1984).

Empathy

Some children in divorced and single-parent families show increased concern for the welfare of family members (Kurdek & Siesky, 1980b; Reinhard, 1977; Weiss, 1979). For example, Hetherington (1989) found older girls in divorced families, in contrast to peers, are more often involved in supportive and nurturing teaching, play, and caretaking activities with younger sisters and tend to help and share more frequently. Likewise, about 25% of Rosen's (1977) South African children sample reported they had gained a greater understanding of human emotions as a result of their parents' divorce 6 to 10 years earlier.

Although Wallerstein (1985b) suggested that children's increase in empathy does not extend beyond the parent-child relationship (particularly when parents overburden children with requests for emotional and practical support), Hetherington (1989) believes the increased empathy and sensitivity may reflect a more general orientation. The conditions prevalent during children's adjustment may determine the extent to which empathy develops and generalizes. If children are encouraged to provide age-appropriate emotional and practical support to family members, they may be able to extend themselves, gaining an understanding of others' feelings and, in this way, practice and refine their role- and perspective-taking skills. Hetherington and Parke (1979) suggested that more advanced

role-taking skills are related to increased altruism, prosocial behavior, communication skills, moral standards, and empathetic understanding.

Androgyny

Necessity, encouragement from others, and the observation of models are among the factors that can lead children to shift away from stereotypical sex-role thinking and behavior and toward androgyny. This shift, in turn, can result in increased cognitive and behavioral flexibility (Bem, 1975; Bem & Lenney, 1976; Bem, Martyna, & Watson, 1976).

MacKinnon et al. (1984) investigated the effects of marital status and maternal employment on sex-role orientations in matched groups of mothers and children between 3 and 6 years old. While employment influenced mother's sex-role views, divorce appeared related to children's sex-role views. These authors suggested that the more androgenous sex-role views of the children in the post-divorce homes may stem from the mothers modeling more generalized sex-role behavior, or from the children assuming more non-traditional responsibilities.

Kurdek & Siesky (1980c) investigated the sex-role self-concepts of divorced single parents and their 10 to 19 year old children, approximately four years post-separation. They found that custodial and noncustodial parents and their children possessed higher levels of self-reported androgyny, when compared to published norms, and that the boys and girls

possessed more androgynous sex-role self-concepts than a comparison group of children from intact family backgrounds.

Richmond-Abbott (1984) found that the sex-role attitudes of children, ages 8 to 14, tended to reflect the liberal ones of their divorced, single-parent mothers. However, although the mothers stated they wanted their children to behave in nontraditional ways, children were encouraged to pursue and tended to prefer sex-stereotyped chores and activities. This fits with the failure of others to find an effect of divorce on preadolescent female's sex-role orientation (Kalter et al., 1985; Hetherington, 1972). Another finding, that the girls in the sample foresaw themselves engaging in nontraditional behaviors and occupations in the future, supports a conclusion that clear post-divorce increases in androgynous attitudes and behavior may not emerge until children cope with adolescent identity issues.

Stevenson and Black (1988) conducted a meta-analysis of 67 studies that compared the sex-role development of children in father-present and father-absent homes. The applicability of their findings to the present issue are limited, by the fact that father absence because of divorce was not treated separately from father absence because of death or other reasons. Nonetheless, some conclusions they drew fit well with points made above. Specifically, father-absent female adolescents and young adults were slightly but consistently less feminine than father-present peers in measures of

traditionally feminine characteristics such as nurturance and expressiveness. Similarly, father-absent preschool boys, compared to their father-present peers, made fewer stereotypically sex-typed choices in picking toys and activities. However, older father-absent boys were more stereotypical than their father-present peers in their overt behavior, particularly in aggression. This could be related to the fact that in a mother-headed household an older boy may be asked to assume "man-of-the-house" duties.

In conclusion, the literature suggests that increased androgyny in children may develop following divorce if parents model nontraditional attitudes and behaviors or if children, by necessity and/or with parental encouragement, engage in nontraditional activities following divorce. While children in adolescence may struggle with androgynous thoughts, feelings, and behaviors, by their late teens and early twenties many will have worked through the issues. For example, two studies show that college men who had experienced father absence reported less stereotypical vocational preferences (Stevenson & Black, 1988). Finally, methodology has affected findings: While data collected from parents and teachers assessed father-absent boys' behavior as being more stereotypical than father-present boys, self-report measures indicated the opposite was true. In this connection note that teacher ratings have differed depending on whether they

thought they were rating a child from a divorced or intact home (Ball et al., 1984; Santrock & Tracy, 1978).

Moderators of Positive Outcomes

The discussion of the many factors that influence whether children experience enhanced functioning and growth following parental divorce and, if so, when, how much, and in what areas, is presented below, organized by the use of Kurdek's (1981) framework that conceptualizes post-divorce adjustment as a function of the following: 1) The ontogenic system (the child's competencies for dealing with stress), 2) The microsystem (the nature of family functioning and parental support available), 3) The exosystem (the environmental changes experienced by the post-divorce family and the extended and extra family support systems available), and 4) The macrosystem (the social and cultural beliefs, values, and attitudes concerning family life that influence children's post-divorce adjustment).

The Ontogenic System: Individual Factors

Gender. Kalter et al., (1985) and Fulton (1979) demonstrated that gender influences the configuration of symptoms experienced by children following divorce. Preadolescent girls tend to experience less behavioral disruption and fewer problems in cognitive, emotional, and social development than do boys (Hammond, 1979; Hetherington et al., 1979, 1982; Hodges, Buchsbaum, & Tierney, 1984; Kelly & Wallerstein, 1976; Kurdek & Berg, 1983; Plunkett, Schaefer,

Kalter, Okla, & Schreier, 1986; Wallerstein & Kelly, 1975, 1976), particularly when appropriate parental control is unavailable and in families headed by an unremarried mother (Hetherington et al., 1985; Zaslow, 1988, 1989). Although these differences dissipate over time (Wallerstein & Kelly, 1980b), and are absent by adolescence (Zaslow, 1988, 1989), some females, but not males from divorced families appear to benefit relative to peers in terms of increased prosocial behavior (Hetherington, 1989), and one long-term study found differences in psychological adjustment favoring adult women as opposed to men from divorced family backgrounds (Kulka & Weingarten, 1979).

Preadolescent and adolescent males, but not females from divorced family backgrounds have been found to display higher levels of self-esteem and maturity, and lower levels of separation anxiety, than their counterparts from intact family backgrounds (Santrock & Warshak, 1979; Slater et al., 1983; Warshak & Santrock, 1983). Differences in well-being favoring males as opposed to females from divorced families have also been identified in adolescents and young adults (Allison & Furstenberg, 1989; Glenn & Kramer, 1985). In addition, adult males from divorced family backgrounds display lower levels of marital disruption due to divorce than females (Glenn & Kramer, 1987; Glenn & Shelton, 1983). It appears the age and type of outcome are critical variables when considering gender differences in adjustment to parental divorce. Results vary

considerably depending on the age group and the type of outcome that is the focus of study.

Age. Children's age at the time of parental divorce influences their symptom configuration (Kalter et al., 1985; Fulton, 1979) and their initial post-divorce adjustment (Kline, Tschann, Johnston, & Wallerstein, 1989; Kurdek & Berg, 1983; Kurdek and Siesky, 1979, 1980a; Wallerstein & Kelly, 1975). Younger children initially have poorer outcomes, and this increased risk for adverse effects tends to persist for some time (Allison & Furstenberg, 1989), a finding Kurdek (1981) explains in terms of older children's enhanced ability to appraise the divorce situation accurately and to experience a degree of control over its aftermaths. In this connection, Kurdek and Berg (1983) found that two age-related factors, interpersonal reasoning and internal locus of control, were positively correlated with children's divorce adjustment.

Weiss (1979) suggested other reasons why older children experience more positive outcomes. They can withstand higher levels of parental deprivation and they can better meet the challenges presented in single-parent families. These fit with Wallerstein and Kelly's (1974) conclusion that adolescents are more likely than younger children to gain self-esteem and maturity following divorce because they are less dependent on parents for nurturance and protection, and are better able to distance themselves from and avoid entanglement in their parents' problems.

Finkel (1974, 1975), studying college students' retrospective accounts of traumatic events, found that increased age was associated with an increased likelihood that individuals would successfully convert traumas into "sterns" (growth potentiating experiences) through a process of cognitive reevaluation. Finkel's observation fits with Rosen's (1977) and Kurdek and Siesky's (1979, 1980a) finding that both children who were older at the time of divorce and their parents were more likely to report that the children had developed strengths as a result of adjusting to divorce.

In considering age at time of divorce, both short- and long-term adjustment must be considered. Younger children's increased risk for adjustment problems appears to remain relatively stable during the first five years following parental separation/divorce (Allison & Furstenberg, 1989). However, ten years post-separation, children who had experienced divorce at preschool or early latency ages were found to display higher levels of adjustment and less distress than those who experienced it during later latency or adolescence (Wallerstein 1984, 1987). Wallerstein believes the differences can be understood in terms of the younger children's dimmer memories of the painful period immediately following separation and to the opportunity they have in later years to rework their relationship with the noncustodial parent. Future studies which attempt to separate the effects

of age at the time of divorce from the effects of time since divorce are needed.

Level of cognitive and social competencies. Ankenbrandt (1986) found that children's cognitive coping assets, and in particular their level of learned resourcefulness, was positively related to their post-divorce adjustment. Krantz, Clark, Pruyn, & Usher (1985) reported that children's level of coping resources, defined as the number of effective solutions generated in response to divorce specific problems, was positively related to their level of post-divorce adjustment both at home and school. Children with higher levels of interpersonal understanding and internal locus of control have also been shown to experience more positive post-divorce outcomes than their peers (Kurdek & Berg, 1983; Kurdek et al., 1981).

Besides better equipping children to successfully master and grow from the challenges they themselves face at the time of parental divorce, having above-average intelligence, interpersonal knowledge and skill, and personal coping resources may enable children to assist other family members. Kurdek and Siesky (1980a) determined that children who possess higher levels of internal locus of control, interpersonal knowledge, and intelligence than their peers were more likely to identify their custodial parent's need for help. Recognizing family members' needs, in turn, may lead these

children to assume and grow from performing new post-divorce responsibilities.

Temperament. Early temperamental patterns interact with parenting styles to predict later adjustment (Rutter, Birch, Thomas & Chess, 1964). Temperamentally easy children, who are more adaptable to change and less vulnerable to adversity (Rutter, 1979), are more likely than difficult children to adapt to post-divorce stressors and experience favorable outcomes, if demands on them are moderate and they receive sufficient support (Hetherington, 1989).

The Microsystem: Family Factors

Parental modeling. Parents experience a wide range of adjustment difficulties following divorce (Blumenthal, 1967; Briscoe, Smith, Robins, Martin, & Gaskin, 1973; Hetherington et al., 1982; Robertson, 1974), and if they meet these successfully, their children benefit (Kanoy, Cunningham, White, & Adams, 1984; Kurdek & Berg, 1983; Guidubaldi & Perry, 1985). Parents who cope well serve as a model for their children of how to deal effectively with strained interpersonal relationships and major life crises (Kaslow and Hyatt, 1982) and, as Bandura (1977) proposed, provide vicarious experience that can increase the children's self-efficacy expectations.

Role reallocation. Families that encounter divorce, like those who experience the death of a spouse/parent, have vacant roles they must fill (Schwebel, Fine, Moreland, & Prindle,

1988). Consequently, conclusions drawn from a longitudinal study of 54 cancer patients and their families are applicable (Vess, Moreland & Schwebel, 1985a,b). The authors found that the method of role reallocation used by families after the death of a spouse/parent and the quality of communication among surviving family members significantly influenced family cohesion and how well roles were performed. Specifically, families characterized by flexible power structures, open communication, and an ability (rather than traditional sex-role based) role assignment system experienced enhanced role performance and increased family cohesion.

The same benefits would be expected in post-divorce families that have flexible power structures, open communication, and ability-based role allocations. Moreover, the children in such families would be expected to have more favorable outcomes because they would be given roles compatible with their abilities. As a result they, in contrast to their counterparts from other types of homes, would be more likely to experience success, increased competencies, and greater self-esteem. In addition, competence-based role reallocation, as opposed to the traditional sex-role assignments, would be more likely to foster androgynous sex-role orientations and increased behavioral flexibility.

Parent-child relationships. Divorce is often accompanied by a temporary decline in the quality of parent-child

relationships (Hetherington et al., 1982; Teleki, 1982; Wallerstein & Kelly, 1980a) and decreased contact between children and parents, particularly noncustodial parents (Furstenberg, Peterson, & Zill, 1983; Hetherington, 1972; Wallerstein & Kelly, 1980a). However, a quality relationship with one parent (or both) can protect children from the negative effects of parental conflict (Emery, 1982; Hetherington et al., 1982; Rutter, 1971) and from many post-divorce adjustment difficulties (Booth et al., 1984; Goldblum, 1984; Guidubaldi et al., 1983; Hess & Camara, 1979; Kanoy, 1980; Kanoy et al., 1984; Kurdek & Berg, 1983; Pett, 1982; Peterson & Zill, 1986; Wallerstein & Kelly, 1980a).

A number of parent-child relationship factors are associated with positive outcomes in children following divorce. An authoritative parenting style characterized by warmth, clearly specified rules, and an extensive verbal give and take between parent and child is associated with increased social competence and maturity (Santrock & Warshak, 1979). A high level of parenting skill is related to a high level of social competence (Stolberg et al., 1987), and a parent viewing a child as having acquired strengths is related to a child evaluating a parent positively (Kurdek & Siesky, 1980b).

Further, certain types of parental support foster favorable outcomes in children following divorce. Support that encourages transformational coping, as opposed to regressive coping, is more likely to promote hardiness in

children (Maddi & Kobasa, 1984) while support that involves cognitive-behavioral strategies (e.g., modeling, reframing, cognitive restructuring) aids children in the process of converting challenges into growth potentiating experiences (Ellis & Bernard, 1985; Finkel, 1974; Meichenbaum, 1977). Finally, support that results in children attributing successes to their own effort and ability, rather than to help provided them, is more likely to foster enhanced feelings of self-efficacy in children (Bandura, 1977).

Pre and Post Divorce Family Atmosphere. A high degree of conflict and acrimony between parents is associated with many types of short and long-term adjustment difficulties in children (Booth et al., 1984; Ellison, 1983; Guidubaldi, Cleminshaw, Perry, Natasi, & Lightel, 1986; Hetherington et al., 1982; Jacobson, 1978; Johnston, Campbell, & Mayes, 1985; Kurdek & Berg, 1983; Long, 1986; Long, Forehand, Fauber, & Brody, 1987; Rosen, 1979; Rutter, 1971; Stolberg et al., 1987; Vess et al., 1983). Conversely, lower levels of marital hostility before parental separation are associated with higher levels of post-divorce social competence in children (Stolberg et al., 1987) and parental cooperation and compromise during and after the divorce are related to increased self-esteem and a more positive adjustment (Camara & Resnick, 1988; Schwebel et al, 1988).

Custody arrangements. Many children prefer same-sex to opposite-sex custody arrangements and such arrangements result

in higher social competence and certain other advantages (Camara & Resnick, 1988; Peterson & Zill, 1986; Santrock & Warshak, 1979; Santrock, Warshak, & Elliot; 1982; Warshak & Santrock, 1983). Problems that have been observed in opposite-sex arrangements include: 1) disrupted identification processes, 2) decreased modeling of sex appropriate behavior, 3) difficulties stemming from the custodial parent's lack of knowledge or skill in dealing with opposite-sex children, 4) the displacement of resentment toward the noncustodial parent onto the opposite-sex children, and 5) the "replacement" of the ex-spouse with the opposite-sex child, resulting in an overly coercive-demanding or smothering-nurturant parent-child relationship. Of course, opposite-sex parents, given appropriate training or help, if necessary should be able to cope successfully with these issues.

Ambert (1982, 1984), holding SES and sex of child constant, found that father custody was associated with better behaved children and greater custodial parent satisfaction. However, Ambert (1982, 1984) indicated that the favorable outcomes found to be associated with father custody were likely to be a function of the "uniqueness" of the sample used, highly motivated fathers who had actively sought custody of their children.

Some studies comparing joint custody and single-parent custody have failed to demonstrate differences in child adjustment (Kline, et al., 1989; Luepnitz, 1986; Wolchik et

al., 1985), and one investigation of joint physical custody suggests that the frequent movement between households may overburden children; and foster prolonged reconciliation wishes (Steinman, 1981). Nonetheless, relative to single-parent custody families, joint custody children experience fewer post-divorce changes in financial resources, in the functional roles of parents, and in their access to parents and a familiar community (Kline, et al., 1989; Lowery and Settle, 1985).

The continuity provided by joint custody creates conditions conducive to favorable outcomes. Moreover, researchers found that joint custody, as compared to single-parent custody, is associated with lower levels of parental conflict (Ilfeld, Ilfeld, & Alexander, 1982; Luepnitz, 1986), increased contact with both parents (Luepnitz, 1986, Wolchik, Braver, & Sandler, 1985; Bowman, 1983), higher levels of children's self-esteem (Wolchik et al., 1985), more positive experiences (Wolchik et al., 1985), and better adjustment in children (Shiller, 1986). Of course, given the current state of the literature it is difficult to know whether favorable outcomes associated with joint custody are due to the custody arrangement or to characteristics of parents who choose the arrangement and/or make it succeed.

Household make-up and roles available. The number, gender, and age of children in the post-divorce family and the custodial parent's gender affect the likelihood that a child

might have the opportunity to fill certain roles vacated by the noncustodial parent (McPhee, 1985; Peterson et al., 1984; Vess et al., 1985a). Children who successfully handle new roles will experience feelings of mastery and may attain a privileged position within the post-divorce family (Fishbein, 1982). Household make-up can have other effects. For example, one older child who has several young siblings may become overburdened with tasks (Fishbein, 1982) while an older brother-custodial mother team may reinforce sex-typed attitudes and behaviors by discouraging family members from engaging in nontraditional activities (Vess et al., 1983).

Parental remarriage. Some tasks youngsters were performing in the single-parent home may be assumed by a stepparent or step-siblings and the loss may affect their self-view and level of androgyny. The early remarriage of the parents may altogether prevent the development of enhanced competencies and self-esteem in children that would have otherwise resulted from extra responsibilities acquired in the single-parent home (Hodges & Bloom, 1984). The loss may be offset by the increased social support and opportunities to develop enhanced coping resources and social competencies that youngsters gain in their new stepparent and stepsibling relationships.

Some studies comparing mother-headed nonremarried and remarried families demonstrate that the presence of a stepfather is associated with increased self-esteem and

behavioral adjustment in children and adolescents (Parish & Dostal, 1980; Parish & Taylor, 1979; Touliatos & Linholm, 1980). The picture is unclear, however, because other researchers have reported that these positive outcomes may occur primarily in boys, while increased dysfunction may develop in girls (Hetherington et al., 1985; Peterson & Zill, 1986; Santrock et al., 1982). Stepparent gender is important in this connection. Stepfathers are more likely to achieve positive relationships with stepchildren than stepmothers (Bowerman & Irish, 1982; Clingempeel & Segal, 1986; Duberman, 1973), and stepfather relationships are less likely to be disrupted by ongoing contact with the noncustodial parent (Clingempeel & Segal, 1986; Duberman, 1973; Furstenberg & Nord, 1985).

The Exosystem: Environmental Factors

Level of environmental challenge. Enhanced functioning and personality growth following divorce is more likely if families experience support and encounter a moderate level of environmental challenge that provides mastery experiences for both children and parents (Hetherington, 1989; Maddi, 1980; Maddi & Kobasa, 1984). Extremely stressful environmental challenges or an overwhelming number may overburden parents and children, thereby limiting their potential for growth (Hetherington et al., 1985; Raphe & Arthur, 1978; Stolberg et al., 1987). In addition, the timing of environmental challenges may affect children's outcomes. Hetherington

(1989) found that children cope more effectively with family stressors distributed across time than they do with simultaneously occurring stressors.

The socioeconomic status of the post-divorce family. Most studies that identified positive outcomes in post-divorce children drew from middle to upper middle class samples. A moderate post-divorce financial decline in such families may foster increased maturity in adolescents, characterized by reasonable, adult-like attitudes toward financial matters and a greater appreciation for the value of goods (Wallerstein, 1984; 1987; Wallerstein & Kelly, 1974). However, many post-divorce families experience financial hardships (Brown, Feldberg, Fox, & Kohen, 1976; Buelher, Hogan, Robinson, & Levey, 1987; Espenshade, 1979; McLanahan, 1983) and this is associated with a decline in custodial parents' satisfaction and parenting skills, an increase in the frequency of family stressors, and an increase in children's post-divorce adjustment problems (Ambert, 1982; 1984; Colletta, 1979, 1983; Desimone-Luis, O'Mahoney, & Hunt, 1979; Shaw & Emery, 1987).

Extended and extra-family support. Stress in divorcing adults is mitigated by support from friends, counselors, and relatives (Kurdek, 1981). Divorced parents who value and use appropriate support from others experience a more positive post-divorce adjustment (Woody, Colley, Schlegelmilch, Maginn, & Balsanek, 1984). For example, custodial mothers can benefit greatly in their post-divorce adjustment if their children's

grandparents provide support without usurping the authority in the household (Isaacs & Leon, 1986).

Obviously, children benefit indirectly from social support given their parents. Support given directly to them also fosters positive outcomes. For example, extra-familial support provided by peers, relatives and additional caretakers can promote social competence and reduce behavioral problems (Nelson, 1981; Santrock & Warshak, 1979; Wallerstein & Kelly, 1980a; Wyman et al., 1985). In addition, a supportive school environment can facilitate children's adjustment to divorce. While having counseling resources available is beneficial, simply having a safe, orderly, and predictable school environment, with high expectations and norms for achievement is associated with a more positive emotional, behavioral, and academic post-divorce adjustment in children (Guidubaldi et al., 1983).

Relationships with non-parent adults. Hetherington (1989) found the most salient characteristic of children who adapted exceptionally well to parental divorce was contact with a caring adult. Healthy relationships with non-parent adults can foster favorable outcomes. Isaacs & Leon (1986) found that a high frequency of post-divorce interaction between children and their grandparents is associated with increased social skills, while Santrock & Warshak (1979) found that contact with non-parent adult caretakers is positively related

to increased social competence in children from divorced families.

The Macrosystem: Social-Cultural Factors

View of divorce. Favorable outcomes are more likely in children when people significant to them judge the single parent home as a viable (rather than deviant) family form, such as is the case, for instance, among members of the black community (Fine & Schwebel, 1987). Such outcomes are less likely if people associated with the children hold the view that divorce and deviations from the traditional family are inherently inferior and pathogenic (McKenry & Price, 1984, 1988; Scanzoni et al., 1988). In fact, if caretakers or teachers have these beliefs, they could create negative self-fulfilling prophecies with unhealthy consequences for children (Rosenthal & Jacobson, 1968).

Nature of divorce laws and dispute resolution procedures. In the past two decades major changes occurred in United States in divorce laws. Traditionally, divorce had been granted in an adversarial procedure after fault was found (Pearson, Ring, & Milne, 1983). Beginning in the 1970s, state legislatures began enacting "no fault" divorce laws (Freed & Foster, 1984) that encouraged the development of non-adversarial procedures, such as divorce mediation, to provide a constructive means for resolving child support, custody, and visitation issues, and to provide post-divorce families with

a healthy foundation for shared child rearing (Schwebel, Gately, & Milburn, in press).

Divorce mediation fosters more cooperative, less conflictual post-divorce spousal relationships (Pearson & Thoennes, 1984b), and increases access of children to their parents through higher rates of joint custody and more frequent visitation (Emery & Wyer, 1987b; Koopman, Hunt, & Stafford, 1984; Pearson & Thoennes, 1984b). Studies suggest that mediation affects children's adjustment to parental divorce indirectly and positively, through the changes it produces in ex-spousal and parent-child relationships (Pearson & Thoennes, 1984a, 1986).

Another legal-system change having important consequences with regard to children and post-divorce adjustment outcomes dates back to the 1920s when the "best interests" of the child standard was introduced (Emery & Wyer, 1987a). This followed historical periods in which the father (because the children were considered his property) and the mother (because of the "tender years" doctrine) were standardly awarded custody (Derdeyn, 1976). The "best interests" rule allows judges to issue decisions that not only protect children from harm, but also allow them to maximize their potential for growth and fulfillment.

Economic discrimination against women. Adverse financial conditions may hamper the possibilities that children will have favorable post-divorce outcomes. In 1987, an estimated

7.1 million children lived in poverty in families with a female householder and no husband present (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1990). Obviously, many single parent-families face difficult economic situations (Price & McKenry, 1988) because the woman heading the household experiences difficulties in obtaining credit, attractive jobs, and sufficient income (Bilge & Kaufman, 1983; Price & McKenry, 1988).

Specific measures designed to improve the economic condition of single-parent families, such as equitable child support awards and enforcement and income maintenance programs, would likely have a positive impact on children's adjustment to divorce (Espenshade, 1979, Ohio Commission on Child Support, 1987). The effectiveness of these measures would be enhanced if they were coupled with programs that supported the fullest-possible ongoing involvement of both parents in their children's lives.

Research and Treatment Implications: A New Strategy

Research is needed to identify a full list of favorable outcomes that can emerge following children's adjustment to parental divorce, and to delineate the conditions most favorable to their emergence. Longitudinal studies would be most desirable, especially those using matched comparison groups of intact family children while controlling for possible confounding variables, including parental conflict and family SES. To date, most of the literature in enhanced functioning has focused on the role played by family factors

in children's adjustment to parental divorce. Therefore, additional work is particularly needed to focus on neglected pre- and post-divorce individual, environmental, and social-cultural variables.

Hurley, Vincent, Ingram, and Riley (1984) categorize interventions designed to cope with negative consequences in children of parental divorce as either therapeutic or preventative. The therapeutic approaches, which include psychodynamic and family systems interventions, focus on treating psychopathology, while the preventative approaches help healthy children avoid significant dysfunction by coping effectively with the normal post-divorce crisis reaction. Preventative interventions take the form of school-based support groups for children (Cantor, 1977; Gwynn & Brantley, 1987; Moore & Sumner, 1985; Pedro-Carroll & Cowen, 1985; Robson, 1986) or school and community based support groups for parents (Davidoff & Schiller, 1983; Omizo & Omizo, 1987; Warren & Amara, 1984) and families (Magid, 1977; Stolberg & Cullen, 1983). Outcome studies show that parents, children, and group leaders believe support groups decrease distress and dysfunction in children (Cantor, 1977; Freeman, 1984; Gwynn & Brantly, 1987; Magid, 1977; Omizo & Omizo, 1987; Pedro-Carroll & Cowen, 1985; Rugel & Sieracki, 1981). At this point, mental health workers could draw from the literature and design a third type of intervention: one aimed at

promoting favorable outcomes in children who must adjust to their parent's divorce.

CHAPTER III

METHODS

Participants

Two-hundred and forty college students were recruited from the introductory psychology courses offered at a large midwestern university. Participation was voluntary. Those who participated received credit toward course requirements. Half of the participants were from intact families and half from families in which their parents had divorced.

In order to allow for an investigation of the effects of age at the time of divorce, the later group was subdivided into three groups of 40 participants: Those who experienced parental divorce between birth and 5 years, between 6 and 10 years, and between 11 and 15 years. The upper age limit was set at 15 to insure that those participants who had most recently experienced parental divorce had passed through the initial crisis period that typically follows parental divorce. All groups were equally divided by gender. Participants who were adopted or who had experienced the death of either parent were excluded from the study.

Measures

Outcomes Variables.

Outcome measures assessed the maturity (ie., independence, self-control, responsibility), self-esteem and self-efficacy, empathy, and androgyny (ie., sex-role orientation, marriage role expectations) of participants. In addition, participant's overall evaluation of the effects of parental divorce on themselves and their relationships with others was assessed, and they were asked to describe any positive outcomes they experienced as a result of the divorce experience. A list of the locations where published and copywritten measures used in the present study can be found (Table 1) and copies of the all measures created for the present study are available in Appendix A.

The independence, self-control, and self-efficacy of participants were measured by the Autonomy, Impulsivity, and Succorance scales of the Personality Research Form (PRF, Form AA), respectively (Jackson, 1984). Each scale on the PRF is composed of 20 true-false items measuring a particular trait relevant to normal personality functioning. All scales were developed according to accepted standards of test construction and are bipolar, with low scores reflecting traits opposite those of high scores. An attention to content validity, scale homogeneity, and the reduction of acquiescence and social desirability effects are distinctive characteristics of the PRF. For each scale half of the items are designated as true and half as false. Scale scores are derived from totaling the

number of items answered in the keyed direction.

Individuals who score high on the Autonomy scale of the PRF are described as self-reliant, independent, self-determined, and autonomous. Across a number of studies the Autonomy scale of the PRF has a mean internal consistency (odd/even reliability, Cronbach's coefficient Alpha) of .75, test-retest reliability of .84, and parallel forms reliability of .73. Cronbach's coefficient Alpha based on the current sample was found to be .75. Unadjusted validity coefficients for self and behavior ratings range from .24 to .66 across studies (Jackson, 1984).

Individuals who score high on the Impulsivity scale of the PRF demonstrate a low level of self-control and are described as hasty, rash, reckless, and impulsive. Across studies the Impulsivity scale averages an internal consistency (odd/even reliability, Cronbach's coefficient Alpha) of .68, test-retest reliability of .84, and parallel forms reliability of .75. Cronbach's coefficient Alpha based on the current sample was found to be .72. Unadjusted validity coefficients for self and behavior ratings range from .30 to .73 (Jackson, 1984).

Individuals who score high on the Succorance scale of the of the PRF are described as dependent, helpless, support seeking, and defenseless. Low scores on the Succorance scale were considered to be indicative of a high level of general self-efficacy. Across studies the Succorance scale averages

an internal consistency (odd/even reliability, Cronbach's coefficient Alpha) of .81, test-retest reliability of .88, and parallel forms reliability of .81. Cronbach's coefficient Alpha based on the current sample was found to be .81. Unadjusted validity coefficients for self and behavior ratings range from .20 to .60 (Jackson, 1984).

The responsibility dimension of maturity was measured by the Hase and Goldberg Responsibility scale (Hase & Goldberg, 1967). This scale was rationally developed from the items of the California Psychological Inventory. An initial set of items selected on criterion relevance for the trait was administered to a sample of 108 university students. Those items correlating significantly with the total scale were retained. The Responsibility scale consists of 37 true-false items, 18 of which are scored as true and 19 as false. The scale score is obtained by totaling the number of items answered in the keyed direction. High scores are indicative of high levels of responsibility. The scale has been shown to possess a 4 week test-retest reliability of .86, and an internal consistency (Cronbach's coefficient Alpha) of .75. Cronbach's coefficient Alpha based on the current sample was found to be .76. An unadjusted validity coefficient of .42 was obtained for peer ratings of responsibility (Hase & Goldberg, 1967).

Self-esteem was measured by the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (RSE), a 10-item Guttman scale designed to measure

general self-worth (Rosenberg, 1965). The items are of the Likert type allowing for either a "strongly agree", "agree", "disagree", or strongly disagree" response. Positively and negatively worded items are presented alternatively in order to control for an acquiescent response set.

The RSE is divided into 6 subscales. Scale I is composed of the first 3 items, Scale II of the next 2 items, Scale III of the sixth item, Scale IV of the seventh, Scale V of the eighth, and Scale VI of the last 2 items. Each scale is scored as either a 0 or a 1, with 0 indicating high self-esteem and 1 indicating low self-esteem. A 1 is recorded if 2 out of 3 Scale I, 1 out of 2 Scale II and VI, or 1 out of 1 Scale III, IV, or V items are answered in a direction indicating low self-esteem. Scores range from 0 to 6, with 0 reflecting high self-esteem and 6 reflecting low self-esteem. In the present study the RSE was reversed scored so that high scores reflected high self-esteem.

The RSE has been shown to possess a reproducibility (an index of internal consistency) of 92% and a scalability of 72% (Rosenberg, 1965). Silber and Tippett (1965) reported a 2-week test-retest reliability of .85. Cronbach's coefficient Alpha based on the current sample was found to be .86. The RSE has been shown to correlate well with other measures of self-esteem (Silber & Tippett, 1965). Rosenberg (1965) has demonstrated a significant association between low self-esteem as measured by the RSE and observer ratings of depression,

low group ratings of sociometric status, and self-reported dysphoria, anxiety, and psychosomatic symptoms.

Empathy, defined as "the capacity to apprehend another's condition or state of mind without actually experiencing that person's feelings," was measured by the Hogan Empathy Scale (HES) (Hogan, 1969). The HES is a 64-item self-report measure that was constructed by comparing the responses of groups with high- and low-rated empathy, using the combined Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory and California Psychological Inventory item pools. The scale is well balanced with half of the items being keyed as true and half as false. The total scale score is obtained by summing the number of items answered in the keyed direction.

The scale possess a 2 month test-retest reliability of .84, and an internal consistency (Cronbach's coefficient Alpha) of .71 (Hogan, 1969). Cronbach's coefficient Alpha in the present sample was found to be .56. In the sample used in the scale's development, a validity coefficient of .62 with rated empathy was obtained. In an independent sample of medical students the figure was .39 (Hogan, 1969).

The scale has also been shown to correlate significantly with social acuity, defined as "the ability to respond intuitively and empathetically to others and to group situations". The correlation between HES scores and rated social acuity in the sample used in the development of the scale was .58. In an independent sample of medical school

applicants the correlation was .42. Junior high school students rated on social acuity by their teachers were found to differ significantly on the HES in the expected direction (Hogan, 1969).

Androgyny was assessed both in terms of traits and expected behavior. The trait dimension of androgyny, sex-role orientation, was assessed by the Bem Sex Role Inventory-Short Form (BSRI-SF) (Bem, 1981). The BSRI-SF is composed of 30 items that form three scales: Masculinity, Femininity, and a filler scale. Items were selected for the BSRI-SF in order to maximize both the internal consistency of the Masculinity and Femininity scales and the orthogonality between them. The short form appears to be a relatively pure measure of instrumental and expressive traits (Payne, 1985), and is highly correlated with the original 60 item form (Bem, 1981).

Each scale of the BSRI-SF is composed of 10 personality characteristics to which subjects respond by rating on a 7 point scale the degree to which the characteristic describes them. The scale ranges from 1 (never or almost never true) to 7 (always or almost always true) and each point is distinctly labeled. Personality characteristics assigned to the Masculinity scale were previously judged by undergraduate students to be more desirable for a man than a women. Those assigned to the Femininity scale were previously judged by the same sample to be more desirable for a women than a man.

Those assigned to the filler scale were judged to be equally desirable for men and women.

Masculinity and Femininity scale scores are obtained by summing the scores for individual scale items and then computing the mean score for the items on each scale. These mean scores are then converted to standardized T-scores. The measure of androgyny is the absolute value of the difference between the Femininity and Masculinity scale scores, and reflects the degree of sex-typing present in self-description irrespective of whether the individual is stereotyped as feminine or masculine (Bem, 1981). The androgyny measure was reversed scored so that high scores indicated high androgyny (a balance between masculine and feminine characteristics) and low scores indicated high sex-typing (predominant masculine or feminine traits).

Bem (1981) has reported the test-retest reliability (4 weeks) and internal consistency (Cronbach's coefficient Alpha) of the Femininity, Masculinity, and Femininity-Masculinity difference scores separately for males and females. For females the test-retest reliability values obtained were .85 for the Femininity score, .94 for the Masculinity score, and .88 for the Femininity-Masculinity difference score. The internal consistency values were .84, .86, and .89, respectively. For males the test-retest reliability values were .91 for the Femininity score, .76 for the Masculinity score, and .85 for the Femininity-Masculinity difference

score. The internal consistency values were .87, .85, and .88, respectively. In the present sample Cronbach's coefficient Alpha was found to be .90 for the Femininity scale, and .81 for the Masculinity scale. A number of studies comparing individuals categorized as either androgynous or sex-typed on the basis of Bem Sex Role Inventory scores have provided validation for the instrument by demonstrating increased behavioral flexibility in androgynous relative to non-androgynous individuals (Bem, 1975; Bem & Lenney, 1976; Bem, Martyna, & Watson, 1976).

The dimension of androgyny, expectations concerning sex-typed behavior, was assessed by the Marriage Role Expectations Inventory (MREI) (Dunn, 1960). The MREI is rationally derived scale composed of 71 Likert-type items which assess a respondent's expectations concerning the roles they expect themselves and their spouse to play in their marriage. The items were chosen to assess expectations concerning authority patterns, homemaking, child care, personal characteristics, social participation, education, and financial support and employment. Items found to differentiate between high and low scoring respondents, in a sample of 186 boys and girls, were retained in the final scale. The final inventory consists of two forms with "identical items" for males and females. Each item requires a respondent to choose from among 5 alternatives; strongly agree, agree, undecided, disagree, or strongly disagree. Thirty-four of the items reflect

equalitarian-nontraditional marriage role expectations, and 37 reflect traditional expectations. The total scale score is obtained by assigning a weight of +1 to equalitarian items with which respondents either agree or strongly agree, and a weight of -1 to traditional items with which respondents either agree or strongly agree. The sum of these weights then determines the respondent's total scale score. Scores range from -37 to +34 with high scores reflecting equalitarian marriage role expectations, and low scores, traditional. In the current study nontraditional expectations concerning marriage roles were considered reflective of androgynous sex-role attitudes.

The MREI possesses a split-half reliability of .95 (Dunn, 1960). In the present sample the internal consistency (Cronbach's coefficient Alpha) of the equalitarian and traditional items was found to be .85, and .90, respectively. In the present study, participants who did not expect to marry were instructed to respond to the inventory on the basis of what they would expect if they were to marry. Whether participants expected to marry or not was assessed, and no significant difference ($t(238)=-0.19$, $p>.05$) was found between the MREI scores of those who expected to marry ($n=225$, mean=25.35) and those who did not ($n=15$, mean=25.07).

In addition to the standard scales described above, participant's from divorced families overall evaluation of the impact of divorce was measured by a 2 item, Likert-type

scale assessing the effect that parental divorce had on them as a person and on their relationships with others, respectively. The response scale for each item ranged from 1 to 7, with 1 indicating "a very negative effect", 4 indicating "neither a positive or negative effect", and 7 indicating "a very positive effect". The total scale score was obtained by computing the mean of the participant's scores on the two items. The item intercorrelation was .51 ($p<.01$), and the total scale score was correlated .88 ($p<.01$) with effect on self, and .86 ($p<.01$) with effect on relationships. Finally, participants were requested to respond to an open ended question which asked them to describe the positive effects they felt their parent's divorce has had on them as a person, their relationships with others, and their life circumstances.

Intervening variables. Measures of intervening variables assessed a number of individual, family process, family structure, and environmental factors hypothesized to influence the level of positive outcomes experienced by children following parental divorce. The individual factors that were assessed included the participant's gender, race, level of general intelligence, and for participants from divorced families, age at the time of divorce.

The participant's level of general intelligence was measured by the Wonderlic Personnel Test (WPT, Form I), a short, group administered omnibus test of individual adult

intelligence. The WPT contains 50 items which tap a broad range of problem types (analogies, analysis of geometric figures, arithmetic, disarranged sentences, similarities, logic, definitions, spatial relations, etc.), which are intermingled and arranged in order of increasing difficulty. Respondents are given 12 minutes to answer as many items as possible. The total scale score is obtained by summing the number of items answered correctly in the given time limit. The WPT has been shown to possess test-retest reliability coefficients ranging from .82 to .94, parallel forms reliability coefficients ranging from .73 to .95, and measures of internal consistency (odd/even reliability, Cronbach's coefficient Alpha) ranging from .88 to .94 (Wonderlic, 1983). The WPT correlates .56 to .80 with the Aptitude G of the General Aptitude Test Battery, and .91 to .93 with the Weschler Adult Intelligence Scale-Full Scale I.Q.. Correlations with academic achievement range from .30 to .80 (Wonderlic, 1983).

The family process variables that were assessed included the quality of parent-child relationships, parent's sex-role attitudes, and for participants from divorced families, the amount of responsibility acquired by them, and interpersonal support available to them after their parent's divorce. For those from intact families the amount of responsibility acquired, and interpersonal support available while growing up were assessed.

The quality of parent-child relationships was measured by the mother and father forms of the Parent Evaluation Scale (PES) (Cooper, 1966). Each form of the PES is composed of 26 true/false items assessing respondent's perceptions of their parents in 6 content areas: acceptance, attitude toward sexuality, responsibility, consistency, warmth, and outlook on life. Items are worded to reflect both positive and negative parental characteristics in order to control for response set. The total scale score is obtained by assigning each positive statement 1 point if marked "true", and each negative statement 1 point if marked "false", and then totaling the number of points. High scores indicate more positive evaluations of parents and higher quality parent-child relationships.

The test-retest reliabilities for the mother and father scales were found to be .93 and .91, respectively, and the internal consistencies (Cronbach's coefficient Alpha) .86 and .88, respectively (Cooper, 1966). In the present sample the internal consistencies (Cronbach's coefficient Alpha) of the mother and father scales were found to be .87 and .90, respectively.

Participants ratings of each parent's sex-role attitudes was measured by the Traditional Sex Role Ideology Index (TSRII) (Hoffman, 1960). The TSRII is designed to measure traditional verses nontraditional-equalitarian sex role attitudes. It asks respondents to rate the degree to which

they feel each parent would agree with 5 traditional sex role prescriptions (ie., Raising children is much more a mother's job than a father's.). The items are of the Likert type and are answered on a 4 point scale (ie., strongly agree, agree, disagree, strongly disagree) with greater agreement being assigned greater numerical value. The total scale score is obtained by summing the ratings of the 5 items. Higher scores indicate a more traditional sex role ideology. In the present sample the internal consistencies (Cronbach's coefficient Alpha) for the mother and father forms of the TSRII were found to be .76 and .86, respectively. Husbands of women with high scores on the TSRII have been shown to do fewer household tasks than those of nontraditional scoring women, and nonworking women have been found to score higher on the TSRII then working women (Hoffman, 1960).

The amount of responsibility acquired by participants in their respective families was measured by a 4 item, Likert-type scale assessing level of responsibility in 4 areas: self-care, care of siblings, household chores, and family decisions. Respondents were asked to rate the level of responsibility they had in each area on a 7 point scale, with 1 indicating "very little to no responsibility", 4 indicating "a moderate amount of responsibility", and 7 indicating "a great deal of responsibility". The total scale score was obtained by summing the ratings on the 4 items. In the present sample Cronbach's coefficient Alpha was found to be

.66. The correlation of the items with each other and the total scale score can be found in Table 2, Appendix B.

The perceived amount of interpersonal support available to participants was assessed by a composite measure which included scores on the Cohesion and Conflict subscales of the Family Environment Scale (FES, Form R) (Moos & Moos, 1986) and ratings from a number of Likert-type items assessing extended and extra-family sources of interpersonal support.

The Cohesion subscale of the FES is designed to measure "the degree of commitment, help, and support family members provide for one another", and the Conflict subscale is designed to measure "the amount of openly expressed anger, aggression, and conflict among family members". Each subscale is composed of 9 true/false items. In order to control for response set some items are keyed as true and some as false. The total subscale scores are obtained by summing the number of items answered in the keyed direction.

The 2-month test-retest reliabilities of the Cohesion and Conflict subscales were found to be .86 and .85, respectively (Moos & Moos, 1986). The internal consistencies (Cronbach's coefficient Alpha) were found to be .78 and .75, respectively, and the corrected average item-subscale correlations were found to be .44 and .43, respectively (Moos & Moos, 1986). In the present sample the internal consistencies (Cronbach's coefficient Alpha) for the Cohesion and Conflict subscales were found to be .84 and .73, respectively. The Cohesion and

Conflict subscales have been shown to possess good validity (Moos & Moos, 1986).

Factor analyses of the 10 subscales of the FES consistently result in a bipolar "cohesion vs. conflict" dimension which appears to reflect the degree of "interpersonal cohesion" experienced by family members (Boake & Salmon, 1983; Fowler, 1981,1982; Nelson, 1984; Rowe, 1983). Correlations between the Cohesion and Conflict subscales have been found to be -.44 in an adult sample and -.53 in an adolescent sample (Moos & Moss, 1986). In the present sample the correlation was found to be -.52.

The amount of support provided by extended family members (ie., grandparents, uncles, aunts) was measured by two 7 point Likert-type items assessing support provided by maternal and paternal relatives, respectively. The amount of support provided by extra-family sources (ie., teachers, child care workers, schoolmates, neighborhood friends) was measured by two 7 point Likert-type items assessing support provided by non-related adults and peers, respectively. For each of these items participants from divorced families were required to rate how helpful each source of support was in fostering their adjustment to their parent's divorce. Participants from intact families rated how helpful each source was in fostering their adjustment to stressful life events. For both participants from divorced and intact families a rating of 1 indicated that the source was perceived as "very helpful", a

4 indicated that the source was perceived as "neither helpful or unhelpful", and a 7 indicated that the source was perceived as "very helpful" in fostering their adjustment.

In order to form a composite measure of interpersonal support the Conflict subscale of the FES was reversed scored so that high scores reflected low conflict, and the participant's scores on all component measures (Cohesion, Conflict, Support from Maternal Relatives, Support from Paternal Relatives, Support from Non-Related Adults, Support from Peers) were standardized. The total score for each participant on the composite measure was obtained by summing their standard scores on the component measures. High scores indicated high levels of interpersonal support. The additive scoring procedure employed allowed for support from one source to compensate for a lack of support from another. In the present sample Cronbach's coefficient Alpha for the composite scale was found to be .59. The correlations of the component measures with each other and the composite scale can be found in Table 3, Appendix B.

The family structure variables that were assessed for participants from divorced families included the number of children and the presence or absence of an older sibling in the post-divorce family immediately following parental divorce, the remarriage of either parent, and the presence or absence of step-siblings resulting from the remarriage of either parent. For participants from intact families the

number of children and the presence or absence of an older sibling in the family was assessed.

The environmental variables that were assessed include the number of life changes experienced by participants, and the perceived financial status of the current family. For participants from divorced families, the perceived change in financial status following divorce, and the use of divorce related professional help was also assessed.

The number of life changes experienced by participants was measured by the Children's Recent Life Event Questionnaire (CRLEQ) (Sandler & Block, 1979). The CRLEQ is composed of 32 yes/no items which tap a variety of desirable and undesirable life events that require adaptation on the part of children. The items chosen were judged to be beyond the children's control, and therefore unlikely to be confounded with their behavioral adjustment. In the present study respondents were asked to indicate if they had experienced any of the life events listed. The total scale score was the number of events experienced. In the present study 5 of the items from the original questionnaire were omitted because they were deemed to be either non-applicable (ie., death of a parent, discovery that you were adopted), confounded with other items (ie., addition of third adult to family), or confounded with family background (ie., divorce of parents, marital separation of parents). The CRLEQ in its original form, has been shown to possess an interrater reliability of .69 (Sandler & Ramsay,

1980), and in the present sample with its modified form had an internal consistency (Cronbach's coefficient Alpha) of .61. When completed by parents, regarding life events experienced by their children, the CRLEQ has been shown to be significantly correlated with parent and teacher ratings of child maladjustment (Sandler & Block, 1979).

The perceived financial status of the current family was measured by a single, 7 point Likert-type item which assessed how financially well off respondents felt their family was in contrast to the families of their friends. A rating of 1 indicated that respondents felt that their family was "not at all well off", a rating of 4 indicated that they felt their family was "moderately well off", and a rating of 7 indicated that they felt their family was "very well off".

The perceived change in financial status remembered by participants from divorced families was measured by a single, 7 point Likert-type item which assessed how financially well off respondents felt their post-divorce family was in contrast to their pre-divorce family. A rating of 1 indicated that respondents felt that their post-divorce family was "much worse off", a rating of 4 indicated that they felt their post-divorce family was "neither better or worse off", and a rating of 7 indicated that they felt that their post-divorce family was "much better off".

Finally, the use of professional help by participants from divorced families was assessed by a single, yes/no item

which asked participants to indicate whether or not they had ever received help focusing on divorce-related issues from counselors or other helping professionals.

Sample characteristics. In order to obtain a comprehensive description of the divorced and intact samples employed in the current study additional demographic variables were assessed including: current age, college grade-point-average, marital status and plans to marry, parents' occupation and level of education, and, for participants from divorced families, custody arrangements.

The status and prestige of parents' occupations were rated using the 1980-Based Nam-Powers Occupational Status Index (OSI) (Nam & Terrie, 1988) and the 1980-Based prestige scale of National Opinion Research Center (NORC) (Stevens & Hoisington, 1987). The OSI assigns status scores to occupations based on the percentage of persons in the population in occupations having combined average levels of education and income below that for the given occupation. The index provides status scores for all occupational titles listed in the Occupational Classification System of the 1980 census. The NORC scale was constructed by linking together occupational prestige ratings from several national prestige surveys. The NORC scale also provides scores for all 1980 census occupational titles.

The occupational titles of the 1980-Occupational Classification System are categorized into 13 occupational

families. In the present study, parents' occupations were categorized by occupational family and assigned the mean status and prestige score for that family. The inter-rater agreement rate for categorizing parent's occupations into occupational families based on half of the total sample (ie., 60 participants from divorced, and 60 from intact families) was found to be .95.

A summary of all of the variables measured in the present study and the instruments used to measure them are listed in Table 4.

Procedure

Participants from divorced and intact families were recruited, and in groups were asked to complete all questionnaires in one sitting. All participants completed testing in two hours, and most used one and a half hours to complete all measures. Before beginning participants were instructed not to record their name or any other identifying information on the questionnaires. After completing the questionnaires and turning them in, participants were told they could sign a separate sheet indicating their wish to be notified when a summary of the results became available.

Table 4

Summary of Variables and Measures

Outcome Variables	Measures
1) Maturity:	
a) Independence	Autonomy Scale of the Personality Research Form[a]
b) Self-Control	Impulsivity Scale of the Personality Research Form[a]
c) Responsibility	Hase & Goldberg Responsibility Scale[a]
2) Self-Esteem:	Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale[a]
3) Self-Efficacy:	Succorance Scale of the Personality Research Form[a]
4) Empathy:	Hogan Empathy Scale[a]
5) Androgyny:	
a) Sex-Role Orientation	Bem Sex-Role Inventory-Short Form[a]
b) Marriage Role Expectations	Marriage Role Expectations Inventory[a]
6) Subjective Evaluation of Impact of Parental Divorce:	Self-Report Scale (assessing impact of parental divorce)[b]
7) Self-Report of Positive Outcomes:	Free Response Question (assessing positive outcomes)[b]
Intervening Variables	**Measures**
1) Individual Factors:	
a) Gender	Demographic Questionnaire[b]
b) Race	Demographic Questionnaire[b]
c) Intelligence	Wonderlic Personnel Test (Form I)[a]
2) Family Process Factors:	
a) Quality of Parent-Child Relationship	Parent Evaluation Scale[a]
b) Parents' Sex-Role Attitudes	Traditional Sex-Role Ideology Index[a]

Table 4 (continued)

c) Responsibilities	Self-Report Scale (assessing responsibilities acquired)[b]
d) Interpersonal Support	Cohesion & Conflict Subscales of the Family Environment Scale[a] and Self-Report Items (assessing additional sources of support)[b]
3) Family Structure Factors:	
a) Number of Children	Demographic Questionnaire[b]
b) Presence of Older Sibling	Demographic Questionnaire[b]
c) Parental Remarriage	Demographic Questionnaire[b]
d) Presence of Step-Siblings	Demographic Questionnaire[b]
4) Environmental Factors:	
a) Life Change	Children's Recent Life Questionnaire[a]
b) Current Family Financial Status	Self-Report Item[b]
c) Post-Divorce Change in Financial Status	Self-Report Item[b]
d) Use of Professional Help	Self-Report Item[b]
<u>Demographic Variables</u>	<u>Measures</u>
1) Current Age:	Demographic Questionnaire[b]
2) Grade-Point-Average:	Demographic Questionnaire[b]
3) Marital Status & Plans:	Demographic Questionnaire[b]
4) Parents' Occupational Status:	1980-Based Nam-Powers Occupational Status Index[a]
5) Parents' Occupational Prestige:	1980-Based National Opinion Research Center Prestige Scale[a]
6) Parents' Education Level:	Demographic Questionnaire[b]
7) Custody Arrangement:	Demographic Questionnaire[b]

Table 4 (continued)

[a] See Table 1 in Appendix A for source where instrument can be located.

[b] See Appendix A for a copy of instrument.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

The results of the present study will be presented in three sections. The first section focuses on describing the characteristics of the sample and comparing participants from divorced and intact families on measured demographic, intervening, and outcome variables. The second section describes the results of analyses conducted to determine if participants from divorced families experience favorable outcomes relative to those from intact families. Finally, the third section focuses on the results of analyses conducted to assess the impact of a number of moderating variables on participants' post-divorce adjustment.

Since the interaction between the gender of the parent and the type of custody arrangement following divorce has been found to be a significant factor in children's post-divorce adjustment, all analyses involving parent-related variables were restricted to participants from mother custody families. Approximately 83% (n=100) of the participants experiencing parental divorce were from mother custody families, 13% (n=15)

from father custody families, 3% (n=4) from joint custody families, and in one case the grandparents had custody.

Section 1: Sample Characteristics

Participants from divorced and intact families were compared on the measured variables that both groups had completed. For quantitative variables t-tests were conducted, and for qualitative variables chi-square tests were conducted.[1] The descriptive statistics for participants from divorced and intact families are listed in Table 5.

The results of the t-tests indicate that participants from divorced families possess a more negative evaluation of their father ($t(212)=-4.98$, $p<.01$), and rate their father as more traditional ($t(215)=5.06$, $p<.01$) than those from intact families. In addition, participants from divorced families reported having experienced more life changes ($t(238)=7.39$, $p<.01$) and less interpersonal support ($t(238)=-4.22$, $p<.01$) than their counterparts from intact families. They also reported their post-divorce family as having a lower perceived financial status ($t(238)=-2.97$, $p<.01$) and fewer children ($t_{app}(203)=-5.08$, $p<.01$). Finally, their mother's current occupational status ($t_{app}(213)=4.03$, $p<.01$) and prestige ($t_{app}(217)=2.97$, $p<.01$) was found to be significantly higher, and their father's (status: $t(199)=-3.63$, $p<.01$; prestige: $t(199)=-4.19$, $p<.01$) significantly lower than that of the parents of participants from intact families.

Table 5

Descriptive Statistics for Participants From Divorced and Intact Families

Variable[a]	D/I[b]	n	Mean or %	Std Dev	t or (χ^2)
AUT	D	120	7.55	3.76	1.23
	I	120	6.97	3.55	
IMP	D	120	10.83	3.57	1.72
	I	120	10.00	3.92	
RES	D	120	18.93	5.20	-1.11
	I	120	19.68	5.36	
SE	D	120	4.40	1.55	-1.15
	I	120	4.63	1.47	
SUC	D	120	9.86	4.04	-1.14
	I	120	10.47	4.20	
EMP	D	120	35.58	5.39	-0.34
	I	120	35.83	5.69	
ANDRO	D	120	38.40	8.43	-0.38
	I	120	38.80	7.50	
MRE	D	120	25.43	5.47	0.28
	I	120	25.23	5.61	
Caucasian	D	120	87.50%		(4.23)**
	I	120	95.00%		
I.Q.	D	120	22.68	4.37	-1.63
	I	120	23.64	4.79	
TCH	D	118	1.39	1.05	-5.08**
	I	120	2.30	1.65	
OCH	D	118	51.69%		(3.21)
	I	117	63.25%		
EVM	D	100	19.41	5.35	-0.77
	I	120	19.96	5.15	
EVF	D	94	15.60	6.13	-4.98**
	I	120	19.64	5.72	
MSRI	D	100	10.70	2.68	-0.13
	I	120	10.75	2.81	
FSRI	D	97	13.87	3.41	5.06**
	I	120	11.64	3.06	
RTOT	D	120	4.11	1.34	1.03
	I	120	3.94	1.16	
SUPPORT	D	120	-0.15	0.52	-4.22**
	I	120	0.15	0.61	
LC	D	120	13.16	3.47	7.39**
	I	120	10.04	3.04	
CFIN	D	120	4.23	1.41	-2.97**
	I	120	4.73	1.19	
AGE	D	120	19.09	1.22	-1.29
	I	120	19.32	1.46	

Table 5 (continued)

Variable[a]	D/I[b]	n	Mean or %	Std Dev	t or (χ^2)
GPA	D	118	2.79	0.55	-0.02
	I	118	2.79	0.49	
Single	D	120	99.17%		(0.00)
	I	120	99.17%		
EXM	D	120	90.83%		(3.48)
	I	120	96.67%		
ME	D	100	5.09	0.98	1.69
	I	120	4.85	1.10	
FE	D	98	5.24	1.21	-1.33
	I	120	5.47	1.24	
MOS	D	100	58.60	22.52	4.03**
	I	120	43.90	31.44	
FOS	D	82	61.22	17.51	-3.63**
	I	119	70.49	17.95	
MOP	D	100	43.65	12.87	2.97**
	I	120	37.80	16.33	
FOP	D	82	43.10	11.11	-4.19**
	I	119	50.00	11.74	
EOD	D	120	4.12	1.32	
MRM	D	100	52.00%		
FRM	D	96	62.50%		
MPSS	D	100	28.00%		
FPSS	D	100	34.00%		
FC	D	120	3.72	1.57	
HELP	D	120	22.50%		

[a] Key: TCH=total number of children, OCH=presence of older child, EVM=evaluation of mother, EVF=evaluation of father, MSRI=mother's sex-role ideology, FSRI=father's sex-role ideology, RTOT=total responsibility, SUPPORT=interpersonal support, LC=number of life changes, CFIN=current financial status, EXM=expects to marry, ME=mother's education level, FE=fathers education level, MOS=mother's occupational status, FOS=father's occupational status, MOP=mother's occupational prestige, FOP=fathers occupational prestige, MRM=mother remarried, FRM=father remarried, MPSS=mother-presence of stepsiblings, FPSS=father-presence of stepsiblings, FC=change in financial status, HELP=received professional help.

[b] D=Participants from divorced families, I=Participants from intact families.

** Significant at the .01 level.

The results of the chi-square tests indicated that the participants from divorced families included significantly ($X^2(1)=4.23$, $p<.05$) fewer caucasians (n=105) and more minorities (n=15) then those from intact families (caucasians: n=114; minorities: n=6).

The intercorrelations for the total sample among the outcome variables, and among the intervening variables measured in the present study are presented in Table 6 and 7, Appendix C. The correlations between the measured outcome and intervening variables can be found in Table 8, Appendix C.

Section 2: Comparison of Favorable Outcomes in Divorced and Intact Sample Members

Analyses conducted to test hypothesis 1. In order to test hypotheses 1, t-tests were conducted comparing participants from divorced and intact families on their responsibilities and life change scores. As presented in Table 8, participants from divorced and intact families did not differ significantly in responsibilities, but those from divorced families did report having experienced more life changes ($t(238)=7.39$, $p<.01$).

The expected differences in favorable outcomes between participants from divorced and intact families were hypothesized to be mediated both through a post-divorce increase in responsibilities and life change. Since an increase in responsibilities was not apparent in the total sample of participants who experienced parental divorce the

analyses testing hypotheses 1 were conducted on a subsample of participants from divorced families high in post-divorce responsibilities. This subsample consisted of the 65 participants from divorced families who were at or above the median (7 years old) age at the time of divorce. Age at the time of divorce was found to be correlated .35 ($p<.01$) with responsibilities for participants from divorced families ($n=120$).

This subsample was found to differ significantly from the sample of participants from intact families in their total amount of responsibilities ($t(183)=2.34$, $p<.03$), and number of life changes ($t(183)=6.29$, $p<.01$). The means for the participants from divorced and intact families for the responsibilities variable were 4.38 and 3.94, and for the life change variable were 13.12 and 10.04, respectively.

The means for the subsample of participants from divorced families and the sample of participants from intact families on the outcome variables measured in the present study are listed in Table 9, along with the results of t-tests comparing these means. As noted in Table 9, none of these t-tests were found to be significant.

Hypothesis 1 stated that individuals from divorced families will have acquired more responsibilities and experienced more life change than those from intact families, and, when challenge meeting resources are held constant, will

Table 9

Comparison of Divorced Subsample and Intact Sample on Outcome Variables

Variable[a]	D/I[b]	n	Mean	Std Dev	t
AUT	D	65	7.58	3.65	1.12
	I	120	6.97	3.56	
IMP	D	65	10.46	3.15	0.82
	I	120	10.00	3.92	
RES	D	65	18.72	4.62	-1.22
	I	120	19.68	5.36	
SE	D	65	4.35	1.57	-1.23
	I	120	4.63	1.47	
SUC	D	65	10.17	3.91	-0.47
	I	120	10.47	4.20	
EMP	D	65	35.89	5.30	0.08
	I	120	35.83	5.69	
ANDRO	D	65	38.40	7.34	-0.35
	I	120	38.80	7.50	
MRE	D	65	25.46	5.48	0.27
	I	120	25.23	5.61	

[a] Key: AUT=autonomy, IMP=impulsivity, RES=responsibility, SE=self-esteem, SUC=succorance, EMP=empathy, ANDRO=androgyny, MRE=marriage role expectations.

[b] D=Participants from divorced families, I=Participants from intact families.

** Significant at the .01 level.
* Significant at the .05 level.

show increased maturity, self-esteem, self-efficacy, empathy, and androgyny. In order to test hypothesis 1 separate analyses of covariance were conducted comparing the subsample of participants from divorced families to the sample of participants from intact families on the outcome measures of autonomy, impulsivity, responsibility, self-esteem, succorance, empathy, sex-role orientation, and marriage role expectations.

The participant's level of interpersonal support, I.Q., and current family financial status represented the challenge meeting resources used as covariates in the analyses. The divorced family subsample reported significantly less interpersonal support ($t(183)=-3.46$, $p<.01$) and financial resources ($t(183)=-2.52$, $p<.02$), and a lower mean I.Q. score (although not significantly lower) than the intact family sample. The means for the divorced family subsample on the interpersonal support, financial status, and I.Q. variables were -.15, 4.25, and 22.8, respectively, while the respective means for the intact family sample were .15, 4.73, and 23.64.

The results of the analyses were nonsignificant. Although the subsample of participants from divorced families had acquired more responsibilities and experienced more life change then those from intact families, when challenge meeting resources were held constant, they did not differ significantly on autonomy ($F(1,180)=0.05$, $p>.05$), impulsivity ($F(1,180)=1.76$, $p>.05$), responsibility ($F(1,180)=0.61$, $p>.05$),

self-esteem ($F(1,180)=0.08$, $p>.05$), succorance ($F(1,180)=0.02$, $p>.05$), empathy ($F(1,180)=0.49$, $p>.05$), sex-role orientation ($F(1,180)=0.14$, $p>.05$), or marriage role expectations ($F(1,180)=0.30$, $p>.05$).

Analyses conducted to test hypothesis 2. Hypothesis 2 states that individuals from divorced family backgrounds who following parental divorce acquire more responsibilities and experience a high level of interpersonal support will, when additional challenge meeting resources are held constant, show more maturity, self-esteem, self-efficacy, empathy, and androgyny than individuals from intact families. In order to test hypothesis 2 the scores of participants from divorced families on the responsibilities and interpersonal support variables were split at the median, and a subsample ($n=37$) of individuals high in both responsibilities and interpersonal support was formed.

The means for this subsample and the participants from intact families on the measured outcome variables are listed in Table 10, along with the results of t-tests comparing these means. None of these t-tests were found to be significant.

Separate analyses of covariance were then conducted comparing the subsample of participants from divorced families to the sample of participants from intact families on the outcome measures of autonomy, impulsivity, responsibility, self-esteem, succorance, empathy, sex-role orientation, and marriage role expectations.

Table 10

Comparison of Divorced Subsample and Intact Sample on Outcome Variables

Variable[a]	D/I[b]	n	Mean	Std Dev	t
AUT	D	37	7.19	4.29	0.32
	I	120	6.97	3.56	
IMP	D	37	11.19	3.30	1.67
	I	120	10.00	3.92	
RES	D	37	19.78	5.04	0.10
	I	120	19.68	5.36	
SE	D	37	4.41	1.55	-0.78
	I	120	4.63	1.47	
SUC	D	37	10.97	4.10	0.64
	I	120	10.47	4.20	
EMP	D	37	36.14	6.38	0.28
	I	120	35.83	5.69	
ANDRO	D	37	38.62	7.90	-0.12
	I	120	38.80	7.50	
MRE	D	37	25.89	6.27	0.61
	I	120	25.23	5.61	

[a] Key: AUT=autonomy, IMP=impulsivity, RES=responsibility, SE=self-esteem, SUC=succorance, EMP=empathy, ANDRO=androgyny, MRE=marriage role expectations.

[b] D=Participants from divorced families, I=Participants from intact families.

** Significant at the .01 level.
* Significant at the .05 level.

The participant's level of I.Q. and current family financial status represented the challenge meeting resources used as covariates in these analyses. The divorced family subsample reported lower (although not significantly lower) mean I.Q. and financial status scores. The mean I.Q. and financial status scores for the divorced family subsample were 23.19 and 4.27, respectively, while the respective means for the intact family sample were 23.64 and 4.73.

The results of these analyses were also nonsignificant. The subsample of participants high in responsibilities and interpersonal support from divorced families did not differ significantly from those from intact families, when additional challenge meeting resources were held constant, on autonomy ($F(1,153)=0.21$, $p>.05$), impulsivity ($F(1,153)=2.61$, $p>.05$), responsibility ($F(1,153)=0.05$, $p>.05$), self-esteem ($F(1,153)=0.17$, $p>.05$), succorance ($F(1,153)=0.25$, $p>.05$), empathy ($F(1,153)=0.37$, $p>.05$), sex-role orientation ($F(1,153)=0.03$, $p>.05$), or marriage role expectations ($F(1,153)=0.38$, $p>.05$).

Discriminant Analysis. The above results indicate that when the measured outcomes are investigated individually no significant differences are observed between participants from divorced and intact families. However, these results do not rule out the possibility that as a group the outcome variables can significantly discriminate between participants from divorced and intact families. In order to test this a

discriminant analysis was conducted in which the outcome variables (ie., autonomy, impulsivity, responsibility, self-esteem, succorance, empathy, sex-role orientation, and marriage role expectations) were used to derive a discriminant function classifying participants on the basis of family background.

The discriminant function correctly classified 132 of the participants and misclassified 108. Given a sample size of 240, with half of the participants from divorced and half from intact families, 120 of the participants would be expected to be correctly classified by chance alone. The obtained hit rate of 55% was only 5% better than the hit rate of 50% expected by chance. A one-tailed chi-square test (using Yate's correction for discontinuity) assessing whether the obtained hit rate was significantly better then that expected by chance was not significant ($z(1)=1.48$, $p>.05$). The results indicated that taken as a group the measured outcomes were not able to significantly discriminate between participants from divorced and intact families.

Analysis of participant's overall evaluation of the effect of divorce. In order to determine if the participants who saw themselves as benefitting from parental divorce, did so relative to participants from intact families, the subsample (n=44) of participants from divorced families scoring above the median (of 4) on the overall measure of the effect of parental divorce was compared to the sample of

participants from intact families on the measured outcome variables (ie., autonomy, impulsivity, responsibility, self-esteem, succorance, empathy, sex-role orientation, and marriage role expectations). The means of the two groups on the measured outcome variables and the results of the t-tests between the group means are presented in Table 11. Only the t-test for autonomy was found to be significant ($t(162)=2.23$, $p<.03$). The participants from divorced families who felt that they had benefited from parental divorce, were found to be significantly more autonomous than the participants from intact families.

As noted in Table 5, for participants from divorced families the correlations between the overall evaluation of the effect of parental divorce and the measured outcome variables were not significant, except for empathy ($r=.21$, $p<.02$). Participants from divorced families who reported a more positive post-divorce outcome were significantly higher in empathy.

Analysis of participant's self-report of positive outcomes. Finally, a content analysis of the participants from divorced families responses to the open ended question assessing the positive effects of parental divorce was conducted. The analysis resulted in the identification of 20 separate categories of positive outcomes, falling into 3 major areas: 1) positive effects on the individual, 2) positive

Table 11

Comparison of Divorced Subsample and Intact Sample on Outcome Variables

Variable[a]	D/I[b]	n	Mean	Std Dev	t
AUT	D	44	8.39	3.78	2.23*
	I	120	6.97	3.56	
IMP	D	44	11.11	3.49	0.53
	I	120	10.00	3.92	
RES	D	44	19.11	5.34	-0.60
	I	120	19.68	5.36	
SE	D	44	4.34	1.49	-1.09
	I	120	4.63	1.47	
SUC	D	44	9.39	4.10	-1.47
	I	120	10.47	4.20	
EMP	D	44	36.93	5.82	1.10
	I	120	35.83	5.69	
ANDRO	D	44	38.30	9.29	-0.36
	I	120	38.80	7.50	
MRE	D	44	25.86	6.17	0.62
	I	120	25.23	5.61	

[a] Key: AUT=autonomy, IMP=impulsivity, RES=responsibility, SE=self-esteem, SUC=succorance, EMP=empathy, ANDRO=androgyny, MRE=marriage role expectations.

[b] D=Participants from divorced families, I=Participants from intact families.

** Significant at the .01 level.
* Significant at the .05 level.

effects on the individual's relationships with others, and 3) positive effects on the individual's environment. The interrater agreement rates for the coding of positive outcomes into categories based on the total sample of participants from divorced families (n=120) ranged from a low of 98.3% to a high of 100%. The frequencies and percentages of participants listing positive outcomes falling into each of the 20 categories and three major areas are presented in Table 12. Ninety percent (n=108) of the participants from divorced families reported at least one positive outcome of parental divorce.

As noted in Table 12, a post-divorce increase in maturity was the most frequently reported positive outcome, followed by an increase in self-esteem and self-efficacy. In order to determine if the participants who reported these positive outcomes benefited relative to their peers from intact families, t-tests on the relevant outcome measures of maturity (ie., autonomy, impulsivity, responsibility) and self-esteem and self-efficacy (ie., succorance) were conducted between participants from intact families and those who reported increased maturity (n=63) and increased self-esteem/self-efficacy (n=23), respectively. The results of these analyses are presented in Table 13. As noted in Table 13, the participants who reported increased maturity following parental divorce were not found to differ significantly from participants from intact families in autonomy ($t(181)=1.24$,

Table 12

Positive Outcomes Reported by Participants From Divorced Families

I. Positive Outcomes: Individual: n=84, 70%.
   1. Increased Maturity (ie., more independent, responsible, self-controlled, organized, or realistic, an increased acceptance of reality): n=63, 52.5%.
   2. Increased Empathy & Nurturance (ie., more sensitive to others feelings, more understanding, considerate, or helpful): n=11, 9.2%.
   3. Increased Androgyny (ie., nontraditional beliefs about sex-roles & marriage roles, belief that women should be independent or that parents should share equally in child-care): n=4, 3.3%.
   4. Increased Self-Esteem & Self-Efficacy (ie., increased self-worth, self-confidence, faith-in-self, sense of strength, or resourcefulness): n=23, 19.2%.
   5. Increased Flexibility/Adaptability (ie., more open minded or adaptable, better able to adapt to change): n=6, 5%.
   6. Increased Ambition (ie., more ambitious, hard-working, or determined to succeed, increased perseverance): n=8, 6.7%.
   7. Increased Appreciation of the Importance of the Marriage Decision (ie., plans to be more careful about choosing a marital partner): n=9, 7.5%.
   8. Increased Commitment to Marriage (ie., increased willingness to work hard at marriage, determined to avoid divorce, willingness to seek marriage counseling): n=10, 8.3%.
   9. More Positive Outlook (ie., more optimistic, happy, satisfied, or appreciative of life or relationships in general): n=8, 6.7%.

II. Positive Outcomes: Relationships: n=44, 36.7%.
   10. Enhanced Parent-Child Relationships (ie., a closer, stronger, more adult, varied, supportive, honest, or positive relationship with either parent, an increased respect or appreciation for either parent): n=17, 14.2%.
   11. Enhanced Sibling Relationships: n=3, 2.5%.
   12. Enhanced Relationships with Friends or Others in General: n=8, 6.7%.
   13. Valued Relationships with Stepparents or Stepsiblings/Halfsiblings: n=7, 5.8%.

Table 12 (continued)

14. Increased Relationship Skill or Knowledge (ie., more giving or honest in relationships, learned from parents' mistakes, know what to look for in a partner or marriage, know what it takes to make a marriage relationship work): n=21, 17.5%.
15. Increased Social Involvement: n=3, 2.5%.

III. Positive Outcomes: Environment: n=27, 22.5%.
16. Increased Parental Adjustment or Satisfaction: n=7, 5.8%.
17. Decrease in Family Conflict or Tension: n=13, 10.8%.
18. Reduced Exposure to a Dysfunctional Parent or Poor Parental Role Model: n=5, 4.2%.
19. Improved Socio-Economic Status: n=3, 2.5%.
20. Increased Freedom: n=5, 4.2%.

$p > .05$), impulsivity ($t(181) = 1.38$, $p > .05$), or responsibility ($t(181) = -0.60$, $p > .05$). Nor, were those who reported increased self-esteem and self-efficacy found to differ significantly from those from intact families in self-esteem ($t(141) = -1.41$, $p > .05$) or succorance ($t(141) = -1.72$, $p > .05$).

The correlations for participants from divorced families between maturity as measured by the free response question and the outcome measures of autonomy ($r = .03$, $p > .05$), impulsivity ($r = -.01$, $p > .05$), and responsibility ($r = .06$, $p > .05$) were not significant. Neither were the correlations between self-esteem and self-efficacy as measured by the free response question and the outcome measures of self-esteem ($r = -.08$, $p > .05$) and succorance ($r = -.12$, $p > .05$).

Table 13

Comparison of Divorced Subsamples and Intact Sample on Relevant Outcome Variables

Variable[a]	D/I[b]	n	Mean	Std Dev	t
AUT	D	63	7.67	3.73	1.24
	I	120	6.97	3.56	
IMP	D	63	10.81	3.45	1.38
	I	120	10.00	3.92	
RES	D	63	19.21	4.68	-0.60
	I	120	19.68	5.36	
SE	D	23	4.13	1.87	-1.41
	I	120	4.63	1.47	
SUC	D	23	8.87	3.36	-1.72
	I	120	10.47	4.20	

[a] Key: AUT=autonomy, IMP=impulsivity, RES=responsibility, SE=self-esteem, SUC=succorance.

[b] D=Participants from divorced families, I=Participants from intact families.

** Significant at the .01 level.
* Significant at the .05 level.

Section 3: Moderators of Favorable Outcomes Following Parental Divorce

Analyses conducted to test hypothesis 3. Hypothesis 3 states that a number of individual, family, and environmental factors can be identified which significantly influence the level of favorable outcomes experienced by individuals from divorced families. In order to test hypothesis 3 the correlations between the measured intervening and outcome variables for the participants from divorced families were computed and tested for significance. The results of these analyses are reported in Table 14.

In terms of the outcome variables assessing maturity, the results indicated that autonomy was significantly correlated with participant's gender ($r=.23$, $p<.02$). Males from divorced families were significantly more autonomous than females. Impulsivity was found to be significantly correlated with participant's I.Q. ($r=.19$, $p<.05$), and the presence of stepsiblings in the noncustodial father's household ($r=-.22$, $p<.03$). Participants who had lower I.Q.s or whose noncustodial fathers had stepchildren were significantly less impulsive. Responsibility was found to be significantly correlated with participant's evaluation of their custodial mother ($r=.21$, $p<.04$), and the presence of stepsiblings in the noncustodial father's household ($r=.22$, $p<.03$). Participants who had a better relationship with their mother or whose

Table 14

Correlations Between Outcome and Intervening Variables for Participants From Divorced Families

Variable[a]	r/n[b]	AUT	IMP	RES	SE	SUC
GENDER	r	0.23*	-0.06	-0.12	0.09	-0.38**
	n	120	120	120	120	120
RACE	r	-0.01	-0.05	0.03	-0.07	0.12
	n	120	120	120	120	120
I.Q.	r	0.16	0.19*	-0.15	0.09	-0.07
	n	120	120	120	120	120
AGED	r	0.05	-0.08	-0.07	-0.01	0.04
	n	120	120	120	120	120
TCH	r	0.03	-0.04	0.02	-0.19*	0.07
	n	118	118	118	118	118
OCH	r	-0.08	-0.05	-0.02	0.08	0.06
	n	118	118	118	118	118
MRM	r	-0.04	0.07	0.15	-0.12	0.04
	n	100	100	100	100	100
FRM	r	-0.02	0.09	-0.02	0.02	-0.05
	n	96	96	96	96	96
MPSS	r	0.08	0.06	0.13	-0.01	0.00
	n	100	100	100	100	100
FPSS	r	0.19	-0.22*	0.22*	0.03	-0.25*
	n	100	100	100	100	100
EVM	r	-0.15	-0.12	0.21*	0.13	0.06
	n	100	100	100	100	100
EVF	r	-0.16	-0.04	0.05	0.31**	0.08
	n	94	94	94	94	94
MSRI	r	0.04	-0.09	0.07	0.04	-0.07
	n	100	100	100	100	100
FSRI	r	-0.11	-0.11	0.07	0.01	0.14
	n	97	97	97	97	97
RTOT	r	0.15	0.05	0.11	-0.14	0.00
	n	120	120	120	120	120
SUPPORT	r	-0.13	0.14	0.02	0.16	0.17
	n	120	120	120	120	120
LC	r	0.10	0.18	-0.03	-0.13	-0.05
	n	120	120	120	120	120
CFIN	r	0.13	0.11	0.03	0.22*	-0.15
	n	120	120	120	120	120
FC	r	-0.01	0.01	-0.01	0.07	-0.03
	n	120	120	120	120	120
HELP	r	0.02	0.00	-0.10	-0.07	0.01
	n	120	120	120	120	120

Table 14 (continued)

Variable[a]	r/n[b]	EMP	ANDRO	MRE	EOD
GENDER	r	0.00	0.01	-0.35**	0.12
	n	120	120	120	120
RACE	r	0.17	0.05	0.01	0.05
	n	120	120	120	120
I.Q.	r	-0.07	-0.01	0.07	0.01
	n	120	120	120	120
AGED	r	0.03	0.01	-0.01	0.04
	n	120	120	120	120
TCH	r	-0.04	-0.09	0.19*	-0.06
	n	118	118	118	118
OCH	r	-0.05	0.00	0.09	-0.03
	n	118	118	118	118
MRM	r	0.08	0.07	0.11	-0.05
	n	100	100	100	100
FRM	r	0.16	0.01	0.20	0.01
	n	96	96	96	96
MPSS	r	0.21*	0.04	0.07	0.04
	n	100	100	100	100
FPSS	r	0.08	-0.08	-0.05	-0.06
	n	100	100	100	100
EVM	r	0.00	-0.11	0.01	0.18
	n	100	100	100	100
EVF	r	0.18	-0.05	0.03	-0.16
	n	94	94	94	94
MSRI	r	-0.14	-0.06	-0.23*	-0.13
	n	100	100	100	100
FSRI	r	-0.08	0.00	-0.08	-0.03
	n	97	97	97	97
RTOT	r	-0.02	0.03	0.13	0.06
	n	120	120	120	120
SUPPORT	r	0.19*	0.00	0.05	0.28**
	n	120	120	120	120
LC	r	0.04	0.01	0.20*	-0.16
	n	120	120	120	120
CFIN	r	0.08	0.04	-0.13	0.10
	n	120	120	120	120
FC	r	0.05	-0.11	-0.34**	0.10
	n	120	120	120	120
HELP	r	-0.08	-0.05	0.02	0.03
	n	120	120	120	120

[a] Key: AUT=autonomy, IMP=impulsivity, RES=responsibility, SE=self-esteem, SUC=succorance, EMP=empathy, ANDRO=androgyny, MRE=marriage role expectations, EOD=Subjective rating of effect of parental divorce, Gender (female=0, male=1), RACE (minority=0, caucasian=1), AGED=age at time of divorce,

Table 14 (continued)

[a] Key (continued): TCH=total number of children, OCH=presence of older child (no=0, yes=1), MRM=mother remarried (no=0, yes=1), FRM=father remarried (no=0, yes=1), MPSS=mother-presence of stepsiblings (no=0, yes=1), FPSS=father-presence of stepsiblings (no=0, yes=1), EVM=evaluation of mother, EVF=evaluation of father, MSRI=mother's sex-role ideology, FSRI=father's sex-role ideology, RTOT=total responsibility, SUPPORT=interpersonal support, LC=number of life changes, CFIN=current financial status, FC=change in financial status, HELP=received professional help (no=0, yes=1).

[b] r=Pearson correlation coefficient, n=sample size.

** Significant at the .01 level.
* Significant at the .05 level.

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noncustodial fathers had stepchildren were significantly more responsible.

For the outcome variables assessing self-esteem and self-efficacy, the results indicated that self-esteem was significantly correlated with participant's evaluation of their noncustodial father ($r=.31$, $p<.01$), their families current financial status ($r=.22$, $p<.02$), and the number of children in the post-divorce family ($r=-.19$, $p<.04$). Participants who had a better relationship with their noncustodial father, whose families were better-off financially, or whose families had fewer children were significantly higher in self-esteem. Succorance was significantly correlated with participant's gender ($r=-.38$, $p<.01$), and the presence of stepsiblings in the noncustodial father's household ($r=-.25$, $p<.02$). Males from divorced

families or those whose noncustodial fathers had stepchildren were significantly lower in succorance.

Empathy was found to be significantly correlated with the level of interpersonal support experienced by participants ($r=.19$, $p<.04$), and with the presence of stepsiblings in the custodial mother's household. Participants who experienced more interpersonal support or whose custodial mothers had stepchildren were significantly higher in empathy.

For androgyny, the results indicated that the sex-role orientation measure was not significantly correlated with any intervening variable. However, the measure of marriage role expectations was found to be significantly correlated with the participant's gender ($r=-.35$, $p<.01$), the custodial mother's sex-role ideology ($r=-.23$, $p<.03$), the number of life changes experienced by participants ($r=.20$, $p<.03$), the number of children in the post-divorce family ($r=.19$, $p<.05$), and the change in family financial status following divorce ($r=-.33$, $p<.01$). Participants who were female, whose custodial mother's possessed more nontraditional sex-role attitudes, who experienced more life changes, whose families had more children, or whose families experienced a decline in financial status following divorce possessed significantly less traditional, more equalitarian marriage role expectations.

Finally, participant's overall evaluation of the effect of parental divorce was found to be significantly correlated with the amount of interpersonal support experienced by them

following the divorce ($r=.28$, $p<.01$). Participants who experienced more interpersonal support evaluated the effect of parental divorce on them as a person and their relationships with others as significantly more positive.

Analysis of curvelinear relationships. It may be that moderate, as opposed to high, levels of challenge and challenge meeting resources are related to more favorable outcomes following parental divorce. In other words, a curvelinear, as opposed to linear, function may best explain the relationship between: 1) the level of post-divorce challenge and favorable post-divorce outcomes, and 2) the level of challenge meeting resources and favorable outcomes following parental divorce. In order to test these hypotheses polynomial regression analyses were conducted for participants from divorced families. For each of the measured outcome variables the increment in r-square due to the quadratic function, beyond that due to the linear function, was tested for significance.

Separate analyses were done for 2 measures of post-divorce challenge: 1) the amount of post-divorce responsibilities acquired, and 2) the amount of life change experienced. The analyses indicated that the increments in r-square were not found to be significant for either measure for any of the outcome variables. These results indicate that the relationship between the level of post-divorce challenge

and favorable outcomes is not explained any better by a quadratic, as opposed to linear function.

Separate analyses were also conducted for 3 measures of challenge meeting resources: 1) the amount of interpersonal support experienced, 2) I.Q., and 3) current family financial status. These analyses indicated that only the increment in r-square for the quadratic form of current family financial status on sex-role orientation was significant (sr^2=.05, $F(1,237)=13.34$, $p<.01$). The relationship between current family financial status and sex-role orientation was convex, with moderate levels of financial status being associated with a more androgynous sex-role orientation.

Analysis of interactions. It is also possible that the level of post-divorce challenge may interact with the level of challenge meeting resources in influencing favorable outcomes following parental divorce. In other words, the relationship between the level of post-divorce challenge and favorable post-divorce outcomes, may depend upon the level of challenge meeting resources available to children following parental divorce. In order to test this hypothesis hierarchical regression analyses were conducted for each outcome variable, in which the level of post-divorce challenge (measured as the amount of post-divorce responsibilities acquired, and the number of life changes experienced) was entered into the equation as the first set, the level of challenge meeting resources (measured as the amount of

interpersonal support experienced, participant's I.Q., and current family financial status) was entered as the second set, and the interaction between these two sets was entered as the third set. For each of the measured outcome variables, the increment in r-square due to the interaction between the level of challenge and challenge meeting resources, beyond that due to either set alone, was tested for significance. Of these analyses, the interaction between the level of post-divorce challenge and challenge meeting resources was found to be significant for the self-esteem (sr^2=.11, $F(6,108)=2.48$, $p<.05$) and marriage role expectations (sr^2=.12, $F(6,108)=2.72$, $p<.05$) variables.

Additional hierarchical regression analyses were then conducted for the self-esteem and marriage role expectations variables. For each variable, separate analyses were conducted for each of the 6 possible combinations of the 2 measures of post-divorce challenge (amount of responsibilities and life change) with the 3 measures of challenge meeting resources (level of interpersonal support, I.Q., and family financial status). For each separate analysis, the increment in r-square due to the interaction term, beyond that due to the challenge and challenge meeting resource terms, was tested for significance.

Of these analyses, only the interaction between the amount of responsibilities acquired and participant's I.Q. was found to be significant (sr^2=.07, $F(1,116)=8.79$, $p<.01$) for

the self-esteem variable. The regression equation indicated that when I.Q. is high, post-divorce responsibilities are positively associated with self-esteem, and when it is low the relationship is negative. Figure 2 illustrates the form this relationship takes when the maximum and minimum values for participants from divorced families on the I.Q. and responsibilities variables are entered into the regression equation.

For the marriage role expectations variable, only the interaction between the number of life changes and participant's I.Q. was found to be significant (sr^2=.08, $F(1,116)=11.10$, $p<.01$). The regression equation indicated that when I.Q. is high, the amount of life change is negatively associated with equalitarian-nontraditional marriage role expectations, and when it is low the relationship is positive. Figure 3 illustrates the form this relationship takes when the maximum and minimum values for these variables are entered into the regression equation.

The above results and those testing Hypothesis 3 indicate that a number of variables exist which are related to more favorable outcomes in individuals from divorced families. However, the question of whether individuals from divorced families with particular scores on these variables experience more favorable outcomes then their counterparts from intact families remains unanswered.

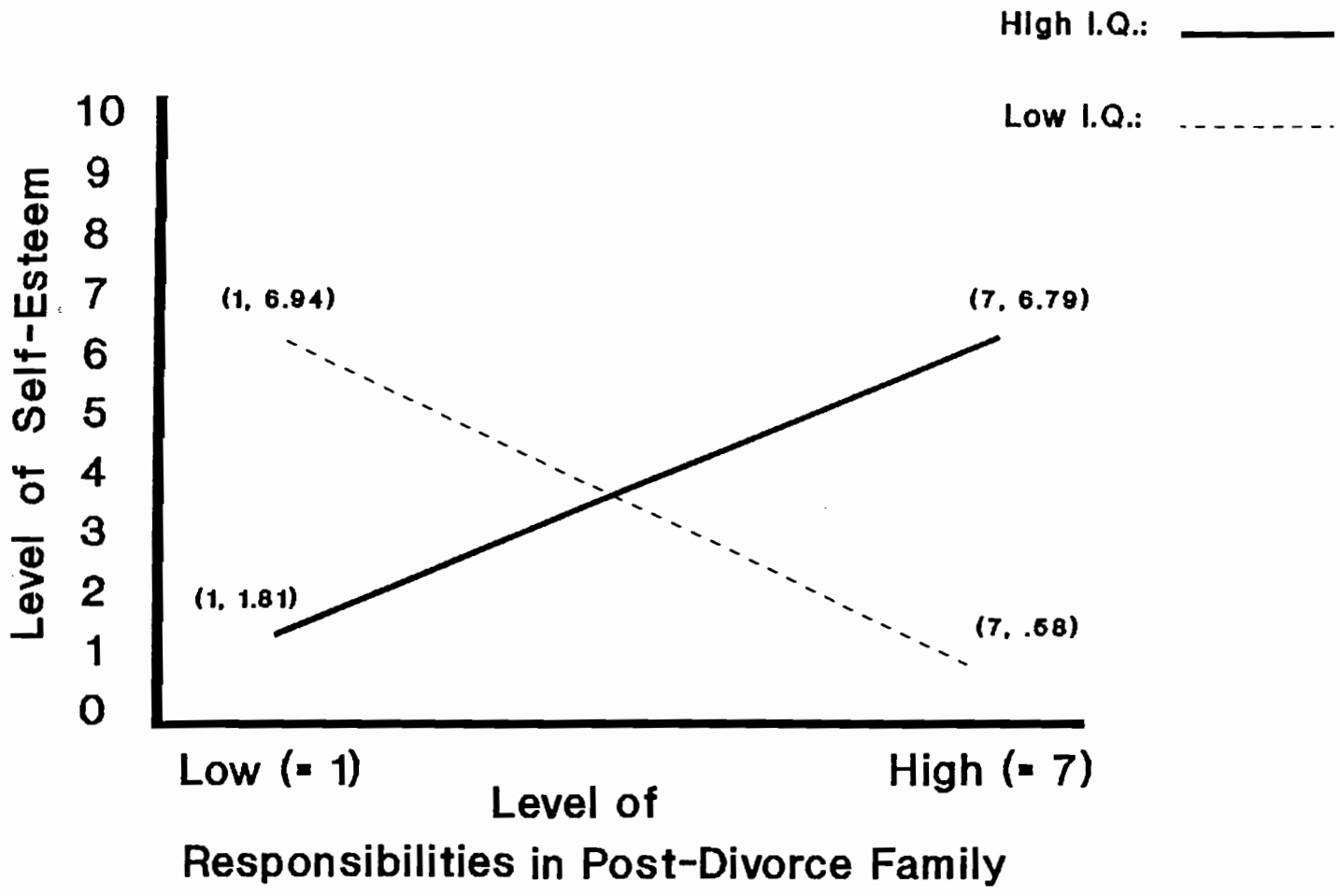

Figure 2

Interaction Between Level of Responsibilities and I.Q. on Self-Esteem for Participants from Divorced Families

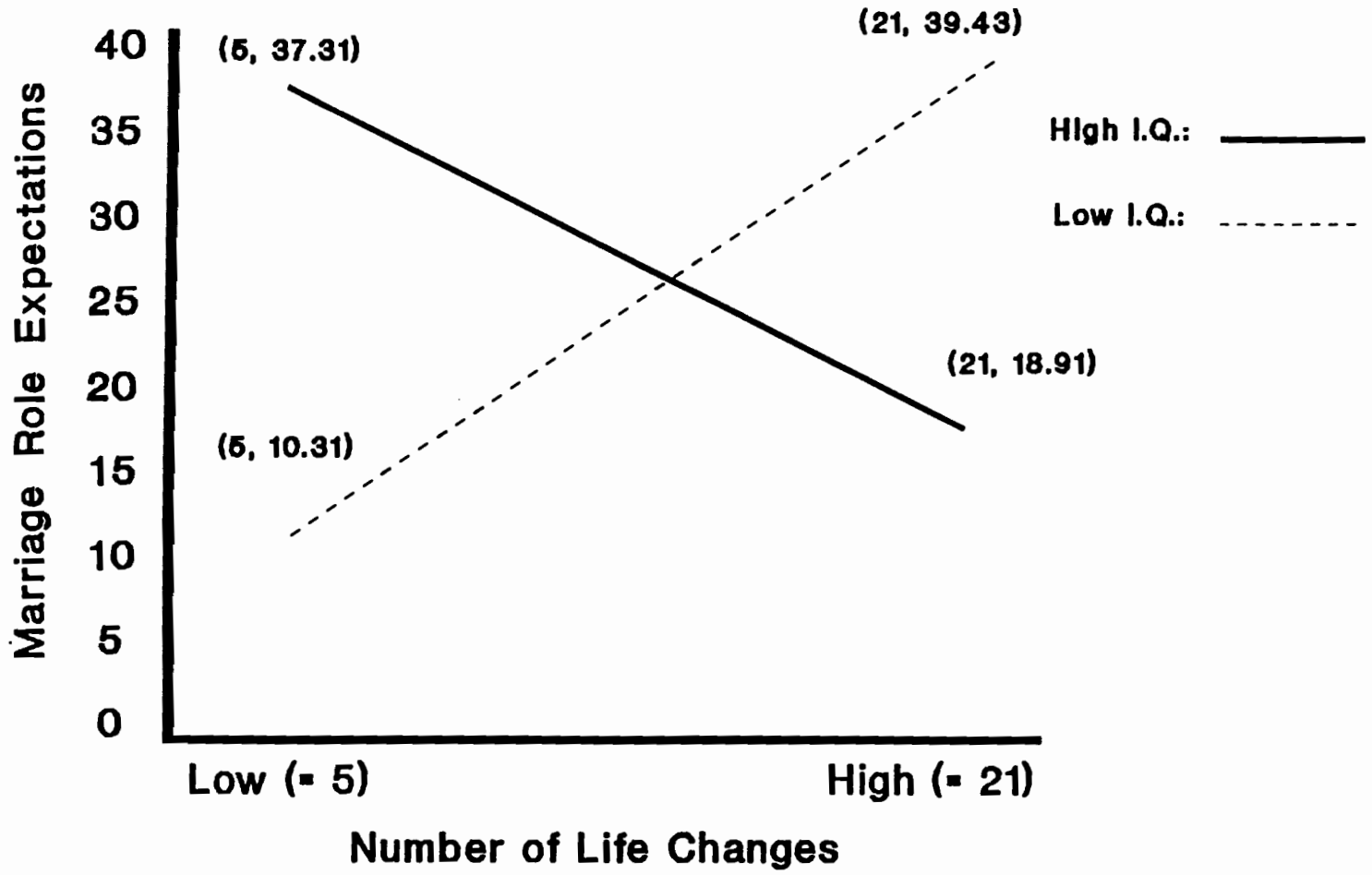

Figure 3

Interaction Between Life Change and I.Q. on Marriage Role Expectations For Participants from Divorced Families

Analyses conducted to test hypothesis 4. Hypothesis 4 states that from the set of factors found to significantly influence the level of favorable outcomes experienced by participants from divorced families, a number of factors can be identified which also moderate the relationship between family background and favorable outcomes. In order to test hypothesis 4 and determine if those individuals from divorced families who experience more favorable outcomes, do so relative to their counterparts from intact families a number of hierarchical regression analyses were conducted.

For those variables that were found to be significantly related to favorable outcomes and for which data from participants from intact families was available, separate hierarchical regression analyses were conducted that tested the significance of the increment in r-square due to the interaction of family background with each factor, beyond that due to either variable alone.

Of these analyses, only the interaction between family background and total number of children for the self-esteem variable was found to be significant ($sr^2=.04$, $F(1,234)=9.14$, $p<.01$). The regression equation indicates that for individuals from divorced families the number of children in the family is negatively related to self-esteem, and that for those from intact families the relationship is positive. In other words, individuals from divorced families in which the number of children is small tend to possess higher levels of

self-esteem, whereas the opposite tends to be true for those from intact families. Figure 4 illustrates the form this relationship takes when the maximum and minimum values for the number of children variable are entered into the regression equation.

For those variables related to favorable outcomes for which data from individuals from intact families was not available, the sample of participants from divorced families was divided into groups scoring high and low on each variable. The dichotomous variables (presence of stepsiblings in the custodial mother's and noncustodial father's household) were split into their preexisting groups, and the continuous variable (post-divorce change in family financial status) was split at the median. For each factor, t-tests were then conducted between the group associated with more favorable outcomes and the total sample of participants from intact families.

Of these analyses, only the t-tests comparing participants from divorced families whose noncustodial father's had stepchildren (n=34) to participants from intact families (n=120) on the succorance variable ($t_{app}(71)=-2.74$, $p<.01$), and comparing participants from divorced families who experienced a post-divorce decline in family financial status (n=52) to those from intact families (n=120) on the marriage role expectations variable ($t_{app}(141)=3.57$, $p<.01$) were found

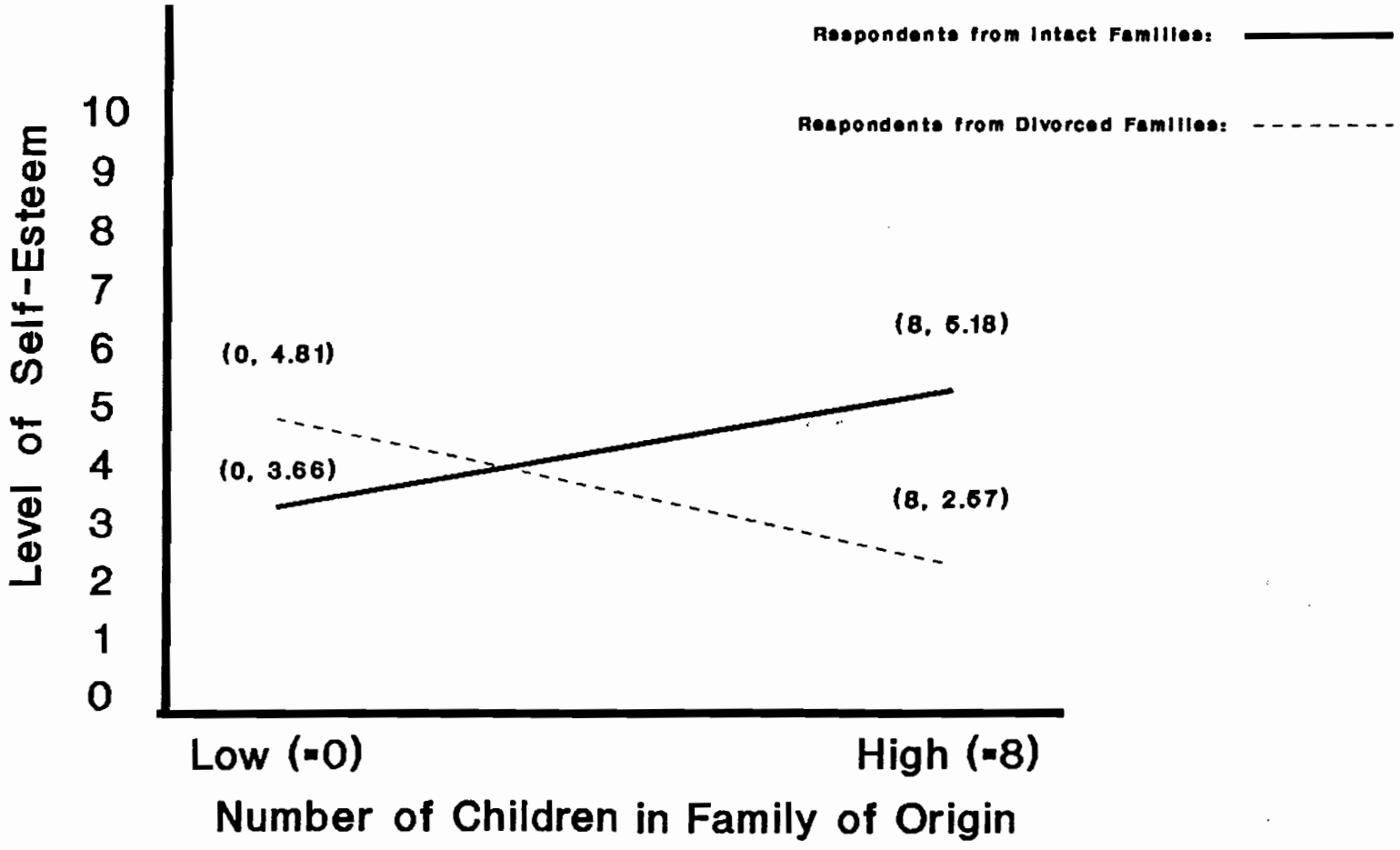

Figure 4

Interaction Between Number of Children and Family Background on Self-Esteem for Total Sample

to be significant. Participants from divorced families whose noncustodial fathers had stepchildren were significantly lower in succorance than those from intact families. The mean for the former group on the succorance variable was 8.68, while mean for the latter group was 10.47. In addition, individuals from divorced families who experienced a post-divorce decline in family financial status were significantly more nontraditional in their marriage role expectations than those from intact families. The means for the two groups on the marriage role expectations variable were 27.85 and 25.23, respectively.

As noted above, for participants from divorced families a moderate level of current family financial status was associated with a more androgynous sex-role orientation. In order to compare participants from divorced families with their counterparts from intact families, subgroups with moderate scores on the financial status variable (scores ranging from 3 to 5) were formed for participants from divorced ($n=81$) and intact ($n=82$) families and a t-test comparing them on the sex-role orientation measure was conducted. The t-test was not significant ($t(161)=0.68$, $p>.05$), indicating that participants from divorced families of moderate financial status do not possess more androgynous sex-role orientations than their counterparts from intact families. The means for the two groups were 40.06 and 39.32, respectively.

As also noted above, the amount of post-divorce responsibilities acquired by participants from divorced families was found to interact with their I.Q. in influencing their self-esteem, and the number of life changes they experienced was found to interact with their I.Q. in influencing their marriage role expectations. In order to determine if these relationships in turn interact with family background, hierarchical regression analyses were conducted in which the increment in r-square for self-esteem due to the 3-way interaction between responsibilities, I.Q., and family background, and the increment in r-square for marriage role expectations due to the 3-way interaction between life changes, I.Q., and family background were tested for significance.

Of these analyses, only the interaction for the marriage role expectations variable was found to be significant ($sr^2=.05$, $F(1,232)=13.76$, $p<.01$). In order to clarify this interaction, a hierarchical regression analysis was conducted for participants from intact families on the marriage role expectations variable, in which the increment in r-square due to the interaction between life changes and I.Q., beyond that due to either variable alone, was tested for significance. The results of this analysis were not significant ($sr^2=.03$, $F(1,116)=3.84$, $p>.05$), indicating that while life change interacts with I.Q. in influencing marriage role expectations for individuals from divorced families, this does not appear

to be the case for individuals from intact families.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

This chapter is organized into three sections. The first section focuses on the analyses comparing favorable outcomes in participants from divorced and intact families, and addresses the question of whether participants from divorced families experience more favorable outcomes relative to those from intact families. The possible interpretations and limitations of these analyses and their implications for future research are also discussed in section 1. The second section discusses the results relating to factors which appear to moderate favorable outcomes for participants from divorced families. The interpretations, limitations, and research implications of these results are discussed in section 2. Finally, the third section discusses the implications of the above results for the development of interventions designed to influence the adjustment of children from divorced families and for the advancement of the Challenge Model.

Section 1: Comparison of Favorable Outcomes in Divorced and Intact Sample Members

Comparisons based on objective-instrument outcome measures. The Challenge Model postulates that the enhanced maturity, self-esteem, self-efficacy, empathy, and androgyny that some children experience following parental divorce results from their success in coping with the increased responsibilities acquired and life change experienced in the post-divorce family. Research has demonstrated that children from divorced families acquire more responsibilities and experience more life change then their counterparts from intact families (Amato, 1987; Bohannon & Erickson, 1978; Hetherington, 1989; Stolberg et al., 1987; Zakariya, 1982). However, in the present study this previously reported difference in responsibilities between groups was not found.

A college student sample was used in the present study, and it may be that those individuals who acquire more responsibilities as children are also are more likely to attend college as young adults. Therefore, any difference in responsibilities that exists between the general population of individuals from divorced and intact families may not be evident in a college student sample. Since differences in responsibilities between the divorced and intact groups were not found, differences between the two groups on the measured outcome variables were not expected and, as noted in Table 8, they were not found.

The failure to find differences between the divorced and intact samples on the objective-instrument outcome measures may also have been the result of a difference in the amount of challenge meeting resources available to members of the two groups. As noted in Table 8, divorced participants possessed significantly less interpersonal support and financial resources, and a lower (although not significantly lower) mean intelligence than their counterparts from intact families. However, even when challenge meeting resources are statistically held constant the same nonsignificant results are obtained, indicating that the lack of expected differences between the divorced and intact groups was probably not a function of group differences in challenge meeting resources.

Only when the sample of participants from divorced families was limited to those who were older at the time of divorce was the expected difference in responsibilities found. One explanation would be that the custodial parents in this study were more comfortable assigning additional responsibilities to their older children. In support of this explanation, it was found that having an older sibling was significantly associated with acquiring fewer post-divorce responsibilities ($r=-.21$, $p<.05$). Another explanation would be, that older children were more able to assume new responsibilities. Also, by the time many of the participants who were younger at the time of divorce would have been old enough to have acquire extra-responsibilities their custodial

parents had already remarried. Fifty percent of the custodial parents were remarried within 4 years after the divorce. When parents remarry, stepparents and stepsiblings may assume responsibilities that would otherwise be acquired by children in the single-parent family.

Given these findings and the data available it was thought that the most effective way to test hypothesis 1 was to compare the subsample of participants from divorced families who were older at the time of divorce to the sample of participants from intact families. However, as discussed in the results section and noted in Table 9, hypothesis 1 was not supported. When challenge meeting resources were held constant, participants from divorced families were not found to experience favorable outcomes relative to those from intact families.

One reason that no differences were found when hypothesis 1 was tested may be that when challenge meeting resources were held constant, the additional responsibilities acquired by the participants of the divorced subsample, overwhelmed rather than challenged them. As noted above, the participants from divorced families were at a disadvantage relative to those from intact with regard to the amount of challenge meeting resources available to them. Holding challenge meeting resources constant controlled for group differences between divorced and intact samples. However, it did so at the cost of obscuring a relevant factor.

The Challenge Model postulates that favorable outcomes only occur when the post-divorce challenges faced by children do not outweigh the challenge meeting resources available to them. Therefore, averaging together those members of the divorced group for whom a correspondence exists between the level of challenge and challenge meeting resources with those for whom a correspondence does not exist could obscure true differences that exist between the divorced and intact groups. Challenge meeting resources in combination with increased demands play a central role in determining post-divorce outcomes, and in order to provide an effective test of the Challenge Model their combined influence should be considered.

Therefore, in order to test Hypothesis 2 and the Challenge Model, a subsample of participants from divorced families who had acquired many responsibilities but also experienced a high level of interpersonal support was compared to the sample of participants from intact families. As noted in the results section and in Table 10, the hypothesis was not supported by the results. When additional challenge meeting were held constant, participants from divorced families who both acquired many responsibilities and experienced a high level of interpersonal support were not found to experience favorable outcomes relative to those from intact families.

One reason that the expected group differences were not found when hypothesis 2 was tested may be that a reduction in sample size may have resulted in a reduction in the power of

the tests to detect true differences between the divorced and intact groups. In order to isolate the participants most likely to have benefitted from parental divorce, the divorced sample of 120 participants was reduced in size to a subsample of 37 participants high in both responsibilities and interpersonal support. In order to avoid a loss in power to detect true differences, future researchers need either to deliberately screen subjects to form samples with desired characteristics or to start with a divorced sample large enough so that subsamples can be formed without as great a reduction in sample size.

The above results indicate that when the measured outcomes are investigated individually, no significant differences are observed between divorced and intact samples. Although, these individual tests did not yield significant results, they did not rule out the possibility that the outcome variables, as a group, could significantly discriminate between divorced and intact samples. In order to test this, a discriminant analysis was conducted in which the outcome variables were used to derive a discriminant function classifying participants on the basis of family background. However, the results of this analysis were not significant.

In sum, the results of all the analyses comparing participants from divorced and intact families on the objective-instrument outcome measures point to the same

conclusion: Individuals in the present study from divorced families did not appear to benefit relative to those from intact families in terms of enhanced maturity, self-esteem, self-efficacy, empathy, or androgyny, as measured with the set of instruments used in this study. However, a different picture emerges when the participants' overall evaluation of the effect of parental divorce and open ended self-report of positive outcomes are investigated.

Comparisons based on participant's overall evaluation of the effect of parental divorce. As reported in the results section, 44 of the 120 participants from divorced families, over one-third (37%) of the total divorced sample, viewed their parents' divorce as having had a positive impact on them or their relationships with others. As also noted in the results section and in Table 11, the analyses focusing on the participant's overall evaluation of the effects of parental divorce demonstrated that those participants who rated themselves as being positively effected by parental divorce also scored as significantly more autonomous on the Autonomy scale of the PRF than participants from intact families. In addition, for participants from divorced families a significant association was found between seeing themselves as being positively effected by parental divorce and increased empathy on the Hogan Empathy Scale.

These results suggest that some children may experience favorable outcomes in the form of increased autonomy and

empathy following parental divorce, and in the case of autonomy may in fact benefit relative to their peers from intact families. Of course, these results are correlational and it is possible that children who are initially higher in autonomy and empathy may also be more likely to report having been positively effected by their parents' divorce.

It is also possible that the obtained relationships between the participants' overall evaluation of the effects of parental divorce and the outcome measures of autonomy and empathy may be the result of a social desirability response set. Some participants from divorced families may have been concerned about being viewed in a negative light and as a result were motivated to provide a positive self-presentation. However, the fact that significant associations with the other outcome measures were not observed argues against this conclusion. Finally, because of the large number of analyses conducted in this study and the resulting high experiment-wise error rate, these findings should be considered preliminary until replicated in a different sample.

Comparisons based on participant's open ended self-report of positive outcomes. As noted in the results section and in Table 12, an overwhelming majority (90%) of participants from divorced families reported at least one positive outcome resulting from their parents' divorce. All of the outcomes areas assessed by the objective-instrument measures employed in the study were also identified by participants as positive

outcomes in the open ended measure, with over 50% identifying increased maturity, and almost 20% identifying increased self-esteem or self-efficacy as a positive outcome.

The list of positive outcomes reported was extensive. In all, 20 separate categories of outcomes were identified. In the case of the maturity and self-esteem/self-efficacy categories, the frequencies were large enough to compare the participants reporting these positive outcomes to the participants from intact families on the corresponding outcome measures of maturity (ie., autonomy, impulsivity, responsibility), and self-esteem and self-efficacy (ie., succorance).

It was hoped that these analysis would help determine if individuals who saw themselves as benefitting from parental divorce in terms of increased maturity, and self-esteem and self-efficacy did so relative to those from intact families. The results of these analyses were not significant. They indicated that although these participants felt that they had benefitted from parental divorce in terms of increased maturity, and self-esteem/self-efficacy they were not found to differ from those from intact families on the corresponding measures of these variables.

In addition, no significant relationships were found between reported maturity and self-esteem/self-efficacy on the open ended instrument and scores on the corresponding measures of these variables for participants from divorced families on

the objective-instrument outcome measures. These findings suggest that at least for maturity, self-esteem, and self-efficacy little correspondence existed between participant's reports of positive outcomes on the open ended instrument and objective-instrument measures of these outcomes.

In conclusion, the results of the analyses of the participant's self-report of positive outcomes indicate that many individuals who experience parental divorce believe that they have benefitted in some way as a result of the experience. However, the findings of the analyses conducted involving the objective outcome measures suggest that individuals from divorced families do not in fact benefit relative to individuals from intact families. In addition, with the possible exception of increased autonomy and empathy, even those who report having been positively affected by the divorce experience do not appear to benefit on objective outcome measures relative to individuals from intact families, and those from divorced families who do not report having been positively affected.

Interpretations and limitations of the results comparing divorced and intact sample members, and implications for future research. There are a number of alternative interpretations of the findings discussed above. First, it may be that individuals from divorced families do benefit relative to those from intact, but because of methodological weaknesses the true differences that exist between these

groups were not detected by the present study. For example, as noted above, the sample used in the present study was limited to the educationally advantaged. It may be that the outcomes measured in the present study (maturity, self-esteem, self-efficacy, empathy, and androgyny) are strongly associated with university attendance. If this is the case, differences that exist between the general population of individuals from divorced and intact families on these measures may not be found in a college population.

Furthermore, the Challenge Model, and the research data on which it is based, suggests that while some subgroups of children from divorced families may experience favorable outcomes, others may not. In order to isolate the groups most likely to experience favorable outcomes, the divorced sample was reduced in size for some of the analyses. As noted above, this reduction in sample size also resulted in a reduction in the power of the test to detect true differences between the divorced and intact samples. Future researchers should employ larger samples so that subsample groups can be formed without a significant loss in sample size.

In addition, the particular instruments employed in the study may be partly responsible for a failure to identify differences that may exist between individuals from divorced and intact families. The outcome instruments used in the study were selected to measure variables that had been identified in a comprehensive literature review as likely

favorable outcomes following divorce. They were chosen based on the degree to which they appeared to be valid and reliable measures of the variables of interest. However, locating valid and reliable instruments which precisely matched the constructs of interest was not possible. As a result, compromises were made and one explanation for the failure to find the expected differences between groups is that the instruments employed were not good measures of the constructs they were chosen to assess. Future studies employing other instruments designed to measure maturity, self-esteem, self-efficacy, empathy, and androgyny are suggested. Future studies could also investigate other positive outcomes identified by the participants from divorced families (see Table 12).

It also appears that true differences between groups on certain outcome measures may have been obscured by a ceiling effect. As reported in Table 8, the means for the divorced and intact samples approached the upper limit of possible values on the self-esteem and androgyny (sex-role orientation and marriage role expectations) scales. This ceiling effect may have been the result of the uniqueness of the sample employed (ie., university students who are at the upper limits in terms of self-esteem and androgyny) or a social desirability response set (ie., a particularly strong motivation to look as good as possible on these measures). Future studies sampling from the broader population and

employing behavioral observation as a measurement strategy might avoid the ceiling effect observed on these measures.

All of the outcome measures used in the present study relied on participant's self-report, a strategy thought to be effective in identifying positive outcomes (Kanoy & Cunningham, 1984). However, self-report measures are prone to a social desirability response set, which may have altered the results of this study. A strong motivation to provide a positive self-presentation could have obscured true differences between the divorced and intact samples on the outcome measures. One way for future researchers to approach this question is by using behavioral observation as a measurement strategy. Although, such measures have biases of their own, they are less likely to be influenced by a social desirability response set. The use of observers blind to participant's family background is recommended in order to avoid observer biases.

Finally, it is possible that differences exist between individuals from divorced and intact families that are most effectively identified from a longitudinal, as opposed to cross-sectional, perspective. For example, parental divorce may result in a developmental growth spurt in children, and this developmental advantage, evident in a longitudinal study, may not be evident by the time children reach adulthood (ie., parental divorce may speed development into adulthood, and

some, but not all, of those who experience it may gain a special advantage over a lifetime).

A second interpretation of the present results is that individuals from divorced families really do not experience favorable outcomes when compared to those from intact families, but instead only experience favorable outcomes relative to their pre-divorce status. It may be that children living in families that eventually divorce are exposed to a dysfunctional family system that limits their growth and development relative to children living in continuously intact families. In this case, parental divorce may result in a healthy change in the family system that allows children to achieve a developmental level commensurate with children from intact families. This interpretation could explain the findings of the present study that many participants from divorced families report favorable outcomes resulting from parental divorce, yet do not appear to experience favorable outcomes relative to those from intact families.

One way to test this latter interpretation is to conduct a longitudinal study in which a large sample of children of various age groups are administered the outcome measures of interest and then followed over time. Those whose parents eventually divorced could then be compared to those whose parents remain together, and changes that result from the divorce experience could be identified. In addition to allowing for pre-divorce/post-divorce comparisons, such a

study would provide the added benefit of allowing for an investigation of the effects of the passage of time and children's developmental level on children's post-divorce adjustment.

Finally, a third interpretation of the present results is that individuals who experience parental divorce believe they have changed for the better as a result of their experiences, but actually do not change (relative to those from intact families or to their pre-divorce status) in any significant way. In this interpretation what changes following the experience of parental divorce is not the individual's personality or behavior, but rather the individual's view of himself of herself. It assumes the following thought process: 1) Most children possess a positive self-view and are likely to have internalized the societal view of the divorced family as an inherently inferior and pathogenic deviation from the traditional family norm (McKenry & Price, 1984, 1988; Scanzoni et al., 1988); 2) in order to maintain a positive self-view children faced with parental divorce are challenged to revise their pathogenic view of the divorce experience; and 3) through the mechanism of cognitive dissonance reduction, some children alter their view of the divorce experience to one in which they have been enhanced by an experience now seen as growth promoting (Festinger, 1957).

This interpretation fits with the finding that the participants from divorced families saw themselves as benefitting from the divorce experience, and yet were not found to differ from those from intact families on the objective-instrument outcome measures that had been validated against observed behavior. This interpretation also fits with the finding of a lack of correspondence between participants from divorced families responses on the open ended self-report measure of positive outcomes and their scores on related objective-instrument outcome measures.

A longitudinal design similar to that described above could be used to test this interpretation. In addition, subjective measures of participants' views of the effects of the divorce experience and objective behavioral measures of the outcomes variables of interest would be necessary. Participants from families that eventually divorce would be expected to show a positive shift in their view of the divorce experience following parental divorce, while demonstrating no changes in observable behavior (relative to those from intact families or to their pre-divorce status).

Section 2: Moderators of Favorable Outcomes Following Parental Divorce

In the following section, first the linear and then curvelinear relationships between the measured moderator and outcomes variables will be discussed. These discussions will be followed by a discussion of the interactions between

moderator variables that influence favorable post-divorce outcomes. Finally, moderators of the relationship between family background and favorable outcomes will be discussed.

Linear Relationships. As reported in the results section and noted in Table 14, a number of individual, family, and environmental factors were found to be significantly associated with favorable outcomes for individuals experiencing parental divorce.[2] In this section an attempt will be made to provide explanations for these relationships that are consistent with the Challenge Model. For each outcome variable, first the factors that were found to be significantly associated with it will be identified, and then one or more possible explanation(s) for each significant relationships will be provided. Because complex forces are at work and many alternative explanations for these relationships are possible, it should be understood that much future research is needed to verify the interpretations suggested below.

In terms of the outcome measures assessing maturity (ie., autonomy, impulsivity, responsibility), the results indicated that males from divorced families were significantly more autonomous than females. It may be that males in mother-headed households are asked to assume "man of the house" duties, and as a result are given more freedom then females. The relationship between gender and autonomy was not significant in the intact sample ($r=.06$, $p>.05$).

Participants from divorced families were found to be significantly less impulsive when: 1) they had lower I.Q.s; or 2) their noncustodial fathers had stepchildren. First, it should be noted that the I.Q./impulsivity relationship appears counterintuitive. All else being equal, the Challenge Model would propose that those of higher ability, as opposed to lower, should benefit from parental divorce in terms of increased self-control. However, it may be that intellectual curiosity and creativity, and thereby I.Q., are associated with an increased tendency towards emotional and behavioral impulsivity. The increased freedom from parental control experienced by many children in divorced families may reinforce this tendency toward impulsivity in high ability children. The relationship between I.Q. and impulsivity was not significant in the intact sample ($r=-.02$, $p>.05$).

Second, it is possible that noncustodial fathers who have stepchildren may become less involved in the rearing of children living in the post-divorce family. This decrease in paternal involvement may result in both an increase in family responsibilities and decrease in external structure for children in the post-divorce family. The combination of these factors may stimulate growth in some children, who begin to grow by developing an increased sense of self-control and self-regulation.

Participants from divorced families were found to be significantly more responsible when: 1) their noncustodial

fathers had stepchildren; or 2) they themselves had a better relationship with their custodial mothers. First, as mentioned above, noncustodial fathers who have stepchildren may become less involved in the post-divorce family, thereby increasing the level of challenge faced by custodial mothers and their children. Children's success in meeting these new challenges may result in an enhanced maturity, characterized in part by an increase in responsibility. Second, it is possible that children who have a good relationship with their custodial mother may be more likely to want to please her and to respond to her needs by taking on new family responsibilities and becoming more responsible for their own care. Children who have a supportive custodial parent may also be more likely to successfully meet the new demands placed upon them in the post-divorce family, and thereby experience an increased sense of responsibility. The relationship between children's evaluation of their mother and responsibility was not significant for the intact sample ($r=.16$, $p>.05$).

For the outcome measure of self-esteem the present results indicated that participants from divorced families were significantly higher in self-esteem when: 1) they had a better relationship with their noncustodial father; 2) their families were better-off financially, or 3) their families had fewer children. First, it may be that children who maintain a positive relationship with their noncustodial fathers, as

compared to those who do not, may develop higher levels of self-esteem because this additional source of interpersonal support better equips them to successfully meet post-divorce challenges. In addition, children who maintain a positive relationship with their noncustodial father may avoid the sense of rejection that can diminish the self-esteem of those who loose contact with their fathers (Wallerstein, 1980a).

Second, it is possible that families that retain a relatively high financial status are less likely to be overwhelmed by the increased demands of life in the post-divorce family. Therefore, their children may be more likely to master these new demands and benefit in terms of increased self-esteem. In addition, such children are better protected against a decrease in self-esteem that could accompany a decline in social status.

Third, fewer children in the post-divorce family is likely to mean a less burdened custodial mother and more financial and emotional resources available for each child. All else being equal, the Challenge Model postulates that increased challenge meeting resources are associated with favorable post-divorce outcomes. The more challenge meeting resources that are available, the more likely it is that children will experience success in meeting post-divorce challenges, and thereby benefit in terms of increased self-esteem.

In terms of self-efficacy, participants from divorced families were found to be significantly lower in succorance when: 1) they were males (as opposed to females); or 2) their noncustodial fathers had stepchildren. These findings can be interpreted as follows. First, it may be that male children (as compared to female) were relied upon to a greater degree by their custodial parents (the majority of whom were females), and that the individual accomplishments of these children were also encouraged and supported to a greater degree resulting in the observed gender difference in self-efficacy. Second, in divorced households where the noncustodial father has become less involved because of new family responsibilities, all children may be relied upon to a greater degree, and with successful task accomplishments, may experience increased self-efficacy.

For empathy, the results indicated that participants from divorced families were significantly higher in empathy when: 1) they experienced more interpersonal support, or 2) their custodial mothers had stepchildren. First, it is possible that those children who feel supported in their attempts to cope with post-divorce challenges (as opposed to overburdened, uncared for, or taken advantage of) may be more willing to consider the perspectives and respond to the needs of other family members, and thereby develop increased empathy. In addition, in post-divorce families high in interpersonal support, it is likely that empathy is part of the family

culture that is modeled for and reinforced in children. The relationship between interpersonal support and empathy was not significant for the intact sample ($r=.15$, $p>.05$).

Second, when custodial mothers remarry and introduce stepchildren into the post-divorce family, children are forced to integrate into a new family system. It may be that the successful accomplishment of this task requires the development of perspective taking skills which are, in turn, associated with the development of empathy (Hetherington & Parke, 1979).

For androgyny, the results indicated that participants from divorced families possessed significantly less traditional, more equalitarian marriage role expectations when: 1) they were female (as opposed to male); 2) their custodial mothers possessed more nontraditional sex-role attitudes; 3) they experienced more life change; 4) their families had more children; or 5) their families experienced a decline in financial status following divorce. Following parental divorce both custodial parents and their children usually acquire new responsibilities that were previously fulfilled by the noncustodial parent. Often these responsibilities provide the opportunity for custodial parents and their children to engage in new nontraditional behaviors. The parental modeling and children's own enactment of such nontraditional behaviors may, in turn, result in increased androgyny in children. The above listed factors are likely

to influence children's marriage role expectations through their effect on the custodial parent's modeling of such nontraditional behavior and their influence on the children's own increased engagement in such activities following parental divorce.

In considering these findings about androgyny further, several other factors are relevant. First, it is possible that because they share the same gender, female children may model their behavior after their custodial mother's to a greater degree than male children. Therefore, their expectations concerning marriage roles may be more nontraditional, because they are influenced to a greater degree by their mother's post-divorce increase in nontraditional behavior. In addition, it appears that females, in general, may possess more nontraditional marriage role expectations than men. The correlation between gender and marriage role expectations was found to be -.33 ($p<.01$) in the intact sample.

Second, custodial parents who possess nontraditional sex-role attitudes, as opposed to those who do not, may be more likely to adopt new nontraditional behaviors following divorce, and thereby may increase the likelihood that their children will have a nontraditional model. In addition, such parents may be more likely to encourage and support the enactment of new nontraditional behavior on the part of their children following divorce. Similar modeling and shaping

processes may occur in intact families headed by nontraditional parents. Mother's and father's sex-role ideology was correlated -.35 ($p<.01$) and -.23 ($p<.02$), respectively with participant's marriage role expectations in the intact sample.

Third, it is likely that the more life change experienced by the post-divorce family, the greater the demand placed upon all family members to face new responsibilities and challenges, many of which because of the father's absence may be nontraditional. In the intact sample where fathers were present, the relationship between life change and marriage role expectations was not significant ($r=.16$, $p>.05$).

Finally, as the number of children in the post-divorce family increase and the financial resources decrease, the need for custodial mothers to engage in work outside of the home (providing a nontraditional model) and to rely on the children more to help with family responsibilities (many of which may be nontraditional) increases. In the intact sample where fathers are present and resources are likely to be less sparse the number of children in the family was not found to be significantly related to participants marriage role expectations ($r=.08$, $p>.05$).

Finally, for the outcome measure assessing the divorced participant's overall evaluation of the effects of parental divorce, the results indicated that participants from divorced families evaluated the effects of parental divorce on them as

a person and their relationships with others as significantly more positive when they experienced higher levels of interpersonal support. As is postulated by the Challenge Model, it appears that a supportive interpersonal environment is important if children are to experience favorable outcomes following parental divorce.

Curvelinear Relationships. As noted in the results section, the only one of the variables tested to have a significant curvelinear relationship with post-divorce outcomes was current family financial status. The results indicated that it was significantly related to sex-role orientation, with moderate levels of financial status being associated with a more androgynous sex-role orientation. It is likely that when financial resources are very limited custodial parents are overburdened and are not able to provide the supportive environment necessary for children to benefit from new post-divorce responsibilities and demands. In turn, if there is an abundance of financial resources there is less of a need for family members to engage in new nontraditional behavior. Custodial mothers are less likely to have to engage in work outside of the home and, because helpers can be hired, children are less likely to be required to assume new post-divorce responsibilities.

Interactions. As noted in the results section, when analyses were conducted to determine if post-divorce challenge interacts with challenge meeting resources in influencing

favorable post-divorce outcomes, the interaction between the amount of responsibilities acquired and participant's I.Q. was found to be significant for the self-esteem variable. As represented in Figure 2, it was found that when I.Q. is high, post-divorce responsibilities are positively associated with self-esteem, and when it is low the relationship is negative. This finding appears to support the proposition of the Challenge Model, that a balance between the level of challenge and challenge meeting resources is necessary in order for children to benefit from the divorce experience. When I.Q. is high and post-divorce responsibilities low, children are likely to be left unchallenged. In the opposite case they are likely to be overwhelmed. Only when the level of I.Q. and responsibilities acquired correspond are children likely to be faced with surmountable challenges which when mastered can lead to increased self-esteem.

As also noted in the results section, the interaction between the number of life changes and participant's I.Q. was found to be significant for the marriage role expectations variable. As pictured in Figure 3, it was found that when I.Q. is high, the amount of life change is negatively associated with equalitarian-nontraditional marriage role expectations, and when it is low the relationship is positive. This finding is counterintuitive, and just the opposite of what would be expected based on the Challenge Model. These results suggest that children benefit most (i.e., possess the

most nontraditional marriage role expectations) when the level of challenge (i.e., life change) and challenge meeting resources (i.e., I.Q.) fail to correspond (i.e., when life change is high and I.Q. is low, or when life change is low and I.Q. is high).

It is possible that a high level of life change was necessary in order to require adaptation on the part of those with low I.Q., but was not enough of a challenge to require adaptation on the part of those with a high I.Q.. It may be that those who possessed a high I.Q. were less influenced by parental models of nontraditional behavior, and were bright enough to manipulate their situations in such a way as to avoid having to engage in disliked non-traditional activities (Richmond & Abbott, 1984). Therefore, under conditions of high life change they would expect to benefit less then their low I.Q. peers in terms of an increase in nontraditional marriage role expectations.

Finally, it may be that high I.Q. is generally associated with nontraditional attitudes, so that when life change is low those with high I.Q. would be expected to possess more nontraditional marriage role expectations than those with low I.Q.. In the total sample, I.Q. was found to be significantly associated with nontraditional marriage role expectations ($r=.13$, $p<.05$), providing support for the idea that in general high I.Q. is associated with nontraditional attitudes.

Moderators of the relationship between family background and favorable outcomes. A number of interesting findings arose from the analyses designed to test Hypothesis 4. First, as shown in Figure 4, a significant interaction for the self-esteem variable was found between family background and the total number of children in the family. Individuals from divorced families in which the number of children is small tended to possess high levels of self-esteem, whereas the opposite was true for those from intact families.

As noted earlier, fewer children in the post-divorce family is likely to mean a less burdened custodial mother and that more financial and emotional resources are available for each child. In the demanding context of the post-divorce family, the availability of such challenge meeting resources appears to be important to the development of children's self-esteem. Those children living in large, overburdened post-divorce families are less likely to have such resources available and therefore appear less likely to master and benefit from the challenges they face. Alternatively, in intact families where the demands are likely to be comparatively fewer and resources greater, having additional children in the family may prevent children from being overprotected and pampered by parents and lead to increased responsibilities and demands which, when successfully mastered, can result in increased self-esteem.

Second, participants from divorced families whose noncustodial fathers had step-children were found to be significantly lower in succorance then their peers from intact families. As noted earlier, it is possible that in divorced households where the father has become less involved because of new family responsibilities, children may be relied upon to a greater degree by custodial mothers, and with successful task accomplishments, may experience increased self-efficacy relative to their counterparts from intact families.

Third, participants from divorced families who experienced a post-divorce decline in family financial status were found to be significantly more nontraditional in their marriage role expectations than those from intact families. As also noted above, in post-divorce families that experience a financial decline the need for custodial mothers to engage in work outside the home (thereby providing a model for nontraditional behavior) and to rely on the children more to help with family responsibilities (many of which may be nontraditional) is likely to increase. As a result, children in such families may develop more nontraditional attitudes concerning marriage roles then their counterparts from intact families.

Finally, it was found that while life change interacts with I.Q. in influencing the marriage role expectations of individuals from divorced families, this does not appear to be the case for those from intact families. For individuals

from intact families, those with high I.Q.s tend to possess more nontraditional marriage role expectations than those with low I.Q.s, regardless of the amount of life change they experience. The correlation between I.Q. and marriage role expectations for the intact sample was found to be .19 ($p<.04$).

Interpretations and limitations of the results identifying moderators of favorable outcomes following parental divorce, and implications for future research. The results of the analyses focusing on intervening variables identified a number of factors which appear to influence the level of favorable outcomes experienced by individuals from divorced families. In addition, the results identified a number of circumstances under which individuals from divorced families can be expected to benefit relative to those from intact families. However, because of the large number of analyses conducted and the resulting large experiment-wise error rate, this work should be considered preliminary and should be replicated.

In addition, it should be noted that a number of the hypothesized relationships between moderators and favorable outcomes outlined in Chapter I were not found to be significant in the present study. Although, this may be because these relationships actually do not exist, as hypothesized, it is also possible that these relationships do exist but, because of methodological weaknesses in the present

study, were not detected. For example, the use of a sample limited to the educationally advantaged may have obscured relationships that exist in the general population.

In addition, the measurement procedures employed may have prevented the identification of relationships that actually exist. For example, because the present study used a retrospective, as opposed to longitudinal design, the measurement of most of the intervening variables relied on participant's memories for past events. This reliance on participant's imperfect memories may have introduced a large amount of measurement error. In addition, most of the intervening variables were assessed from the participant's point of view, but may have been more accurately measured through direct observation of the participants' and other family members' behavior at the time of occurrence.

In sum, the measurement procedures used in the present study may have introduced so much error into the measurement of certain intervening variables that their true relationships with outcome variables could not be identified. A longitudinal design, allowing for alternative measurement procedures could result in a more accurate measurement of certain intervening variables and a different set of findings. In addition, a longitudinal design would provide the added benefit of allowing for an investigation of changes in the influence of intervening variables over time and at various points in children's pre- and post-divorce development.

Future studies using a longitudinal design are recommended. Such studies should also investigate the role of moderators identified in the literature review (Chapter 2), but not investigated in the present study (ie., children's temperament, family role reallocation methods, type of custody arrangement).

Section 3: Implications of the Results of the Present Study for Clinical Practice and the Advancement of the Challenge Model

The results of the present study identify a number of favorable outcomes that individuals believe they experience as a result of parental divorce. They also identify a variety of individual, family, and environmental factors which appear to influence the favorable outcomes experienced by individuals following parental divorce. These results in combination with those of the studies presented in the literature review (Chapter 2) have a number of implications for clinical practice. First, they provide a possible focus for interventions by identifying those individuals most likely to experience favorable outcomes following parental divorce. Second, they yield possible goals for interventions by suggesting a number of areas in which children may experience favorable outcomes following parental divorce. Finally, they suggest mechanisms for achieving these goals by identifying factors which might be altered in order to enhance the

likelihood of children experiencing certain favorable outcomes.

To date, interventions that have been designed to help children who have experienced parental divorce have focused on helping them cope with or avoid unfavorable outcomes (Hurley et al., 1984; Pedro-Carroll & Cowen 1885). The results of the present study and of those discussed in the literature review (Chapter 2) suggest that along with these programs individual and group interventions can be offered that promote favorable outcomes in children as they adjust to their parents' divorce.

Interventions designed to influence children's adjustment to parental divorce can be categorized as either primary, secondary, or tertiary in focus (Caplan, 1964). Primary prevention interventions are aimed at the general population, and are designed to increase the overall incidence of favorable, as compared to unfavorable, outcomes for children who eventually experience parental divorce. Educational interventions aimed at important people in children's lives such as parents, teachers, and family court personnel would qualify as primary interventions. The results of the present study could be used to help develop interventions designed to educate such individuals concerning the possibility of favorable outcomes for children and ways in which they could help bring them about.

Secondary prevention interventions are aimed at children already struggling with the crisis of parental divorce, and are designed to maximize the possibility of favorable, and minimize the possibility of unfavorable, outcomes for children. Support groups and individual counseling for children of divorced parents and for parents so they can better help their kids, are secondary interventions. As indicated above, the results of the present study could help provide guidelines for designing group and individual interventions aimed at increasing the favorable, while preventing the unfavorable outcomes experienced by children.

Finally, tertiary interventions are aimed at children already displaying adjustment problems, and are designed to reduce the level of unfavorable outcomes experienced by them. Individual, group, and family therapy for children of divorced parents are examples of such interventions. The results of the present study could be used to help design such interventions so that they extend beyond the goal of reducing dysfunction to include the goal of promoting growth and enhanced functioning.

As would be done in these interventions, helping children to focus on the positive aspects of the divorce experience and ways in which they may benefit from it may not only help protect their self-esteem, but may also result in a positive self-fulfilling prophesy with healthy consequences for them (Rosenthal & Jacobson, 1968).

The purpose of the present study was to provide a test of the Challenge Model by directly searching for favorable outcomes and the factors which influence them in individuals who have experienced parental divorce. The results did provide some support for the model. First, many of the participants from divorced families felt that they had experienced some positive outcomes after their parents' divorce, and an overwhelming majority identified at least one favorable outcome. Second, a number of individual, family, and environmental factors were identified which appear to influence the level of favorable outcomes experienced by individuals whose parents divorce. Finally, it was found that under certain limited circumstances individuals from divorced families may experience specific favorable outcomes relative to those from intact families.

It should be noted that not all of the results were supportive of the model. For example, most of the hypotheses concerning comparisons of favorable outcomes for participants from divorced and intact families were not significant. This was the case even when the level of challenge and availability of challenge meeting resources was taken into consideration. These results suggest that children from divorced families may not typically experience favorable outcomes relative to those from intact families. In addition, the results did not provide support for a number of factors that were expected to

moderate favorable outcomes for participants from divorced families.

However, because of issues related both to the design and methodology of the present study many questions remain concerning the interpretation its results. As outlined above, future research will be required both to validate the findings of the present study and to answer new questions raised by it. In the meantime, it appears that the Challenge Model has merit and can be employed as a useful guide for future research and the development of novel clinical interventions.

FOOTNOTES

[1]For all t-tests conducted in the present study the assumption of the equality of group variances was tested. When the assumption was not supported ($p < .05$) an approximate t statistic (t_{app}) was computed and Satterwaite's (1946) approximation was used to compute the degrees of freedom associated with t_{app}.

[2]Because of the large number of analyses conducted and the resulting large experiment-wise error rate, any conclusions drawn should be considered preliminary until replicated.

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APPENDIX A

TABLE 1 AND COPIES OF MEASURES

Table 1

Location of Published and Copywritten Measures

Outcome Measures	Source
1) Autonomy, Impulsivity, and Succorance Scales of the Personality Research Form:	Research Psychologists Press, Inc., 1101 Military Street, P.O. Box 984, Port Huron, MI 48061-0984
2) Hase & Goldberg Responsibility Scale:	Megargee (1972)
3) Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale:	Rosenberg (1965)
4) Hogan Empathy Scale:	Hogan (1969)
5) Bem Sex-Role Inventory-Short Form:	Consulting Psychologists Press, Inc., 577 College Avenue, Palo Alto, CA 94306
6) Marriage Role Expectations Inventory:	Dunn (1960)
Intervening Measures	**Source**
1) Wonderlic Personnel Test (Form I):	E. F. Wonderlic & Associates, Inc., 820 Frontage Road, Northfield, Il 60093
2) Parent Evaluation Scale:	Cooper (1966)
3) Traditional Sex-Role Ideology Index:	Hoffman (1960)
4) Cohesion & Conflict Subscales of the Family Environment Scale (Form R):	Consulting Psychologists Press, Inc., 577 College Avenue, Palo Alto, CA 94306
5) Children's Recent Life Questionnaire:	Sandler & Block (1979)
Demographic Measures	**Source**
1) 1980-Based Nam-Powers Occupational Status Index:	Nam & Terrie (1988)
2) 1980-Based National Opinion Research Center Prestige Scale:	Stevens & Hoisington (1987)

Demographic Questionnaire-D[a]

Please answer all of the following questions by circling the appropriate response.

1. In contrast to the families of your friends, how financially well off is your family?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not at all well off			Moderately well off			Very well off

2. In contrast to the financial status of your family prior to your parents' divorce, how financially well off was that part of your family with which you lived immediately following your parents' divorce?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Much worse off			Neither better or worse off			Much better off

3. In contrast to the support your friends received from maternal relatives, how helpful were your **biological** mother's relatives in fostering your adjustment to your parents' divorce?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Very unhelpful			Neither helpful or unhelpful			Very helpful

4. In contrast to the support your friends received from paternal relatives, how helpful were your **biological** father's relatives in fostering your adjustment to your parents' divorce?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Very unhelpful			Neither helpful or unhelpful			Very helpful

5. In contrast to the support your friends received from non-related adults, how helpful were non-related adults in fostering your adjustment to your parents' divorce?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Very unhelpful			Neither helpful or unhelpful			Very helpful

6. In contrast to the support your friends received from peers, how helpful were peers in fostering your adjustment to your parents' divorce?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Very unhelpful			Neither helpful or unhelpful			Very helpful

7. In contrast to the amount of responsibility your friends had for their own care, following your parent's divorce how much responsibility did you have for:

a. your own care (eg., clothing yourself, feeding yourself, etc.)?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Very little to no responsibility			A moderate amount of responsibility			A great deal of responsibility

b. household chores?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Very little to no responsibility			A moderate amount of responsibility			A great deal of responsibility

c. the care of younger brothers and sisters?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Very little to no responsibility			A moderate amount of responsibility			A great deal of responsibility

d. important family decisions?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Very little to no responsibility			A moderate amount of responsibility			A great deal of responsibility

Please continue as above.

8. Overall, how would you rate the effect your parents' divorce has had on you as a person?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
A very negative effect			Neither a positive or negative effect			A very positive effect

a. On your relationships with others?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
A very negative effect			Neither a positive or negative effect			A very positive effect

Please answer all of the following questions by either checking the appropriate response or entering the correct information.

9. Gender:
____Male
____Female

10. Present age:___

11. GPA:___

12. Race:
____White
____Black
____Asian
____Hispanic
____Other (specify)_____

13. Your Current Marital Status:
____Single
____Married
____Separated
____Divorced
____Other (specify)_____

14. Please list the present age of all **biological** brothers and sisters: (eg., brother-15; half-sister-12; etc.)_____

15. How old were you when your **biological** parents divorced?_____

16. Has either your **biological** mother or father remarried?
____Yes
____No

a. If your **biological** mother has remarried, how long after the divorce did she remarry?_____
Has this marriage ended in divorce?
____Yes
____No
If yes, how many times has your **biological** mother been married since she and your **biological** father divorced?_____

b. If your **biological** father has remarried, how long after the divorce did he remarry?_____
Has this marriage ended in divorce?
____Yes
____No
If yes, how many times has your **biological** father been married since he and your **biological** mother divorced?_____

17. Please list the present age of any stepbrothers and stepsisters from your mother's remarriage(s) (eg., stepbrother-8; stepsister-10):_____

Please continue as above.

18. Please list the present age of any stepbrothers and stepsisters from your father's remarriage(s) (eg., stepbrother-5; stepsister-19):_____

19. In whose custody were you originally placed following your **biological** parents' divorce?
____Mother's
____Father's
____Other (specify)_____

20. Have there been any changes in the original custody arrangement? (specify)_____

21. Please list the relationship to you and age (at the time of divorce) of all people living in the household in which you lived immediately following your biological parents' divorce (eg., mother-26; brother-4; sister-7, etc.):_____

22. What is your **biological** mother's highest level of education?
____Graduate or professional school degree
____College or university degree (4 year degree)
____Some college training (at least one year)
____High school degree
____Some high school training
____Junior high school degree
____Elementary school degree or less

23. What is your **biological** father's highest level of education?
____Graduate or professional school degree
____College or university degree (4 year degree)
____Some college training (at least one year)
____High school degree
____Some high school training
____Junior high school degree
____Elementary school degree or less

24. What is your mother's occupation? (be specific)_____

25. What is your father's occupation? (be specific)_____

26. Have you ever received help from counselors or other helping professionals focusing on issues related to your parents' divorce?
____Yes
____No

27. Please describe the positive effects you feel your parents' divorce has had on you as a person, your relationships with others, and your life circumstances?
(If you need more space use the back of this page)

[a]Administered to participants from divorced families.

Demographic Questionnaire-I[a]

Please answer all of the following questions by circling the appropriate response.

1. In contrast to the families of your friends, how financially well off is your family?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not at all well off			Moderately well off			Very well off

2. In contrast to the support your friends received from maternal relatives, how helpful were your mother's relatives in fostering your adjustment to stressful life events?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Very unhelpful			Neither helpful or unhelpful			Very helpful

3. In contrast to the support your friends received from paternal relatives, how helpful were your father's relatives in fostering your adjustment to stressful life events?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Very unhelpful			Neither helpful or unhelpful			Very helpful

4. In contrast to the support your friends received from non-related adults, how helpful were non-related adults in fostering your adjustment to stressful life events?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Very unhelpful			Neither helpful or unhelpful			Very helpful

5. In contrast to the support your friends received from peers, how helpful were peers in fostering your adjustment to stressful life events?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Very unhelpful			Neither helpful or unhelpful			Very helpful

6. In contrast to the amount of responsibility your friends had for their own care while growing up, how much responsibility did you have for:

a. your own care (eg., clothing yourself, feeding yourself, etc.)?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Very little to no responsibility			A moderate amount of responsibility			A great deal of responsibility

b. household chores?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Very little to no responsibility			A moderate amount of responsibility			A great deal of responsibility

c. the care of younger brothers and sisters?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Very little to no responsibility			A moderate amount of responsibility			A great deal of responsibility

d. important family decisions?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Very little to no responsibility			A moderate amount of responsibility			A great deal of responsibility

Please answer all of the following questions by either checking the appropriate response or entering the correct information.

7. Gender:
   ____Male
   ____Female

8. Present age:___

9. GPA:___

10. Race:
____White
____Black
____Asian
____Hispanic
____Other (specify)_____

12. Your Current Marital Status:
____Single
____Married
____Separated
____Divorced
____Other (specify)_____

13. Please list the present age of all your brothers and sisters:
(eg., brother-15; sister-12; etc.)_____
_____
_____

14. What is your mother's highest level of education?
____Graduate or professional school degree
____College or university degree (4 year degree)
____Some college training (at least one year)
____High school degree
____Some high school training
____Junior high school degree
____Elementary school degree or less

15. What is your father's highest level of education?
____Graduate or professional school degree
____College or university degree (4 year degree)
____Some college training (at least one year)
____High school degree
____Some high school training
____Junior high school degree
____Elementary school degree or less

16. What is your mother's occupation? (be specific)
_____
_____
_____
_____

17. What is your father's occupation? (be specific)
_____
_____
_____
_____

[a]Administered to participants from intact families.

APPENDIX B

TABLES 2 AND 3

Table 2

Means and Intercorrelations for Responsibility Variable

Variable[a]	n	Mean	Std Dev
RTOT	240	4.03	1.25
RSE	240	4.66	1.77
RSI	240	2.88	2.09
RH	240	4.80	1.58
RD	240	3.76	1.63

Variable[a]	r/n[b]	RTOT	RSE	RSI	RH	RD
RTOT	r	1.00**				
	n	240				
RSE	r	0.77**	1.00**			
	n	240	240			
RSI	r	0.66**	0.26**	1.00**		
	n	240	240	240		
RH	r	0.76**	0.60**	0.29**	1.00**	
	n	240	240	240	240	
RD	r	0.65**	0.36**	0.20**	0.35**	1.00**
	n	240	240	240	240	240

[a] Key: RTOT=total responsibility, RSE=responsibility for self, RSI=responsibility for siblings, RH=responsibility for household, RD=responsibility for family decisions.

[b] r=Pearson correlation coefficient, n=sample size.

** Significant at the .01 level.

Table 3

Means and Intercorrelations for Interpersonal Support Variable

Variable[a]	n	Mean	Std Dev
SUPPORT	240	0.00	0.59
COH	240	6.23	2.71
CON	240	3.10	2.33
SMR	240	4.60	1.62
SPR	239	3.85	1.62
SNRA	240	4.35	1.37
SP	240	4.88	1.30

Variable[a]	r/n[b]	SUPPORT	COH	CON	SMR	SPR
SUPPORT	r	1.00**				
	n	240				
COH	r	0.61**	1.00**			
	n	240	240			
CON	r	-0.57**	-0.52**	1.00**		
	n	240	240	240		
SMR	r	0.49**	0.11	-0.05	1.00**	
	n	240	240	240	240	
SPR	r	0.52**	0.06	-0.06	0.13	1.00**
	n	239	239	239	239	239
SNRA	r	0.73**	0.23**	-0.24**	0.29**	0.38**
	n	240	240	240	240	239
SP	r	0.60**	0.20**	-0.11	0.13*	0.20**
	n	240	240	240	240	239

		SNRA	SP
SNRA	r	1.00**	
	n	240	
SP	r	0.44**	1.00**
	n	240	240

[a] Key: SUPPORT=interpersonal support, COH=family cohesion, CON=family conflict, SMR=support from maternal relatives, SPR=support from paternal relatives, SNRA=support from nonrelated adults, SP=support from peers.

[b] r=Pearson correlation coefficient, n=sample size.

** Significant at the .01 level.
* Significant at the .05 level.

APPENDIX C

TABLES 6, 7, AND 8

Table 6

Intercorrelations Among Outcome Variables for Total Sample

Variable[a]	r/n[b]	AUT	IMP	RES	SE	SUC
AUT	r	1.00**				
	n	240				
IMP	r	0.01	1.00**			
	n	240	240			
RES	r	-0.05	-0.50**	1.00**		
	n	240	240	240		
SE	r	-0.12	-0.06	0.23**	1.00**	
	n	240	240	240	240	
SUC	r	-0.73**	0.16*	-0.07	0.06	1.00**
	n	240	240	240	240	240
EMP	r	-0.02	0.17**	0.09	0.17*	0.12
	n	240	240	240	240	240
ANDRO	r	-0.07	0.01	0.07	0.08	0.04
	n	240	240	240	240	240
MRE	r	-0.02	0.04	0.15*	-0.09	0.12
	n	240	240	240	240	240
EOD[c]	r	0.06	0.04	0.05	0.03	-0.04
	n	120	120	120	120	120
		EMP	ANDRO	MRE	EOD[2]	
EMP	r	1.00**				
	n	240				
ANDRO	r	0.06	1.00**			
	n	240	240			
MRE	r	0.19**	0.01	1.00**		
	n	240	240	240		
EOD[c]	r	0.21*	-0.05	0.00	1.00**	
	n	120	120	120	120	

[a] Key: AUT=autonomy, IMP=impulsivity, RES=responsibility, SE=self-esteem, SUC=succorance, EMP=empathy, ANDRO=androgyny, MRE=marriage role expectations, EOD=subjective rating of effect of parental divorce.

[b] r=Pearson correlation coefficient, n=sample size.

[c] Variable limited to participants from divorced families.

** Significant at the .01 level.
* Significant at the .05 level.

Table 7

Intercorrelations Among Intervening Variables for Total Sample

Variable[a]	r/n[b]	GENDER	RACE	I.Q.	AGED	TCH
GENDER	r	1.00**				
	n	240				
RACE	r	-0.01	1.00**			
	n	240	240			
I.Q.	r	0.19**	0.13*	1.00**		
	n	240	240	240		
AGED[c]	r	0.01	0.04	0.03	1.00**	
	n	120	120	120	120	
TCH	r	-0.04	0.01	0.05	0.13	1.00**
	n	238	238	238	118	238
OCH	r	-0.05	0.02	0.06	-0.11	0.43**
	n	235	235	235	118	235
MRM[c]	r	-0.10	0.13	-0.07	-0.38**	-0.17
	n	100	100	100	100	98
FRM[c]	r	0.11	0.26*	0.16	-0.38**	-0.23*
	n	96	96	96	96	94
MPSS[c]	r	-0.03	0.06	-0.15	-0.11	-0.10
	n	100	100	100	100	98
FPSS[c]	r	0.23*	0.11	0.09	-0.17	-0.15
	n	100	100	100	100	98
EVM	r	0.04	0.10	-0.05	-0.01	0.01
	n	220	220	220	100	218
EVF	r	0.18*	0.06	0.08	-0.10	0.01
	n	214	214	214	94	213
MSRI	r	0.15*	-0.08	0.01	0.14	0.11
	n	220	220	220	100	218
FSRI	r	-0.06	-0.11	-0.05	-0.10	-0.05
	n	217	217	217	97	215
RTOT	r	-0.10	-0.02	-0.04	0.35**	-0.04
	n	240	240	240	120	238
SUPPORT	r	-0.02	0.11	0.06	0.13	-0.05
	n	240	240	240	120	238
LC	r	-0.09	-0.13*	0.00	-0.05	-0.18**
	n	240	240	240	120	238
CFIN	r	0.08	0.06	0.04	0.01	-0.03
	n	240	240	240	120	238
FC[c]	r	0.05	-0.08	-0.08	0.22*	0.00
	n	120	120	120	120	118
HELP[c]	r	0.18*	-0.08	-0.01	-0.10	0.07
	n	120	120	120	120	118

		OCH	MRM	FRM	MPSS	FPSS
OCH	r	1.00**				
	n	235				

Table 7 (continued)

Variable[a]	r/n[b]	OCH	MRM	FRM	MPSS	FPSS
MRM[c]	r	-0.07	1.00**			
	n	98	100			
FRM[c]	r	-0.02	0.39**	1.00**		
	n	94	96	96		
MPSS[c]	r	-0.08	0.60**	0.18	1.00**	
	n	98	100	96	100	
FPSS[c]	r	0.00	0.06	0.53**	0.12	1.00**
	n	98	100	96	100	100
EVM	r	0.00	-0.07	0.00	0.12	0.08
	n	215	100	96	100	100
EVF	r	0.03	-0.02	0.04	0.10	0.08
	n	210	94	92	94	94
MSRI	r	0.03	-0.02	-0.14	0.11	0.10
	n	215	100	96	100	100
FSRI	r	-0.07	-0.02	0.05	-0.04	0.00
	n	212	97	94	97	97
RTOT	r	-0.23	-0.16	-0.09	-0.10	0.01
	n	235	100	96	100	100
SUPPORT	r	-0.07	-0.13	-0.01	-0.01	-0.03
	n	235	100	96	100	100
LC	r	-0.11	0.09	0.08	-0.07	0.03
	n	235	100	96	100	100
CFIN	r	-0.09	0.13	-0.02	0.21*	0.03
	n	235	100	96	100	100
FC[c]	r	0.01	-0.18	-0.36**	0.00	-0.16
	n	118	100	96	100	100
HELP[c]	r	-0.04	0.04	-0.01	-0.04	-0.08
	n	118	100	96	100	100

		EVM	EVF	MSRI	FSRI	RTOT
EVM	r	1.00**				
	n	220				
EVF	r	0.18**	1.00**			
	n	214	214			
MSRI	r	-0.11	-0.08	1.00**		
	n	220	214	220		
FSRI	r	-0.10	-0.50**	0.50**	1.00**	
	n	217	214	217	217	
RTOT	r	0.13*	-0.05	-0.16*	-0.09	1.00**
	n	220	214	220	217	240
LC	r	-0.13*	-0.36**	-0.11	0.22**	0.21**
	n	220	214	220	217	240
CFIN	r	0.08	0.27**	0.11	-0.16*	-0.06
	n	220	214	220	217	240
FC[c]	r	-0.03	0.13	0.06	-0.11	0.05
	n	100	94	100	97	120

Table 7 (continued)

Variable[a]	r/n[b]	EVM	EVF	MSRI	FSRI	RTOT
HELP[c]	r	-0.03	0.00	0.11	0.14	-0.18*
		SUPPORT	LC	CFIN	FC	HELP
SUPPORT	r	1.00**				
	n	240				
LC	r	-0.15*	1.00**			
	n	240	240			
CFIN	r	0.21**	-0.25**	1.00**		
	n	240	240	240		
FC[c]	r	-0.02	-0.04	0.34**	1.00**	
	n	120	120	120	120	
HELP[c]	r	-0.20*	-0.08	-0.15	-0.03	1.00**
	n	120	120	120	120	120

[a] Key: Gender (female=0, male=1), RACE (minority=0, caucasian=1), AGED=age at time of divorce, TCH=total number of children, OCH=presence of older child (no=0, yes=1), MRM=mother remarried (no=0, yes=1), FRM=father remarried (no=0, yes=1), MPSS=mother-presence of stepsiblings (no=0, yes=1), FPSS=father-presence of stepsiblings (no=0, yes=1), EVM=evaluation of mother, EVF=evaluation of father, MSRI=mother's sex-role ideology, FSRI=father's sex-role ideology, RTOT=total responsibility, SUPPORT=interpersonal support, LC=number of life changes, CFIN=current financial status, FC=change in financial status, HELP=received professional help (no=0, yes=1).

[b] r=Pearson correlation coefficient, n=sample size.

[c] Variable limited to participants from divorced families.

** Significant at the .01 level.
* Significant at the .05 level.

Table 8

Correlations Between Outcome and Intervening Variables for Total Sample

Variable[a]	r/n[b]	AUT	IMP	RES	SE	SUC
GENDER	r	0.15*	-0.08	-0.06	0.09	-0.28**
	n	240	240	240	240	240
RACE	r	0.01	-0.07	0.08	-0.06	0.01
	n	240	240	240	240	240
I.Q.	r	0.15*	0.06	-0.07	0.09	-0.14*
	n	240	240	240	240	240
AGED[c]	r	0.05	-0.08	-0.07	-0.01	0.04
	n	120	120	120	120	120
TCH	r	0.00	-0.03	-0.03	0.07	-0.01
	n	238	238	238	238	238
OCH	r	0.04	-0.03	-0.03	0.04	-0.09
	n	235	235	235	235	235
MRM[c]	r	-0.04	0.07	0.15	-0.12	0.04
	n	100	100	100	100	100
FRM[c]	r	-0.02	0.09	-0.02	0.02	-0.05
	n	96	96	96	96	96
MPSS[c]	r	0.08	0.06	0.13	-0.01	0.00
	n	100	100	100	100	100
FPSS[c]	r	0.19	-0.22*	0.22*	0.03	-0.25*
	n	100	100	100	100	100
EVM	r	-0.23**	-0.07	0.19**	0.20**	0.11
	n	220	220	220	220	220
EVF	r	-0.19**	-0.08	0.14*	0.26**	0.06
	n	214	214	214	214	214
MSRI	r	0.03	-0.13*	-0.07	0.09	-0.10
	n	220	220	220	220	220
FSRI	r	0.00	-0.08	-0.14*	0.00	-0.03
	n	217	217	217	217	217
RTOT	r	0.07	0.11	0.10	0.02	0.01
	n	240	240	240	240	240
SUPPORT	r	-0.23**	0.08	0.08	0.18**	0.20**
	n	240	240	240	240	240
LC	r	0.09	0.16*	-0.08	-0.15*	0.02
	n	240	240	240	240	240
CFIN	r	0.02	0.04	0.05	0.17**	-0.03
	n	240	240	240	240	240
FC[c]	r	-0.01	0.01	-0.01	0.07	-0.03
	n	120	120	120	120	120
HELP[c]	r	0.02	0.00	-0.10	-0.07	0.01
	n	120	120	120	120	120

Table 8 (continued)

Variable[a]	r/n[b]	EMP	ANDRO	MRE	EOD[c]
GENDER	r	-0.11	0.01	-0.34**	0.12
	n	240	240	240	120
RACE	r	0.15*	0.04	0.13*	0.05
	n	240	240	240	120
I.Q.	r	0.02	-0.03	0.13*	0.01
	n	240	240	240	120
AGED[c]	r	0.03	0.01	-0.01	0.04
	n	120	120	120	120
TCH	r	0.00	-0.01	0.10	-0.06
	n	238	238	238	118
OCH	r	0.00	-0.06	0.05	-0.03
	n	235	235	235	118
MRM[c]	r	0.08	0.07	0.11	-0.05
	n	100	100	100	100
FRM[c]	r	0.16	0.01	0.20	0.01
	n	96	96	96	96
MPSS[c]	r	0.21*	0.04	0.07	0.04
	n	100	100	100	100
FPSS[c]	r	0.08	-0.08	-0.05	-0.06
	n	100	100	100	100
EVM	r	0.11	0.04	0.05	0.18
	n	220	220	220	100
EVF	r	0.06	-0.01	-0.03	-0.16
	n	214	214	214	94
MSRI	r	-0.10	-0.07	-0.30**	-0.13
	n	220	220	220	100
FSRI	r	-0.05	-0.04	-0.15*	-0.03
	n	217	217	217	97
RTOT	r	0.00	0.05	0.09	0.06
	n	240	240	240	120
SUPPORT	r	0.17**	0.00	0.08	0.28**
	n	240	240	240	120
LC	r	0.02	0.01	0.17**	-0.16
	n	240	240	240	120
CFIN	r	0.11	0.02	-0.09	0.10
	n	240	240	240	120
FC[c]	r	0.05	-0.11	-0.34**	0.10
	n	120	120	120	120
HELP[c]	r	-0.08	-0.05	0.02	0.03
	n	120	120	120	120

[a] Key: AUT=autonomy, IMP=impulsivity, RES=responsibility, SE=self-esteem, SUC=succorance, EMP=empathy, ANDRO=androgyny, MRE=marriage role expectations, EOD=Subjective rating of effect of parental divorce, Gender (female=0, male=1), RACE (minority=0, caucasian=1), AGED=age at time of divorce,

Table 8 (continued)

[a] Key (continued): TCH=total number of children, OCH=presence of older child (no=0, yes=1), MRM=mother remarried (no=0, yes=1), FRM=father remarried (no=0, yes=1), MPSS=mother-presence of stepsiblings (no=0, yes=1), FPSS=father-presence of stepsiblings (no=0, yes=1), EVM=evaluation of mother, EVF=evaluation of father, MSRI=mother's sex-role ideology, FSRI=father's sex-role ideology, RTOT=total responsibility, SUPPORT=interpersonal support, LC=number of life changes, CFIN=current financial status, FC=change in financial status, HELP=received professional help (no=0, yes=1).

[b] r=Pearson correlation coefficient, n=sample size.

[c] Variable limited to participants from divorced families.

** Significant at the .01 level.
* Significant at the .05 level.