THE LONG TERM EFFECTS OF DIVORCE ON
PARENT-CHILD RELATIONSHIPS

A Thesis

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by

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.	ii
LIST OF TABLES.	v
Chapters	
1. Introduction	1
2. Literature Review.	3
Theoretical and Clinical Research	3
Summary and Conclusions	12
Empirical Research.	14
Summary and Conclusions	33
3. Statement of the Problem	35
Dependent Variables	36
Distance or Closeness Between Parent and Child	37
Rejection of One Parent by the Child.	38
Trust	38
Clarity of Parental Role.	38
Accuracy of Child's Perception of Parents . .	38
Anger Towards the Parents	39
Communication Between Parent and Child. . . .	39
Affection Towards Parents	40
Respect for Parents	40
Influencability	40
Mediating Variables	41
Age of Child at the Time of the Divorce . . .	41
Condition of the Family Before the Divorce. .	42
Adjustment of the Child Before the Divorce. .	42
Quality of the Relationship Between the Spouses after the Divorce	43
Socioeconomic Changes in the Family	43
Hypotheses.	44
4. Methodology.	49
Subjects.	49
Instrumentation	49
Procedure	57
Data Analysis	58

	Page
5. Results.	59
Factor Analysis of the Parent-Child Relation- ship Survey	59
Tests of the Major Hypotheses	70
Mediating Variables	95
6. Discussion	114
Father-Child Relationship	116✓
Mother-Child Relationship	123✓
Implications for Future Research.	129
Implications for Intervention	135
REFERENCES.	138
APPENDICES	
A. Demographic Information.	141
B. Life Interpersonal History Enquiry	142
C. Parent Evaluation Scales	145
D. Parent-Child Relationship Survey	147
E. Experience of Divorce Questionnaire.	152
F. Family Life Questionnaire.	155
G. Open-Ended Questions	156

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
1. Factor Loadings for the 24 Items on the Father Scale of the Parent-Child Relationship Survey.....	61
2. Simple Correlations Among Composite Scores and Factor Scores on the Father Scale of the Parent-Child Relationship Survey	64
3. Simple Correlations Among the Subscales on the Father Scale of the Parent-Child Relationship Survey	64
4. Factor Loadings for the 24 Items on the Mother Scale of the Parent-Child Relationship Survey	66
5. Simple Correlations Among Composite Scores and Factor Scores on the Mother Scale of the Parent-Child Relationship Survey	69
6. Simple Correlations Among the Subscales on the Mother Scale of the Parent-Child Relationship Survey.	69
7. Summary of Multivariate Analysis of Variance for Those Instruments Measuring Perceived Father-Child Relationship.	72
8. Means and Standard Deviations for Dependent Measures Assessing Perceived Father-Child Relationship by Marital Status of Family.	72
9. Summary of ANOVA for Father Scale of Total Score of Life Interpersonal History Enquiry (LIPHE).	73
10. Summary of ANOVA for Father Scale of Inclusion Subscale of Life Interpersonal History Enquiry (LIPHE) .	73
11. Summary of ANOVA for Father Scale of Affection Subscale of Life Interpersonal History Enquiry (LIPHE) .	74
12. Summary of ANOVA for Father Scale of Warmth Subscale of Parent Evaluation Scales (PES)	74
13. Summary of ANOVA for Father Scale of Parent-Child Relationship Survey (PCRS).	75

Table	Page
14. Summary of ANOVA for Anger Subscale of Father Scale of Parent-Child Relationship Survey (PCRS).	75
15. Summary of ANOVA for Communication Subscale of Father Scale of Parent-Child Relationship Survey (PCRS).	76
16. Summary of ANOVA for Father Involvement Subscale of Father Scale of Parent-Child Relationship Survey (PCRS).	76
17. Summary of ANOVA for Positive Affective Subscale of Father Scale of Parent-Child Relationship Survey (PCRS).	77
18. Summary of Multivariate Analysis of Variance for Those Instruments Measuring Perceived Mother-Child Relationship.	77
19. Means and Standard Deviations for Dependent Measures Assessing Perceived Mother-Child Relationship by Marital Status of Family.	80
20. Summary of Analysis of Variance for Mother Scale of Total Score of Life Interpersonal History Enquiry (LIPHE)	81
21. Summary of ANOVA for Mother Scale of Inclusion Subscale of Life Interpersonal History Enquiry (LIPHE) .	81
22. Summary of ANOVA for Mother Scale of Affection Subscale of Life Interpersonal History Enquiry (LIPHE) .	82
23. Summary of ANOVA for Mother Scale of Warmth Subscale of Parent Evaluation Scales (PES)	82
24. Summary of ANOVA for Mother Scale of Parent-Child Relationship Survey (PCRS).	83
25. Summary of ANOVA for Communication Subscale of Mother Scale of Parent-Child Relationship Survey (PCRS).	83
26. Summary of ANOVA for Positive Affective Subscale of Mother Scale of Parent-Child Relationship Survey (PCRS).	84

Table	Page
27. Summary of ANOVA for Resentment/Role Confusion Subscale of Mother Scale of Parent-Child Relationship Survey (PCRS).	84
28. Summary of ANOVA for Identification Subscale of Mother Scale of Parent-Child Relationship Survey (PCRS).	85
29. Means on Dependent Measures Comparing Perceived Father-Child and Mother-Child Relationships	88
30. Summary of ANOVA for Total Score of Life Interpersonal History Enquiry (LIPHE).	89
31. Summary of ANOVA for Inclusion Subscale of Life Interpersonal History Enquiry (LIPHE)	89
32. Summary of ANOVA for Affection Subscale of Life Interpersonal History Enquiry (LIPHE)	90
33. Summary of ANOVA for Parent-Child Relationship Survey (PCRS).	90
34. Summary of ANOVA for the Communication Subscale of the Parent-Child Relationship Survey (PCRS)	91
35. Means on Dependent Measures for Male and Female Subjects from Divorced Families and Intact Families.	93
36. Summary of Simultaneous Multiple Regression on Each Dependent Instrument.	97
37. Summary of Regression Analysis on Each Dependent Measure with Quality of Family Life as the Predicting Variable.	106
38. Summary of MANOVA for Instruments Measuring Perceived Father-Child Relationship for Divorced, and High Discord and Low Discord Intact Families.	108
39. Means of Each Dependent Instrument Measuring Perceived Father-Child Relationships by Group of Subject .	108
40. Summary of Univariate ANOVA for Dependent Measures Measuring Perceived Father-Child Relationships for Divorced, and Low Discord, and High Discord Intact Families.	109

Table	Page
41. Summary of MANOVA for Instruments Measuring Perceived Mother-Child Relationship for Divorced, and High Discord and Low Discord Intact Families.	111
42. Means of Each Dependent Instrument Measuring Mother-Child Relationship by Group of Subject.	111
43. Summary of Univariate ANOVA for Dependent Measures Measuring Perceived Mother-Child Relationships for Divorced, and High Discord and Low Discord Intact Families.	112

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The incidence of divorce in the United States has increased drastically over the past two decades. It is estimated that over 40% of new marriages will ultimately end in divorce and over 60% of these divorces will be those of couples with children (Hetherington, Cox, & Cox, 1978). It is also expected that about 30% of all children will experience a parental divorce before they reach age 18 (Bane, 1979).

Several investigators (Wallerstein & Kelly, 1980; Weiss, 1975; Holmes & Rahe, 1967; Hetherington, Cox, & Cox, 1977a, 1977b; Felner, Farber, & Primavera, 1980) have identified divorce as a major life stressor and significant transition period, but, until 25 years ago, there had been a relative lack of research into the effects of divorce on those involved. In fact, interest in this area began with Goode's (1956) analysis of the effects of divorce on the family. Since then, interest has increased and more research has been conducted.

Most often research on the effects of divorce has focused on children (Hetherington, Cox, & Cox, 1978; Wallerstein & Kelly, 1975, 1976a, 1976b, 1974, 1980b; Landis, 1960; McDermott, 1968, 1970; Westman, 1972; Weiss, 1975; Lamb, 1977; Magrab, 1978) and the effects on the noncustodial mother (Goode, 1956; Hetherington, Cox, & Cox, 1977a; Wallerstein & Kelly, 1980b; Herzog & Sudia, 1971; Weiss, 1975). More recently, some of the effects on the noncustodial father have been examined (Hetherington, Cox, & Cox, 1976; Wallerstein & Kelly, 1980b; Weiss, 1975), while, as Hetherington, Cox, and Cox

(1976) have noted, there have been few attempts to study changes in family interaction and functioning following divorce. In particular, studies investigating the effects of divorce on the father-child and mother-child relationships, especially beyond the initial transition period, are very rare.

The goal of the present study is to take a first step towards correcting this deficit in the literature by investigating longer term effects of divorce on children's perceptions of their relationships with their parents. Towards this end, this study will assess the perceptions of young adults who were children at the time of the divorce. In particular, the effects of divorce on the father-son, father-daughter, mother-son, and mother-daughter relationships will be studied.

This paper will begin by reviewing the literature on the effects of divorce on parent-child relationships. This is divided into a) clinical and theoretical discussions and b) empirical studies. Following the literature review, a focused summary of the literature culminating in the hypotheses to be investigated will be presented. The methodology to be employed in this study will then be outlined.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Research into the effects of divorce on parent-child relationships can be classified as either theoretical and clinical or empirical. The theoretical work, which was the first contribution in the area, lacked a sound empirical base and was built primarily upon the clinical experience of the investigator. The empirical work was more systematic, more controlled, and tended to be more recent. This review will first consider the research of a theoretical and clinical nature and then explore the empirical investigations.

Theoretical and Clinical Research

McDermott (1968) studied 16 preschool children between the ages of three and five whose parents were recently divorced. He asked both parents and teachers to describe the behavior of the children both before and immediately after the divorce, and noted great changes during the 2-3 weeks after divorce in the majority of the children. The reactions of the children fell into four categories: the unchanged group, the sad-angry group, the lost and detached group, and the hidden problems group. The four children in the unchanged group, apparently having coping mechanisms which enabled them to deal with their stress, did not show marked changes in behavior. These children had distinct relationships with each parent and their parents were on good terms after the divorce. The children were described as well adjusted and well liked before the divorce.

The seven boys and one girl in the sad-angry group showed marked indications of shock, anger, and depression. They frequently used denial and regression to cope with their stress and were characterized by sadness, a loss of interest in activities, and aggressive and possessive behavior.

The two children in the lost and detached group had disturbances in ego-development before the divorce and their condition became even more severe after the divorce. Their relationships with their parents correspondingly deteriorated.

The three girls in the hidden problems group took on pseudo-adult roles. They scolded and lectured other children, dressed inappropriately, became overly concerned with health and manners, and became very concerned with neatness. These girls seemed to be behaviorally hiding deeper troubles and seemed to be identifying with a real or imaged part of their mother.

McDermott's (1968) observations raised the questions of whether the parent-child relationship may adversely change more for boys than for girls, whether the changes in parent-child relationships may only be temporary, and whether a common coping mechanism for girls is to identify with some part of their mother. They also suggest that the more positive the parent-child relationship is before the divorce, the less disrupted the child's behavior is likely to be after the divorce.

Steinzor (1969) suggested that divorce may be a far more healthy solution to family conflict than for the couple to steadfastly remain together. From his clinical experience, he claimed that there are

several advantages for the child when the parents decide to divorce rather than stay together. Several of these are relevant to a discussion of the parent-child relationship. The first advantage cited by Steinzor is that the emotional conflict which is smothering the family may be cleared away. The family may actually be healthier when it is not together, and the parent-child relationship may actually improve after the divorce. Second, the broken home may provide the opportunity for the child to form his own views of each parent unobstructed by the biases of each parent toward the other, and building a clear and accurate perception of each parent is very important for the parent-child relationship. The third advantage is that the divorce is an open and honest admission of the fact that the parents cannot live together harmoniously. Modeling a lack of pretention in the relationship may foster an improved parent-child relationship. Finally, Steinzor felt divorce lays to rest the child's belief that he/she is guilty of causing his parents' conflict and that only he/she is capable of saving their relationship. The more compatible the parents are after the divorce, the more likely it is that the child will realize that he/she was not the major cause of the divorce.

While divorce may be a beneficial step in a conflict-ridden family, it would be expected that the effects of divorce would be more detrimental when compared to a harmonious intact family. Steinzor has been criticized for not addressing this. Nevertheless, his work suggests that the actual step of divorce may be a beneficial one for the parents and the child, a claim which is opposed to some marriage counselors and clinicians' views that the marriage should be saved

at any cost.

Grollman (1969) provided further evidence supporting Steinzor's claim that divorce is a healthier solution to marital conflict than is the couple staying together for the sake of the children. He maintained that the evidence showed clearly that children from divorced families are less disturbed than children from conflicted nuclear families. However, he further suggested that the child may interpret the breakup of the home as a form of abandonment. He/she may feel that the ones he/she loved and needed the most have betrayed him/her. Consequently, he/she may wish to retaliate and may become enraged at his parents. He also claimed that the period immediately following the divorce is a time of uncertainty and loneliness for the children.

In a later project, McDermott (1970) evaluated 116 children from divorced families who were evaluated at the University of Michigan's Children's Psychiatric Hospital. Children up to the age of 14 were included, but most were of latency age when seen at the clinic. He found a greater tendency toward juvenile delinquency in the children from divorced families, as well as a higher established delinquency rate in the divorced group. These children tended to be more depressed and often felt guilty because they felt they were the cause of the divorce.

With regard to the parent-child relationship, McDermott hypothesized that the custodial parent tends to cast the child into the absent parent's place. Therefore, when the mother has custody of the child, she will tend to displace her anger toward her ex-husband onto

the child and try to reestablish with her child the same type of relationship she had with her ex-husband. Their relationship is dramatically changed, and this change may confuse the child.

McDermott's (1970) conceptualization raises several issues, about which more information is needed. Issues deserving of further exploration are the effects of guilt on the parent-child relationship, the possibility of the mother reestablishing with her child the same type of relationship that she had with her ex-spouse, and whether the child feels confused about why his/her relationship with his/her mother has so drastically changed.

McDermott's conclusions are quite different from those drawn by Steinzor and Grollman. Steinzor claims that divorce may remove the guilt the child is experiencing and may help him/her see his parents more clearly and accurately, while McDermott says this does not happen. This difference may be due in part to the fact that McDermott's sample of children may have come from families which had been happier and more cohesive than were those from Steinzor's experience. The children in McDermott's study, therefore, had to adopt to more of a change and would be expected to face more detrimental effects on their parent-child relationships. Another possibility is that the children in McDermott's sample had been less adjusted and from a lower socioeconomic background than those from Steinzor's experience. Finally, the difference may also be partially due to the fact that Steinzor is talking about what may happen under somewhat ideal conditions, while McDermott is referring to what actually happened.

From his experience as a clinician, Westman (1972) claimed that divorce has differential impact on children at different developmental levels. During infancy, divorce typically has only indirect effects on the child, while in some cases, however, changes in the mother may harm the child severely. She may neglect the child or the child may become the target of the mother's resentment toward the father, which may lead to a strain in the mother-infant relationship and may even lead to child abuse. In Westman's view, since boys are most likely to be the recipient of the mother's displaced anger because they represent the father, they are most likely to have a damaged sense of basic trust in the world.

During early childhood, the loss of the father is most acutely felt by the children. Since the basis for future interpersonal relations are established in this period, the loss of the father may lead to difficulties in later interpersonal relationships. Divorce during the school age years is less likely to be misinterpreted than during early childhood, but the sense of rejection and loss may still be very acute. Westman maintained that girls are likely to be disappointed in their father and to show anger at the first man to leave her. During the adolescent years, the process of divorce has the least impact on the child. The teenager has the maturity to be able to see the divorce both through the eyes of a child and an adult, and has the ability to empathize with his/her parents and display great tenderness. Nevertheless, many adolescents experience great grief, depression, and a severe sense of loss.

Westman emphasized that it is a mistake to equate the amount of time spent by a father with his children with the quality of the relationship. Westman's work once again raises the possibility of the parent-son relationship being more influenced than the parent-daughter relationship after divorce and that the mother may worsen her relationship with her child by displacing her anger onto him/her. In sum, Westman's work suggests that the child will experience a lack of trust in his/her parents, may have trouble with relationships in general, and that both boys and girls may feel anger toward their parents.

Klatskin (1972) also argued that children may be adversely affected when their parents are divorced in infancy. The greatest danger for the infant is that the mother may be so overwhelmed by the trauma of the experience that she may become severely depressed and be unable to care for the child. Even if the mother is not depressed, she is likely to begin spending more time away from the infant than she did before. This disruption in the continuity of the mother-child relationship may damage the child's sense of basic trust. In later infancy, the divorce may cause a parent to be unable to supply the encouragement and love the child needs to become independent or can lead to the parent being overindulgent and overly restrictive. Klatskin considers the most detrimental consequence in later infancy is when the custodial parent transfers the love for the lost partner onto the child, which may lead to overprotection and inhibit the child's development of independence. This possibility provides an interesting contrast to the claims of McDermott and Westman that the

custodial parent may displace anger onto the child. Unfortunately, these investigators provide no empirical evidence which sheds light on this issue.

Anthony (1974) emphasized that the child, not the parent, manipulates the custodial parent into playing the role of the absent parent. This leads to parent-child struggle which is very much like the father-mother struggle, as both the child and parent recreate the lost parent through the child's identification with those traits of the lost parent. Anthony also recognizes the potential for the child playing one parent off against each other, which is a theme on which later research has focused. Although Westman and McDermott maintain that the mother-son dyad is most likely to be molded into the same type of struggle which characterized the mother and father, Anthony does not make the distinction between the mother-son and mother-daughter relationships.

Toomin (1974) spoke of several losses with which the child from a divorced family must cope. The first is a loss of faith and trust. The child may feel betrayed and may not trust again. If open communication exists between the parents and the child and the parents respect the child's attempts to cope with his/her stress, the loss of trust may be minimized. A second loss is the disintegration of the child-mother-father triadic relationship. The older the child and the greater the ability of the parents to treat each other with respect after the divorce, the less serious will be the loss of the parental unit for the child.

Just as other researchers have noted (McDermott, 1970; Westman, 1972; Klatskin, 1972), Toomin describes a third loss, that of the pre-divorce mother. The mother changes her life and often behaves in quite inconsistent ways. The child may be angry when he/she is powerless to change her back to the way she used to be. However, perhaps the most devastating loss is that of the pre-divorce father. Toomin emphasized that any ambiguity in the father's role is especially harmful. The father-child relationship usually changes drastically and the father no longer has the same impact he previously had on the child. This may be exacerbated by the child's difficulties accepting the father because of mixed feelings about his departure and because of divided loyalties to his/her parents. This loss is lessened to the extent that the post-divorce father remains continually available to the child.

Toomin's work provides further documentation of the possibility of a loss of trust in the child toward his parents, of anger directed at the mother, and of the mixed feelings the child may have toward his father. In addition, clearly articulated questions worthy of further investigation are the importance of open communication between parent and child, of parental support to help the child cope, of the harmful effects of parental role ambiguity, and of the need for continued contact with the father after the divorce.

Based upon his clinical experience, Salk (1978) has stated that children of divorce are especially vulnerable to the fear of abandonment from their parents. He echoed Westman (1972) and Klatskin's (1972) claim that the parents may be so preoccupied with their own

feelings during the transition period that they may be insensitive to the needs of the children. He maintained that the worry over parental unhappiness can be extremely burdensome to the child, leading to anger and a reluctance to express it for fear of being rejected.

In a review of the literature on the effects of father absence on children, Herzog and Sudia (1971) concluded that the impact on a boy of growing up in a fatherless home is as much determined by factors that are present before and after the separation as by father absence itself. The impact of father absence on a boy is mediated by a complex set of interrelated variables. In particular, some of the effects of father absence could be accounted for entirely by the poverty-stricken economic conditions in which many father absent families live. Herzog and Sudia's analysis suggests that the effects of divorce on parent-child relationships cannot be viewed in isolation from the social context in which they occur. Specifically, this review alerts us to the importance of considering the impact of social and economic changes in the family on the parent-child relationship.

Summary and Conclusions

There are several common themes in the theoretical and clinical research into the effects of divorce on parent-child relationships. With the exception of Steinzor (1969) and Grollman (1969), all of the clinicians who have discussed the impact of divorce on children's relationships with their parents have emphasized negative outcomes. These later authors have suggested that the custodial mother may displace anger and conflicts with her ex-spouse onto her children

(McDermott, 1970; Westman, 1972; Klatskin, 1972; Anthony, 1974); that children may experience decreased trust in their parents (Westman, 1972; Toomin, 1974); and that children may be angry at their parents (McDermott, 1968; Westman, 1972; Salk, 1978).

While these investigators have stressed the presence of undesirable consequences, there has been a recognition that the negative effects may be mediated by such variables as the age of the child at the time of the divorce (Westman, 1972; Klatskin, 1972), the socioeconomic changes in the family after the divorce (Herzog & Sudia, 1971), the sex of the child (Westman, 1972; McDermott, 1968, 1970), the adjustment of the child before the divorce (McDermott, 1968), and the quality of the relationship between the spouses after the divorce (Steinzor, 1969; Toomin, 1974). It is possible that the work of Steinzor (1969) and Grollman (1969) was based on clinical contact with children from families characterized by one of the dimensions cited above, thus accounting for their more positive view of the consequences of divorce on parent-child relationships.

There are major flaws with the theoretical and clinical work. First, the ability to generalize to random samples of divorced parent-child relationships is weakened because these studies employed subjects from clinical populations. Second, theoretical and clinical work does not lend itself to an articulation of clear and precise hypotheses which may be empirically tested. This lack of empirical testing makes it extremely difficult to draw generalizable conclusions. Third, all but one of the investigations failed to consider the long range impact of divorce on the parent-child relationship.

Fourth, a large proportion of the studies failed to adequately examine the changes in mother-child and father-child relationships as dyads deserving of separate consideration. Consequently, the theoretical and clinical work provided some interesting hypotheses and raised some important issues, but its lack of scientific rigor makes it difficult to form conclusions with any degree of confidence.

Empirical Research

Goode (1956) was perhaps the first researcher to systematically study the effects of divorce on parents and children. He interviewed 425 mothers between the ages of 20 and 38 in Detroit in 1948. As opposed to the clinical interviews used by the theoretical and clinical investigators, Goode used a structured interview to gather more empirical and quantitative data. Noting that investigators must be careful to separate the effects of marital conflict from those of the divorce itself, he attempted to tease apart the effects that can solely be attributed to the divorce.

He felt that the two spouses may very likely exploit their children to get at the other spouse, mainly through the visitation periods. Goode claimed that the father's visits may be very pleasing to the child, but during this time the child is prevented from having normal contact with his playmates or with his mother. Furthermore, if the father begins to spend less time with his children, the child begins to withdraw emotionally as a way of defending himself. Even if the visits are regular over an extended period of time, the daily activities of the child become less and less familiar to the father

and he becomes a less satisfactory companion to the child.

He also noted that the more traumatic the divorce was for the mother, the more likely the children were to have behavioral problems. Goode's pioneering work raises the question of the possible withdrawal of the child by his/her relationship with the father or of a gradual increasing lack of familiarity between father and child. He also suggested that the mother-child relationship may suffer more when the mother is under stress from the divorce.

In one of the most comprehensive early investigations, Landis (1960) used a self-report questionnaire to assess the reactions of 295 university students whose parents had been divorced. Landis was also one of the first investigators to explicitly acknowledge the importance of such mediating factors as the age of the child at the time of the divorce and how the child viewed the home situation before the divorce.

He investigated several possible traumatic situations which exist for the children of divorce. One poignant change was the necessity of the child redefining his/her relationship with each parent. Landis found that the children felt closer to their mothers than their fathers, with divorce tending to increase the emotional distance between the children and their fathers. The children who thought their homes were happy before the divorce were much closer to their mothers and fathers after the divorce than were those children who thought their homes were unhappy. Landis maintained that this shift is partially explained by the child's acceptance of the mother's views about the father. Landis' work clearly suggests that

the father-child relationship tends to deteriorate following divorce, while the mother-child relationship tends to improve. Although Landis considered the long range effects of divorce on the father-child and mother-child relationships, he failed to systematically control for the age of the child at the time of the divorce. Therefore, short term and long term effects may have been confounded.

Reinhard (1977) studied reactions of adolescent boys and girls whose parents had been divorced for an average of three years and whose parents, prior to divorce, had been married for an average of 17 years. Included in the sample of 46 adolescents were 18 boys and 28 girls between the ages of 12 and 18 years. Reinhard devised a 99-item questionnaire, including 14 items which constituted the Changes in Family Relationship Scale. This scale measured changes in family relationships, roles, and responsibilities which seemed to occur after the departure of one of the divorced parents. The adolescents reported that they were disappointed that their parents were unable to stay together, but they felt the divorce was a sensible decision and unpleasant or hostile feelings toward the mother and feelings of alienation or rejection from either parent were denied. In fact, it seems that the children acquired a more realistic perception of their parents. Finally, Reinhard reported no differences in the reactions of girls and boys. The study suffered from a low number of subjects and from the use of subscales with low reliability. Furthermore, Reinhard did not clearly articulate the precise nature of the current parent-child relationship, nor did he separate the parent-child relationships into the mother-child and father-child

components. Nevertheless, Reinhard's work suggests that the inevitable and significant changes in family relationships need not be too detrimental.

Weiss (1975) conducted a series of intensive structured interview studies of the effects of marital separation. He interviewed a small sample of single parents and a comparison group of married parents. Weiss reported that several parents felt that their separation seemed to help the children, which supported a claim often made by theoretical investigators that divorce is a healthier resolution of marital conflict than is staying together. Nevertheless, many were deeply concerned at the time of the separation that the children may suffer and many parents were worried about their relationships with their children.

Weiss reported that after the separation, the mother's relationship to her children remained fundamentally the same. She was still the guiding and nurturing figure within the home responsible for care of the children. Nevertheless, he did find modifications in this pattern. Usually the mother became even closer and more responsive to her children, and, in many cases, she became more empathetic to their needs and concerns. Although she may have become more authoritarian because she had no husband to help with discipline, she still felt closer to them. In fact, Weiss noted that the single parent household was more egalitarian in the sense that the children negotiated rules and even helped formulate them.

Weiss noted that the single mother is likely to have several problems with her new role. She is probably overburdened as she now has

sole responsibility for a range of tasks that the husband used to help her with. She is also likely to have difficulty disciplining her children, as many children become less respectful and harder to control after the separation. Because of these problems, although she may feel closer to her children, her high expectations about raising them are bound to be disappointed and she may become increasingly aggravated.

Unlike the mother-child relationship, Weiss noted that the father's relationship to his children changed structurally. Because the father was no longer a member of the children's household, he was likely to feel out of touch with his children's lives and a lack of continuity in his relations with them. The father experienced a sense of loss of many of his previous roles as protector, provider, and head of the family. Partly in reaction to this, many fathers initially took their children on expensive outings and bought them extravagant gifts. However, many men soon realized that they could not sustain this amount of attention and expense and became frustrated. Consequently, they began to visit their children less often and some contemplated ending contact with them. Weiss reported, however that while most men wished to maintain contact, if the children lived in a different part of the country, only middle and upper class men were likely to have the resources needed for regular visits.

Weiss claimed that fathers remain valuable and important to their children. The children may be resentful and angry because they feel cheated out of their happy home, but most often the father continued to be an important and cared for person to the child. Nevertheless,

because of the difficulties in maintaining regular contact, Weiss suggested that the father and child may in the long run come to accept the inevitability of increased distance in their relationship and may become comfortable with their established pattern.

As much of the theoretical and clinical research failed to do, Weiss did not explicitly consider the a) long range impact of marital separation, b) the differential impact of divorce on boys and girls, and c) the age of the child at the time of the divorce. He also only interviewed the parents and had no direct information about the reactions of the children.

In one of the most thorough and systematic investigations in this area, Hetherington, Cox, and Cox (1978) conducted a two year longitudinal study of the impact of divorce on family functioning and child development. Their sample consisted of 48 nursery school boys and girls and their divorced parents from homes in which custody had been granted to the mother. They also included a matched group of 48 children and parents from 24 nuclear families, which were subdivided into a low marital discord and harmonious group and a high discord and conflictual group. The study employed a multi-method and multi-measure approach to the investigation of family interaction. The investigators used interviews and structured diary records of the parents, observations of parent-child interaction, behavior checklists of child behavior, parent ratings of child's behavior, and a battery of personality scales on the parents.

Hetherington, Cox and Cox found that family interaction in single parent families differed from that in nuclear families as was the role

of the father. They also discovered that divorce does not have a single static impact on the parent-child relationship, but had differential impact at different times. Finally, their results indicated that boys are more vulnerable to the ill effects of divorce than are girls.

In the first year after divorce, the children were functioning less well than their counterparts in both high discord and low discord nuclear families. They were more oppositional, lacking in self-control, more aggressive, more distractable, and more demanding of help and attention. After two years, the children from divorced families had improved greatly. They were functioning at a higher level, as they were less oppositional, less demanding, less aggressive, more in control, and less distractable than children from high discord families, but were still functioning less well than children in the low discord families. There was particular conflict in the mother-son relationship. With the mother, the child was still showing considerable aggressive, oppositional, dependent, and impulsive behavior. The children of the noncustodial fathers who were more involved functioned at a higher level on the above criteria than those of fathers who were less involved.

The interaction patterns between divorced parents and children, based on laboratory observations, differed significantly from those in intact families (Hetherington, Cox, & Cox, 1976). The differences were greatest during the first year and a process of reequilibration seemed to be taking place by the end of the second year, particularly in the mother-child relationship. Nevertheless, even after the second

year, significant differences existed between divorced and intact families on several dimensions. Divorced parents made fewer maturity demands on their children, communicated less well with their children, tended to be less affectionate with their children, showed marked inconsistency in discipline, and had less control over their children than did parents from intact homes. These differences were most marked with sons and were more likely to occur in mother and son interactions.

The quality of interaction improved after two years. Mothers demanded more autonomous behavior, communicated better, and used more explanation and reasoning. They also became more nurturant and consistent in their behavior. When compared with their behavior immediately after the divorce, fathers also made improvements in the areas of maturity demands, communication, and consistency in discipline during the two years of the study, but they became less nurturant and more detached.

Immediately after the divorce, the divorced mothers tried to control their child by being more restrictive and by giving more commands when the child resisted. The mother used more negative sanctions than the divorced father or the parents from intact families. The father was initially very permissive and indulgent, but became increasingly restrictive over the two year period. By the second year, the mother was using less negative sanctions and more positive ones, while the father was using more negative and less positive sanctions. These results echo Weiss' (1975) findings that mothers may initially become more authoritarian and fathers may become more permissive. Furthermore, as Weiss also noted, children were found to exhibit oppositional behavior to mothers and comply to

their fathers.

Over the two year period, many of the fathers saw their children less and less. Most felt a deep sense of loss for their children; some felt so much pain that they coped by seeing their children less often. However, 10% of the fathers felt their relationship with their child had improved.

Hetherington, Cox and Cox emphasized the crucial importance of the continued involvement of the father and the positive mutually supportive relationship of the divorced couple in helping the child cope with his/her stress. They found that none of the outside support systems were as important as the continued involvement of the father and a supportive relationship between the divorced parents.

Because the study dealt only with nursery school children and because it did not consider the long range effects of the divorce on the parent-child relationships, the results have obvious limits for generalizing to the effects of divorce on older children and to the effects over time. Nevertheless, the study provides a wealth of information relevant to developing hypotheses for older children and their relationship with their parents: a) once again, the possibility of the boys having more difficulty in their relationships with their parents is raised. In particular, it seems likely that the mother-son dyad is especially problematic. This raises again the question of whether the mother and child will resent each other and not respect each other when the child is older. b) The father's relationship with his children may progress from an "every day is Christmas" relationship to one that is more restrictive, less nurturant, and more detached.

It appears that the harsh realities of a less than ideal visitation arrangement may contribute to taxing the father's energy and commitment. Consequently, later in the child's life, the father-child relationship may involve a considerable degree of distance and lack of comfort. The child may be disappointed by what he/she perceives is a lack of caring by the father. Once again, this provides further evidence for a theme common to much of the theoretical literature.

In general, the differences in the behavior of the divorced parents and the nuclear family parents raises several questions for study concerning later parent-child relationships. One might wonder whether later relationships are likely to be characterized by a relative lack of good communication, a lack of affection, and a lack of mutual respect. Further questions concern the parents' inconsistent discipline, their lack of control over their children, and their demanding style possibly leading to later confusion on the part of the child concerning what role the parents will play in their lives and a relationship in which the child feels he/she can take advantage of the parent. These possibilities should be studied at several time points since the parent-child relationship improved on some dimensions by the end of the second year. It may be that relations may continue to improve after two years in areas of consistency of discipline, maturity demands, and communication for both parents, while the father-child relationship may become a more distant and detached one.

Wallerstein and Kelly (1980b) have recently conducted a five year longitudinal investigation into the effects of divorce on children and adolescents. Their sample included 131 children between the

ages of 2 1/2 and 18 years from 60 families who resided in 1971 in a metropolitan suburb in northern California. Ninety-two percent of the families were caucasians and most were from upper and middle socioeconomic classes. These children and their parents were studied intensively by an interdisciplinary clinical team shortly after the initial separation of the parents, one year later, and five years later. Each time, the child and his/her parents were seen during four to six individual clinical sessions conducted over a six week time span. Information was obtained on the pre-divorce family history, including parent-child relationships, family interaction at the time of the conflict, parental descriptions of communications to the children regarding reasons for divorce, caretaking, and visitation arrangements; the child's initial and ensuing responses, as observed by parents, school teachers, children, and the therapist; and the availability of support systems for the children. Wallerstein and Kelly found that divorce does not have a uniform impact on the children's lives, but produces at least three patterns. About 25% successfully adapted to the divorce, about 50% were "muddling through" and coping when and as they could, and a final 25% failed to recover from the divorce or looked back on the pre-divorce family with longing. The most crucial factor influencing a good readjustment was a stable and loving relationship with both parents, with encouraged regular visits with the father.

Because of economic pressures, parenting problems, and social stresses encountered immediately after the separation, many mothers had difficulty maintaining an adequate relationship with their

children. However, a substantial number of mothers were able to re-establish their relationship with their children by the end of the first year. Following the drop in parenting in the immediate post-divorce period, approximately 50% of the children experienced no significant deterioration in their mother-child relationships. Wallerstein and Kelly found a striking discontinuity between the predivorce father-child relationship and the relationships that continued into the postdivorce period. Some men who were very close failed to visit or visited irregularly, while other previously distant fathers visited regularly.

The project systematically explored the differential responses to divorce of children at various ages. They studied the responses of preschool children, early latency children, later latency children, and adolescents. In the preschool group there were 34 children from 27 families (Wallerstein & Kelly, 1975). Of these 27 sets of parents, twice as many mothers and fathers significantly changed their relationship with their children as remained the same. After one year, many of the more anxious, conflicted, and uncaring parents became freer, happier, and closer to their children, while many of the mothers and fathers who had been close and affectionate with their children before the divorce had become more estranged, conflict-ridden, or neglectful.

Specifically, after one year 44% of the fathers had developed a richer, more consistent, and seemingly more affectionate relationship with their children, while only 26% had decreased their interest and general investment in theirs. As contrasted with traditional views

and Hetherington, Cox, and Cox's findings, this suggests that father-child relationships should not necessarily be expected to deteriorate following divorce. Wallerstein and Kelly hypothesize that the external limits imposed by the post divorce visitation structure seemed to provide emotional safeguards which enabled some fathers to be more patient, interested, and caring. For other fathers, leaving a conflictual marital situation provided the opportunity for more expression of affection and nurturance.

Forty-four percent of the mothers described a less satisfying, more conflictual and more limited relationship with their children after one year than at the time of and before the divorce. Only 22% were happier and more affectionate with their preschool children. Thus, as contrasted with the fathers, mothers experienced a deterioration in their relationship with their child over the year period. Just as there was a significant relationship between the quality of the father-child relationship and the child's adjustment, there was also a high correlation between post divorce changes in the quality of the mother-child relationship and the adjustment of the child at the one year follow-up. This provides further substantiation of Hetherington, Cox, and Cox's (1976) findings.

The 26 early latency children were more immobilized by their suffering and their defense organization was quite vulnerable to regression (Wallerstein & Kelly, 1976). These 7 and 8 year olds experienced a pervasive sadness, as they were aware of their suffering, but could not find relief from either inner or outer resources. While some did not feel responsibility for their parents' divorce,

others did. All of these early latency children wished for their parents to reconcile and none were pleased or relieved with the divorce.

With their father out of the home, these children felt a tremendous sense of loss, as more than half missed their father acutely. Interestingly, the degree of closeness and satisfaction in the pre-divorce father-child relationship was not a factor in the acuteness of the sense of loss. The visiting arrangement provided little comfort for these children and was clearly not sufficient for their needs, as demonstrated by the fact that nearly all of the children desired more frequent visits with their father. During the visits, the children often had to take the brunt of the parents' continued bitterness and anger. As a result, the quite frequent conflictual visits with the father caused the early latency children much suffering. However, the children, and especially the boys, expressed a great need for their father. Kelly and Wallerstein suggest that the boys needed the father to provide discipline and to provide a male role model.

Some of the children were quite angry at their mother for causing the divorce or for driving the father away. Those who were most hurt tended to be the most angry. A more common reaction than the anger directed at the mother was the experience of fear that the mother would throw them out of the house. Unlike the adolescents, these children did not feel secure enough to challenge their mother and were very concerned that they would incur the mother's wrath. Furthermore, some children sided with the angry mother and classified the father

as unreliable and unloving. These sidings were made out of fear of the mother's anger, but often with considerable inner conflict for the child.

These 7 and 8 year old children were old enough to be actively recruited by a parent in waging battle against the other. Indeed, 25% of the children felt pressure from their angry mother to reject their fathers. This pressure toward alignment caused some children to feel they were being torn in different directions. However, these children were unable to totally reject one parent and align solely with the other. These children remained loyal to both parents, although often secretly and often with much pain.

The 31 children in the later latency group, who were nine and ten years old when first studied, experienced significant changes in their parent-child relationships (Wallerstein & Kelly, 1976). Wallerstein and Kelly claimed that these changes may propel the child into precocious or pseudo-adolescent behavior; on the other hand, the change may foster the development of a true empathetic responsiveness and increased responsibility on the part of the child. Consequently, the parent-child relationship may become less intimate or the relationship may become closer than is normal for that age.

Twenty-six percent of the children formed a relationship with one parent after the divorce which was specifically aimed at the rejection or exclusion of the other. These alignments were usually started and continued by the embittered parent who felt deserted or betrayed by the divorcing spouse. As no children in this age group had previously allied with one parent to the exclusion of the other,

the rejection was bewildering and humiliating to the rejected parent. Wallerstein and Kelly suggested that alignments strike a responsive chord in children of this age. In fact, they feel that the alignment may represent a highly complex coping mechanism for these children. The child may relieve his/her anguish and confusion by psychologically separating the parents into the good parent and the bad parent. These alignments may be longlasting, especially when the alignment is with the custodial parent.

For other later latency children, a heightened empathetic response to one or both parents was developed. Some children were able to perceive their parents' needs with great sensitivity and to act in very caring and compassionate ways. The parents were often remarkably appreciative of this consideration by their children. This finding is reminiscent of Steinzor's (1969), Salk's (1978), and Westman's (1972) conclusion that children of divorce may become more empathetic.

After one year, 32% of these children maintained a continued anger directed at the non-custodial parent. In fact, the anger and hostility aroused from the divorce were emotional responses which were long lasting, while many of the other concerns and problems the children had following the divorce had almost entirely subsided after one year.

Among the 21 adolescents in the sample, Wallerstein and Kelly (1974) found several common reactions to the experience of divorce, including several commonalities relevant to changes in the parent-child relationships. For this first year, many were burdened by what they perceived of as the need to choose between their parents. Over

this time period, the adolescents markedly changed their perceptions of their parents. Their views changed from a deidealization of their parents to an undervaluation of them. The divorce fostered an accelerated individuation of the parents, as the adolescents came to see their parents more realistically as individuals. For example, they experienced a heightened awareness of their parents as sexual beings. Finally, Wallerstein and Kelly note the crucial importance of the quality of the parent-child relationship both at the time of the divorce and before in determining the success of the adolescent's adaptation to the divorce.

Five years after the divorce, Wallerstein and Kelly's (1980b) results indicate the age of the child is a less important contributing factor to the child's reaction to divorce. Therefore, the results of their five year follow-up will be presented for the entire sample of children and will not be broken down into different age categories. In general, they found that the post-divorce relationship between the parents, the predivorce adjustment of the child, and the availability of a supportive human network were more important than the age of the child as factors influencing the parent-child relationship.

Five years after the separation, 56% of the children felt that the postdivorce family was little or no improvement over the pre-divorce family, 22% felt that the divorced family offered a moderate improvement, and 22% felt that there was a substantial improvement in the postdivorce family. As might be expected from these results, 28% of the children strongly approved of the divorce, 30% disapproved, and 42% were somewhere in the middle. The older children were more

approving, perhaps they had acquired an increased ability to understand that the predivorce family had provided a different experience for the parents than it did for them.

Wallerstein and Kelly found that a good relationship with the custodial parent was crucial to the adaptation of the child. After five years, they assessed 40% of the mother-child relationships as adequate to very good and an additional 20% as adequate. Excessive economic stress, excessive stress from added parental duties, and psychological difficulties hindered the ability of the remaining mothers in maintaining a good relationship with their children.

In contrast to prevailing opinion, Wallerstein and Kelly found that the importance of a good father-child relationship did not diminish over time and, in fact, increased as the child approached adolescence. After five years, the positive contribution of the father's role emerged very clearly. High self-esteem and the absence of depression in children of both sexes and at all ages was associated with a high quality father-child relationship. Those fathers who established a positive relationship with their children were consistent in their visiting arrangement, were adaptable, sensitive, understanding of their children.

However, a majority of the father-child relationships became limited over time. Only 30% had an emotionally nurturant relationship with their father five years after the divorce and this contact was critical to adjustment. Excluding these, many of the father-child relationships offered little help in easing the complex tasks of growing and disinterested fathers left behind a legacy of depression

and damaged self-concept. Boys between the ages of 13 and 24 at the five year follow-up experienced the worst father-child relationships.

In sum, as the boys became older, the father-son relationship took on added importance. Similarly, the father-daughter relationship became more important for the girls as they became older, but it still was less critical than the father-daughter relationship and less critical than the mother-daughter relationship. In fact, at the five year follow-up, the father-son relationship was most important to the boys' adjustment and the mother-daughter relationship was most important to the girls' adjustment.

Wallerstein and Kelly's major contribution to the research on the effects of divorce on parent-child relationships lies in their systematic and careful analysis of the mother-child and father-child relationships at different ages of the child at the time of the divorce. Their study is the most systematic empirical investigation into the long range effects on the parent-child relationship. Nevertheless, despite the richness of their findings, caution must be exercised in extrapolating too heavily from them. Wallerstein and Kelly rely primarily on observational data for their conclusions, used no control groups from intact families, and had small sample sizes. Finally, they did not study the effects of divorce beyond five years. In fact, no one yet knows for sure what the long-lasting consequences of divorce are on children (Ruvenstein, 1980).

As cited in the text, Wallerstein and Kelly's results substantiate many of the claims made by the early investigators (Weiss, 1975; Hetherington, Cox, & Cox, 1976). In particular, the likelihood of

initial trouble between the mother and the child, but of later improvement; of a gradually increasing distance between several fathers and their children; the importance of stable and nurturant parent-child relationships in helping the child cope with the trauma of divorce; and the possibility of the children becoming more empathetic and understanding of their parents are all supported by their study.

In addition, their work suggests that many fathers of preschool children may develop a richer and more fulfilling relationship with their children. They further suggest that it is quite common for early latency children to feel a tremendous sense of loss for their fathers and for them to be inwardly angry at their mothers. Furthermore, children at this age seem to be unable to totally reject one parent in favor of the other. In contrast, many later latency children formed alignments aimed at the rejection of one parent. These alignments are hypothesized to be long lasting. Other later latency children developed an increased sense of empathy for their parents. Finally, adolescents seemed to develop more realistic percepts of their parents after the divorce. These results are ones that have been cited in previous studies, but Wallerstein and Kelly's unique contribution is that their findings are based upon the specific age of the child at the time of the divorce.

Summary and Conclusions

Besides further substantiating many of the conclusions reached by the theoretical researchers, empirical investigators have discovered other possibilities which are deserving of further study.

Many of these possibilities have previously been summarized in the text. In addition, recent research has been methodologically more precise. Because of the improved methodology employed in these studies one can have more confidence in their findings and conclusions.

Researchers have been careful to consider the age of the child at the time of divorce (Wallerstein & Kelly, 1980b; Hetherington, Cox, & Cox, 1976; Reinhard, 1977), to consider the father-child and mother-child relationships separately (Wallerstein & Kelly, 1980; Hetherington, Cox, & Cox, 1978; Weiss, 1975; Landis, 1960; Goode, 1956), and have considered to some degree the longer term effects of divorce on the parent-child relationships (Wallerstein & Kelly, 1980b). However, long range effects beyond five years have not been studied.

CHAPTER 3

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

This investigation will study the long term effects of divorce on parent-child relationships for children who were 10 years old or younger when their parents were divorced. While research in this area has primarily assessed the impact of divorce on parent-child relationships in the initial transition period¹ only, this investigation will explore longer range impacts on children's perceptions of their relationships with both parents for young adults who are now enrolled in college.

Effects on parent-child relationships will be explored only for college students who were 10 years old or younger at the time of the divorce for three reasons: 1) The majority of children from divorced families are 10 years old or younger at the time of separation (Westman, 1972; Bane, 1979). Consequently, there is a more pressing need to understand the impact on children in this age group than for older children. 2) To assess the long range impact of divorce, it is necessary to study individuals who were young enough at the time of the divorce to assure that there has been at least five or six years between the time their parents were divorced and when they are in college. College students will be studied because they are old enough to assure that the effects studied are long term ones, and,

¹Previous authors have generally assumed that the transition period lasts between 1 and 2 years. In using the term here, this convention is being followed.

unlike older adults, they are likely to still be dependent on their parents to some degree. 3) Much of the previous research (Westman, 1972; Wallerstein & Kelly, 1974; Reinhard, 1977) suggested that individuals who were adolescents at the time of the divorce are less severely affected than individuals who were younger. Therefore, it seems more important to study the higher risk age groups.

Finally, to develop a more refined picture than what is currently available in the literature, the specific impact of divorce on the father-son, father-daughter, mother-son, and mother-daughter relationships will be studied, rather than only investigating the general impact of divorce on parent-child relationships.

Dependent Variables

The parent-child relationship has been shown to be affected by divorce along a number of dimensions. These dependent variables are interrelated and are not independent, but it is useful to consider them as separate constructs. The variables most often cited in the literature include distance or closeness between parent and child, the rejection of one parent by the child, the trust the child has for the parents, the clarity with which the child understands the role the parent plays in his/her life, the accuracy of the child's perception of the parents, the anger the child feels towards his parents, communication between parent and child, affection between the parents and the child, the child's respect for the parents, and the influenceability of the parents with their child. Some of the effects divorce has on these variables are summarized below.

Distance or Closeness Between Parent and Child

Most investigators (Goode, 1956; Landis, 1960; Westman, 1972; Toomin, 1974; Weiss, 1975; Hetherington, Cox, & Cox, 1976; Wallerstein & Kelly, 1980a) have concluded that fathers are likely to become more distant and withdrawn from their children.

Several researchers (Landis, 1960; Steinzor, 1969; Wallerstein & Kelly, 1980a) have found the mother-child relationships following divorce to be adequate to very good and to actually improve; while others (Goode, 1956; McDermott, 1970; Westman, 1972; Klatskin, 1972; Anthony, 1974; Hetherington, Cox, & Cox, 1976) have concluded that the mother-child relationship, and the mother-son relationship in particular, deteriorates following the divorce. Most of the findings which found the relationship to deteriorate in the transition period following the divorce were only studying the short term effects and found the relationship to improve over the course of the study. However, after the initial difficulties, Wallerstein and Kelly (1980b) found the mother-child relationship to continuously improve over the course of their 5 year study. Because Landis studied the reactions of college students to divorce and, consequently was more likely to study students who had lived beyond the initial transition period after divorce, his is the closest to an investigation of the long term (beyond 5 years) changes in the mother-child relationship.

Rejection of One Parent by the Child

Wallerstein and Kelly (1976b) suggested that many children who are nine and ten years old when their parents divorce are likely to form an alignment with one parent aimed at the rejection of the other. It seems plausible that the noncustodial parent, usually the father, is most likely to be rejected (Landis, 1960).

Trust

Westman (1972) and Toomin (1974) conclude that children of divorce may have a lack of trust in relationships. In particular, the children may not trust their parents as much as children from intact families. Wallerstein and Kelly (1980b) found that children trusted their fathers much less after the divorce and moderately less after 1 year than they did before the divorce.

Clarity of Parental Role

Toomin (1974) suggested that children from divorced families may experience considerable confusion about the changes in their parents' behavior and they may be confused about the new role their parents are to play in their lives. This role ambiguity may be especially acute and especially detrimental to the father-child relationship.

Accuracy of Child's Perception of Parents

Salk (1978), Westman (1972), Steinzor (1969), and Wallerstein and Kelly (1974, 1975) found that children developed a heightened

empathetic response to their divorced parents. The children often saw their parents in a more realistic and accurate light and could perceive what their needs were in very sensitive ways.

Anger Towards the Parents

McDermott (1968), Westman (1972), Grollman (1969), Toomin (1974), Weiss (1975), and Salk (1978) have concluded that the children may be angry at the non-custodial parent for breaking up their home. Others (Wallerstein & Kelly, 1975; Salk, 1978; Grollman, 1969; McDermott, 1968; Westman, 1972; Toomin, 1974) have claimed that the child may be angry at the mother, usually for driving the father away or changing her behavior so that she seems to care less for them. Wallerstein and Kelly (1976) found that this anger was the longest lasting of the children's emotional responses.

Communication Between Parent and Child

Hetherington, Cox, and Cox (1976) found that communication between parent and child tended to deteriorate in the post-divorce transition period. In addition, Toomin (1974) referred to the importance of good communication between the divorced spouses in helping the child cope with divorce. Her work, and the conclusions of other researchers, implies that communication between parent and child is important. In particular, these investigations provide both direct and indirect evidence for the hypothesis that divorced parents will communicate less well with their children than will parents and children from intact homes.

Affection Towards Parents

Because of the likelihood of anger directed at the parents, of possible increased distance between parent and child, and the possibility of rejection of one parent, it seems plausible to suggest that children from divorce may care for their parents less than children from intact families.

Respect for Parents

Because children may be upset that their home was broken up, they may blame their parents for not having the skills to keep their marriage alive. Along with the possible disruption in post-divorce parent-child relationships, it seems plausible that children from divorced homes may respect their parents less when they are young adults than young adults from intact families (Wallerstein & Kelly, 1980b).

Influencability

For similar reasons, the child may not grant the parents as much power to influence their attitudes, beliefs, and decisions as he/she did before the divorce. As the parent possibly becomes less competent and less respected in the child's eyes, the child is less likely to identify with his/her parents. Hetherington, Cox, and Cox (1976) found that the impact of divorced fathers on their children declined over time and was significantly less than that of fathers in intact families.

Mediating Variables

Divorce, in and of itself, seems to have a significant impact on parent-child relationships, but several mediating variables may enhance or inhibit these effects. To more accurately assess the unique contribution that the experience of divorce has on parent-child relationships, we must carefully analyze the contribution of these mediating variables. Those which have received the most attention in the literature are the age of the child at the time of the divorce, the condition of the family before the divorce, the socioeconomic changes in the family after the divorce, the adjustment of the child before the divorce, and the quality of the relationship between the spouses after the divorce.

Age of Child at the Time of the Divorce

A major weakness in some of the literature is its disregard for the differential impact divorce has on children of different ages. Failure to take this factor into account confuses the immediate and long term effects of divorce. Most of the empirical investigations (Reinhard, 1977; Hetherington, Cox, & Cox, 1978; Wallerstein & Kelly, 1980a), as well as some of the early theoretical work (Klatskin, 1972; Westman, 1972; McDermott, 1968) have taken this variable into account.

Of those who consider the age of the child at the time of the divorce, most break down their samples into an infancy group, a pre-school group, a school age group, and an adolescent group. Wallerstein and Kelly (1980a) divided their sample into preschool children (3 to

6 years old), early latency children (7 and 8 year olds), later latency children (9 and 10 years old), and adolescents. Since their study found very clear differences between these groups, the present investigation will use their age divisions.

Condition of the Family before the Divorce

Landis (1960) found that those children who thought their homes were happy before the divorce were much closer to their mothers and fathers than were those children who thought their homes were unhappy. Hetherington, Cox, and Cox (1978) found different effects of divorce depending upon whether the divorced family was characterized by continued conflict during and after the divorce or whether there was a relative lack of conflict and discord. They also found significant differences in their control group between high discord and low discord families. Furthermore, it also seems likely that the nature of the parent-child relationships before the divorce is likely to influence the effects of divorce on the relationships (McDermott, 1968).

Adjustment of the Child Before the Divorce

McDermott (1968) and Wallerstein and Kelly (1974, 1980b) suggested that adjustment to divorce is highly correlated with the pre-divorce adjustment of the child. Thus, in addition to knowing what condition the family was in before the divorce and the nature of the parent-child relationships before the divorce, we need to know the individual adjustment of the child.

Quality of the Relationship Between the Spouses after the Divorce

Steinzor (1969) claimed that, if the parents can model a lack of pretension and honesty in their post-divorce relationship, the parent-child relationship may be improved. Hetherington, Cox, and Cox (1976), Toomin (1974), and Jacobson (1978) suggested that a continued, positive, and mutually supportive relationship between the ex-spouses was critical in the child's adjustment to the divorce. Wallerstein and Kelly (1980b) also found that a good relationship between the spouses eased the adjustment of the child. These investigations all suggest that the better the relationship between the parents after the divorce, the more likely it is that the parent-child relationship will be healthy.

Socioeconomic Changes in the Family

Herzog and Sudia (1971) concluded that the effects of father absence on a child's development could be attributed almost entirely to the poverty-stricken economic conditions in which many single parent families live. Hetherington, Cox, and Cox (1976) found no such relationship between parent-child interaction and income or perceived economic stress. However, their middle class sample may have been too homogeneous economically to detect differences they may have found in a larger and more random sample. Finally, Wallerstein and Kelly (1980b) found that increased economic pressures on the custodial parent added extra pressures on the mother-child relationship.

Hypotheses

This investigation will study the impact of divorce on the father-son, father-daughter, mother-son, and mother-daughter relationships. Comparisons between parent-child relationships in divorced families and intact families will be made. Within the divorced group, comparisons between the father-son, father-daughter, mother-son, and mother-daughter relationships will be carried out. Finally, the impact of the mediating variables on the parent-child relationships will be explored.

Research in this area suggests that the father-child relationship deteriorates following the divorce, while the mother-child relationship may initially deteriorate and then may improve over time. Because the majority of the research does not consider the father-son and father-daughter relationships separately and does not consider the mother-son and mother-daughter relationships separately, it is not possible to form differential hypotheses for sons and daughters from the literature. However, several investigators have found that divorce has a more detrimental effect on boys than on girls (Westman, 1972; McDermott, 1968, 1970; Wallerstein & Kelly, 1975, 1980b; Hetherington, Cox, & Cox, 1978), which suggests that the father-son and mother-son relationships will be more affected than the father-daughter and mother-daughter relationships. Finally, research indicates that the mother-child relationship after the divorce is likely to be healthier in the long run than the father-child relationship after the divorce.

The aforementioned conclusions drawn from the literature were most often based on comparisons within divorced families. However, these effects are more meaningful if they are compared to base rate differences in intact families. Therefore, differences in perceptions of the father-child and mother-child relationships in divorced families are only meaningful in relation to the effects of divorce if these differences are significantly different than the base rate differences in intact families. Similarly, differences between the perceptions of sons and daughters in divorced families are only meaningful if such differences are significantly different than the base rate differences between sons and daughters in intact families. These considerations lead to the following hypotheses which will be tested in this investigation.

- Hypothesis 1. Children from divorced families will perceive their relationships with their fathers less positively than will children from intact families.
- Hypothesis 2. Children from divorced families will perceive their relationships with their mothers more positively than will children from intact families.
- Hypothesis 3. In comparison to children from intact families, children from divorced families will perceive their relationships with their fathers less positively than their relationships with their mothers.
- Hypothesis 4. In comparison to children from intact families, sons from divorced families will perceive their relationships with their parents less positively than will daughters from divorced families.

The preceding hypotheses were of principle interest in the present investigation. However, to get a fuller understanding of the effects of divorce on parent-child relationships, the impact of several mediating variables will be considered. Research suggests

these mediating variables are likely to enhance or inhibit the predicted effects and to expect the following relationships.

1) Age of Child at Time of Divorce

College students who were infants at the time of the divorce are less likely to suffer from divorce than are older children (Landis, 1960; Westman, 1972; Klatskin, 1972). Therefore, for those young adults who were infants when their parents were divorced, it would be expected that their parent-child relationships would be perceived more positively than those of young adults who were older at the time of the divorce.

Wallerstein and Kelly (1975) suggested that many young adults who were preschoolers at the time of the divorce may experience an improved relationship with their fathers after the divorce, while many may develop a less satisfying and more conflictual relationship with their mothers. Metherington, Cox, and Cox (1976) noted that the father-child relationship typically becomes a more distant one, while the mother-child relationship becomes more conflict-ridden. Based on these results, it would be expected that young adults who were preschoolers at the time of the divorce are likely to have healthier relationships with their fathers than individuals who were older at the time of the divorce and are likely to have less healthy relationships with their mothers than individuals who were older at the time of the divorce.

Wallerstein and Kelly (1976a) suggested that individuals who were 7 and 8 years old at the time of the divorce were unable to totally

reject one parent and align with the other parent. These children were often angry with their mother for driving their father out of the home and were often very afraid that she would do the same to them. Most of these children, especially the boys, felt an acute sense of loss when their father left. Therefore, these individuals should be less likely to reject their parents, more likely to be angry at their mothers, and more likely to feel a sense of loss for their fathers than individuals who were younger or older than 7 or 8 at the time of their parents' divorce.

Many 9 and 10 year olds aligned with one parent to the exclusion of the other parent (Wallerstein & Kelly, 1976b). Others became able to see their parents' needs with great sensitivity and acted in very caring ways. Many fostered a continued anger at the non-custodial parent, usually the father. Consequently, these individuals should be more likely to reject one parent, to see their parents in a realistic light, and to be angry at the father than their counterparts who were younger at the time of the divorce.

2) Condition of the Family Before the Divorce

Landis' (1960) found that children who thought their homes were happy before the divorce were much closer to their parents than were those children who thought their homes were unhappy. In addition, McDermott (1968) and Wallerstein and Kelly (1980b) report that the better the parent-child relationship before the divorce, the more likely it is that the parent-child relationship will be healthy after the divorce. These findings suggest that those individuals who felt

their homes were happy before the divorce are more likely to have healthy parent-child relationships.

3) Changes in Socioeconomic Status After the Divorce

Changes in socioeconomic status, which are usually in the direction of having less socioeconomic status, are more likely to have a detrimental effect on the mother. Consequently, changes in socioeconomic status are more likely to affect the mother-child relationship than the father-child relationship. It is expected that the greater the reduction in socioeconomic status after the divorce, the less healthy the mother-child relationship will be.

4) Adjustment of the Child Before the Divorce

Research suggests that divorce has less detrimental impact on children who were well adjusted and had good problem solving abilities before the divorce. Therefore, it is expected that the better the pre-divorce adjustment, the better the post-divorce relationships will be.

5) Quality of the Relationship Between the Spouses after the Divorce

It seems probable that the more supportive and amiable the relationship between the spouses is after the divorce, the healthier the parent-child relationship is likely to be. A mutually supportive relationship between the parents helps the child adjust to the stress of divorce, and facilitates a healthier parent-child relationship.

CHAPTER 4

METHODOLOGYSubjects

Subjects were students enrolled in the introductory psychology course at The Ohio State University in Columbus, Ohio. The experimental group consisted of 44 male and 56 female students whose parents were divorced when or before they were 10 years old. The control group consisted of 56 male and 85 female students from continuously intact families. The mean age of the participants was 19.6 years, ranging from 16 to 60 years with a standard deviation of 4.5 years. Most considered themselves middle class. For their participation, all students received credit toward the completion of the course requirements.

Instrumentation

A number of separate instruments were included in a packet received by each subject. Each of these instruments is described below.

- 1) Demographic Questionnaire All participants first filled out a cover sheet of questions containing demographic data (see Appendix A). Respondents were asked their sex, their age, their socioeconomic status, how many siblings they have, the sex of their siblings, and their birth order in the family.
- 2) Modified Life Interpersonal History Enquiry Psychological closeness between parent and child and affection between parent and child

were measured by two of the subscales of the Life Interpersonal History Enquiry (LIPHE). The LIPHE instrument assesses the individual's retrospective perception of his/her relationship with his/her parents when he/she was six years old or younger (Consulting Psychologists Press, 1980). Because the instrument was designed to assess the individual's perception of his/her relationships when he/she was six years old or younger, the author changed the wording of the items so that the instrument would assess the individual's perception of current parent-child relationships. Furthermore, some of the items were deleted because they could not be reworded in such a way that they would have been relevant to college age subjects.

The instrument measures three need areas in parent-child relationships: inclusion, control, and affection. In particular, the instrument measures the extent to which the individual feels his/her parents included him/her in their lives, the extent to which the individual feels his/her parents exerted control over his/her life, and the extent to which the individual feels his/her parents cared for him/her. Because the construct of control was not identified in the literature as an important dimension, the control subscale was not administered to subjects.

Previous research with the LIPHE instrument has reported a coefficient of internal consistency of .95 for the inclusion subscale and of .96 for the affection subscale (Schutz, 1978). The two subscales are fairly highly correlated with one another as are the scores for the mother and father scales (Schutz, 1978). Evidence for adequate concurrent validity is provided by Schutz (1977) who found

that the LIPHE scores of school administrators were predictive of administrative success.

The modified inclusion and affection subscales were administered to subjects (see Appendix B). Subjects first responded to each of the 23 Likert type items for their mothers and then responded to the same 23 items for their fathers. Each item was answered on a 6 point scale, with 1 being definitely not true and 6 being definitely true. Fourteen of the items assessed the perceived inclusion construct and 9 measured perceived affection. The scores of the items on each subscale were summed to yield a total score.

Therefore, each subject received an inclusion subscale score for both his/her mother (MLIPHEI) and father (FLIPHEI), potentially ranging from 14 to 84; an affection subscale score for his/her mother (MLIPHEA) and father (FLIPHEA), potentially ranging from 9 to 54; and a total score for both parents (MLIPHET, FLIPHET) consisting of the sum of the inclusion and affection subscale scores, and potentially ranging from 23 to 138. These scores were used as dependent variables in the data analysis.

3) Parent Evaluation Scale The Parent Evaluation Scale (PES) was designed to assess the ideological similarity between college age subjects and their parents (Cooper, 1966). The scale consists of 26 true-false items which are answered first for the mother and then for the father.

The PES consists of 6 subscales, each of which is designed to measure a different construct. These are acceptance, attitude toward sexuality, responsibility, consistency, warmth, and outlook on life.

The warmth subscale (see Appendix C) was administered to assess the dependent variable of affection between parent and child. The other subscales measured variables not cited as important to the current problem in the literature. The warmth subscale appears to have good internal consistency, as item-total correlations range from .66 to .88 (Cooper, 1966).

The warmth subscale of the PES has 5 items relating to the mother and 9 items relating to the father. Four of the 5 items relating to the mother (MPES) measure a positive affective dimension of warmth between mother and child and 1 measures a negative affective dimension of warmth. Five of the 9 items on the PES for the father (FPES) measured positive affective dimensions of warmth and 4 measured negative affective dimensions of warmth.

Based on Cooper's scoring guidelines, subjects received a 1 for any true response to an item and a 2 for a false response. The total score for the MPES was computed as the sum of the positive affective items minus the negative affective item. Thus, scores could range from 2 to 7 on this subscale. The total score for the FPES was computed as the sum of the 5 positive affective items minus the sum of the 4 negative affective items. Thus, scores could range from -3 to 6 on this subscale. These scores were used as dependent variables in the data analysis.

4) Parent-Child Relationship Survey Subjects then responded to a series of investigator designed questions assessing their perception of their current relationships with their parents. The experimenter wrote these because there are few adequate and thorough written

instruments designed to assess children's perceptions of their relationship with their parents. Those which do exist have been used only with younger children or only to measure the nature of relationships in the past. Furthermore, those that are available (LIPHE and PES) measure only a very few constructs identified in the literature as important variables.

The present investigator created a set of 24 items designed to assess the dimensions of psychological closeness between parent and child, the trust the child has for the parents, the clarity with which the child understands the role the parent plays in his/her life, the accuracy of the child's perception of his parents, the anger the child feels toward his parents, communication between parent and child, the child's respect for the parents, and the influencability of the parents with their child. In order to tap each of these 9 dimensions, the present investigator wrote 2 to 3 items to address each. Each of the 24 items was included in the Parent-Child Relationship Survey (PCRS) because of its apparent face validity with the construct it was designed to assess (see Appendix D).

Using a 7 point Likert type scale, subjects responded to the 24 items, first responding to describe their relationship with their fathers and then to describe their relationship with their mothers.

Because this is a newly developed instrument, there is currently no reliability or validity data available. Prior to the use of the subjects' responses to the items to test the previously stated hypotheses, the responses to the 24 items were factor analyzed in an attempt to assess and define more empirically the underlying

constructs which they measure. The results of this factor analysis were then used to generate composite scores based on the sum of those items which loaded highly on each factor. These composite scores served as dependent variables in the data analysis.

5) Experience of Divorce Questionnaire The experimental group completed a series of questions (see Appendix E) which gathered data on those variables which appear to mediate the effects of divorce on parent-child relationships.² Information on the student's age at the time of the divorce, the condition of the home before the divorce, the quality of the father-child and mother-child relationships before the divorce, the amount of contact the parents currently have, the quality of the relationship between the spouses after the divorce, whether the parents have remarried or not, which parent was the custodial parent, changes in socioeconomic status after the divorce, and the predivorce and postdivorce adjustment of the student will be collected.

Based on this information, scores for the mediating variables were calculated in the following way. Age at time of divorce was assessed by a single item (item 1) asking the subject to record his/her age at the time of divorce in the following categories: 1 to 2 years, 3 to 6 years, 7 to 8 years, and 9 to 10 years. The condition of the home before the divorce was measured with a single question (item 2) asking subjects to rate how happy their home was before the

²As with the other instruments, any subject who had only 1 parent alive was deleted from this aspect of the data analysis.

divorce. In a similar manner, the quality of the predivorce father-child and mother-child relationships was assessed by single items (item 6 and item 7) asking subjects to rate the quality of these pre-divorce relationships.

Change in socioeconomic status after the divorce was computed as the difference between item 18 measuring the amount of perceived financial burden on the family after the divorce and item 19 measuring perceived changes in standard of living after the divorce.

Based on the a priori assumption that the frequency of critical remarks made by the ex-spouses about each other reflects the quality of their relationship, the quality of the ex-spouse relationship immediately after the divorce was computed as the sum of item 12 measuring how often the mother made critical remarks about the father and item 13 measuring how often the father made critical remarks about the mother. Based on the same assumption, the quality of the current relationship between the spouses was measured as the score of item 17 measuring the perceived quality of the current ex-spouse relationship minus the sum of items 14 and 15, measuring the degree to which the subject perceives his/her parents as making critical remarks about each other. Finally, the amount of contact between the ex-spouses was measured by item 16 asking the subjects to rate the amount of contact between their parents on a scale ranging from almost no contact to more than once a week.

Based on the assumption that happiness, ability to get along with others, and adjustment reflect positive indicators of adjustment and that anxiety reflects a negative indicator, the adjustment of each

subject was scored as the sum of the individual's ratings on items measuring perceived happiness (items 20 and 24), ability to get along with others (items 21 and 25), and adjustment (items 22 and 26) minus a measure of subjective anxiety (items 23 and 27). These measures were asked about at a year before the divorce and a year after the divorce.

6) Family Life Questionnaire The control group from intact homes answered a series of questions assessing the possible influence of intervening variables in the perceived quality of their parent-child relationships (see Appendix F). These questions assessed how well their parents get along and the quality of their family life.

An an a priori basis a composite score for quality of family life in intact homes was computed as the sum of items 1 and 2 measuring perceived quality of family life and perceived quality of the parental relationship minus the sum of items 3 and 4 measuring how often the subjects perceive their parents as being critical of each other.

7) Open-ended Questions Subjects from the divorced group were asked a series of open-ended questions to explore the qualitative impressions they have of their relationships with their parents (see Appendix G). They were asked to give their impressions concerning how much time they expect to spend with each parent during vacations from school, how satisfied they are with their relationships with their parents, their own description of their relationship with each parent, their expectations about the future nature of their relationships with their parents, and the degree to which they felt they were the cause of the divorce.

Procedure

Subjects were tested in groups of 10 to 50 in a university classroom and were given ample room for privacy. After participants were given the series of self-report instruments taking about 90 minutes to complete,³ they were directed as follows:

We are studying the quality of the relationships college students have with their parents. Please complete the questionnaires as completely and honestly as you can. There are two sets of questionnaires, one concerning your relationship with your mother, that you are to complete. There are also a set of questions about yourself that we are asking you to answer. We do not need to know your names and the confidentiality of your answers is assured by the use of the identification number on the top of each of your forms.

After the subjects were given time to complete the questionnaires, they were debriefed as follows:

Thank you very much for your participation. We are investigating the long term effects of divorce on parent-child relationships. We are analyzing how parent-child relationships differ for college students from divorced families and students from intact families. We are not studying how an individual feels for his father as compared to his mother, nor are we using any individual's answers to make judgments about the quality of his/her parent-child relationships. We are studying only how the average student from a divorced home differs from the average student from an intact home in terms of their parent-child relationships. Once again, the confidentiality of your responses is assured.

³Subjects completed 2 sets of questionnaires; one set for use in the current investigation and the other set for use by a researcher in another investigation. These additional questionnaires included the Bem Sex Role Inventory and the Personality Attributes Questionnaire.

Data Analysis

To avoid the increased experiment-wise Type I error rate associated with conducting many univariate analyses of variance, a multivariate analysis of variance was computed to test for hypothesized effects on a linear combination of the dependent measures.

Following the computation of the multivariate analysis of variance, univariate analyses of variance were conducted to assess the precise effects on each individual construct. Three of the 4 hypotheses were tested with a 2 factor between subjects analysis of variance. The factors were sex of subject and marital status of the family. The remaining hypothesis was tested with a 2 factor between subjects and a 1 factor within subjects analysis of variance. The between subjects factors were sex of subject and marital status of the family. The within subjects factor was sex of parent. The dependent measures used to test the hypotheses were the subjects' scores on the inclusion, affection, and total scales of the Life Interpersonal History Enquiry, the parental warmth subscale of the Parent Evaluation Scale, and the composite scores and total scores from the Parent-Child Relationship Survey, which were derived from the results of the factor analysis.

To analyze the impact of the mediating variables, a simultaneous multiple regression was computed on each dependent measure with the mediating variables as predictors. This analysis served to demonstrate whether each of the mediating variables contributed a significant portion of the variance on each of the dependent variables.

CHAPTER 5

RESULTS

The results of this study will be presented in 3 sections. The first section describes the results of the factor analysis of the Parent-Child Relationship Survey. Second, the results of the tests of the major hypotheses will be presented. Finally, the results of the analyses designed to assess the impact of the mediating variables will be presented.

Factor Analysis of the Parent-Child Relationship Survey

Because the literature has suggested that the mother-child and father-child relationships are likely to differ significantly in quality, the 24 items measuring the perceived father-child relationship and the 24 items measuring the perceived mother-child relationship on the Parent-Child Relationship Survey were separately analyzed. A principle axis extraction method with squared multiple correlations as communality estimates was used.

Father Scale

Table 1 shows the results of the factor analysis of the 24 items measuring the perceived father-child relationship. Eigenvalues for the first ten factors were 12.96, 1.035, .672, .514, .365, .276, .241, .207, .148, and .070. A scree test and a parallel analysis test suggested that 4 factors be retained, these accounting for 97.5% of the variance. A promax oblique rotation was performed on these four factors.

Items were assigned to factors if their loading on the rotated factor was equal to or greater than .4. The four factors developed in this way were easily interpretable. The 9 items assigned to Factor 1 were: 1) trust, 2) lack of resentment, 3) caring, 4) missing of father when away, 5) respect, 6) value father's opinion, 7) admiration, 8) desire to be like father, 9) satisfaction with father's life style as one's own. This factor seems to measure a Positive Affective dimension. Factor 2 was composed of the following 5 items which met the criterion: 1) time spent with father, 2) maintained a steady relationship, 3) closeness, 4) clarity of parental role, 5) child's understanding of father. This factor appears to measure a Father Involvement dimension. Seven items were assigned to Factor 3: 1) ease of talking about a problem, 2) confidence of help being given when needed, 3) ease of talking about a romantic problem, 4) communication, 5) father's understanding of child, 6) how well father listens, 7) ease of talking about school problem. This factor clearly assesses a Communication dimension. Factor 4 was composed of only 1 item measuring lack of anger toward the father, but an item measuring lack of resentment toward the father almost met the assignment criterion. Thus, this factor seems to tap an Anger dimension.

Composite scores were obtained for each of the four factors by summing the scores for all the items meeting criterion on that factor. These composite scores were chosen for use in the data analysis because they are simpler to use computationally than exact factor scores and because composite scores only include items with

Table 1

Factor Loadings for the 24 Items on the Father
Scale of the Parent-Child Relationship Survey

Item**	Factor			
	Positive Affective	Father Involvement	Communication	Anger
1) Time spent with father	.154	.667*	-.071	-.076
2) Maintenance of a steady relationship	.318	.552*	-.084	.018
3) Trust	.799*	.035	-.155	-.151
4) Ease of talking about problem	.162	-.307	-.818	.078
5) Confidence of help being given when needed	.389	-.093	-.692	-.149
6) Closeness	.289	.445*	-.245	.044
7) Ease of talking about romantic problem	-.089	.337	-.455*	.120
8) Ease of talking about school problem	.211	.099	-.628*	-.105
9) Clarity of father's role	-.217	.736*	.127	-.045
10) Child's understanding of father	.312	.584*	.118	-.014
11) Ease of accepting weakness in father	.310	.191	.062	.197
12) Perception of father as having life of his own	-.042	.012	.255	.250
13) Lack of anger	.004	.000	-.021	.604*

Table 1 (Continued)

Item**	Factor			
	Positive Affective	Father Involvement	Communication	Anger
14) Lack of resentment	.509*	-.168	-.092	.377
15) Communication	.072	.375	-.406*	.134
16) Father's understanding of child	.072	.472*	-.517*	.048
17) How well father listens	-.050	.244	-.765*	-.036
18) Caring	.829*	-.285	-.192	.042
19) Miss father when away	.583*	.228	-.053	-.110
20) Respect	1.004*	-.190	-.095	-.020
21) Value father's opinion	.833*	.080	-.078	-.100
22) Admiration	.929*	.008	.047	.067
23) Desire to be like father	.628*	.381	.182	.084
24) Satisfaction with father's life style as own	.432*	.372	.066	.043

*Items meeting criteria for inclusion on subscale.

**See Appendix D for exact wording of items.

high loadings on the factor and thus do not include items with spurious relationships to the factor. Therefore, composite scores provide a conceptually purer measure of the factor (Rummel, 1970). Correlations between these composite scores and the corresponding exact factor scores, computed as the linear weighted sum of all 24 items on the factor, were calculated. Table 2 reveals that the composite scores and the corresponding exact factor scores are measuring virtually the same constructs and justifies the use of the composite scores. To measure the extent of the association among the composite scores, intercorrelations among these composite scores were computed. Table 3 shows that the Positive Affective subscale, the Father Involvement subscale, and the Communication subscale are all significantly positively correlated with one another, while the Anger subscale is not significantly correlated with any of the other subscales. Thus, the three subscales measuring positive dimensions are all significantly intercorrelated, but the Anger subscale seems to assess an unrelated dimension.

Measures of internal consistency for the Positive Affective subscale, the Father Involvement subscale, and the Communication subscale revealed coefficient alpha's of .93, .94, and .89, respectively. The subscales seem to measure their respective constructs quite consistently.

A total score for the father scale was computed as the sum of the means of each of the four composite scores for each factor. This total score as well as the scores for each subscale were used in the subsequent analysis.

Table 2

Simple Correlations Among Composite Scores and
Factor Scores on the Father Scale of the
Parent-Child Relationship Survey

Factor Scores	Composite Scores			
	Positive Affective	Father Involvement	Communication	Anger
Factor 1: Positive Affective	.991*			
Factor 2: Father Involvement		.956*		
Factor 3: Communication			.989*	
Factor 4: Anger				.869*

*p < .0001

Table 3

Simple Correlations Among the Subscales on the
Father Scale of the Parent-Child Relationship Survey

Subscale	Composite Scores			
	Positive Affective	Father Involvement	Communication	Anger
Positive Affective		.802*	.817*	.010
Father Involvement			.854*	.001
Communication				.013
Anger				

*p < .0001

Mother Scale

Table 4 shows the results of the factor analysis of the 24 items measuring the perceived mother-child relationship. Eigenvalues for the first ten factors were 11.180, 1.097, .917, .666, .462, .428, .345, .248, .195, and .133. A scree test and a parallel analysis test suggested that 4 factors be retained, these accounting for 95% of the variance. A promax oblique rotation was performed on these four factors.

Items were assigned to factors if their loading on the factor was equal to or greater than .4. The 4 factors which resulted were difficult to interpret. The following 14 items met the assignment criterion and were assigned to Factor 1: 1) time spent with mother, 2) maintained a steady relationship, 3) trust, 4) closeness, 5) child's understanding of mother, 6) communication, 7) mother's understanding of child, 8) how well mother listens, 9) caring, 10) miss mother when away, 11) respect, 12) value mother's opinion, 13) admiration, 14) desire to be like mother. This factor appears to measure a Positive Affective dimension. The following 2 items met criterion and were assigned to Factor 2: 1) lack of resentment, 2) lack of role confusion. This factor seems to measure a Resentment/Role confusion dimension. The factor loadings for the following 2 items met the criterion and were assigned to Factor 3: 1) desire to be like mother, 2) satisfied with mother's life style as one's own. Thus, this factor seems to assess an Identification dimension. Factor 4 appears to tap a Communication dimension and consists of exactly the same 7 items which comprise the Communication subscale for the

Table 4

Factor Loadings for the 24 Items on the Mother Scale of
the Parent-Child Relationship Survey

Item**	Factor			
	Positive Affective	Resentment/ Role Confusion	Identifi- cation	Communi- cation
1) Time spent with mother	.950*	-.131	.005	-.129
2) Maintenance of a steady relation- ship	.771*	.084	.007	.032
3) Trust	.499*	.204	-.017	.300
4) Ease of talking about problem	-.126	.062	.110	.875*
5) Confidence of help being given when needed	.190	.025	-.151	.731*
6) Closeness	.677*	.041	-.050	.250
7) Ease of talking about romantic problem	.293*	-.245	.038	.529*
8) Ease of talking about school problem	.055	.180	-.022	.533*
9) Clarity of mother's role	.054	.469*	.123	-.155
10) Understanding of mother	.586*	.121	.129	-.081
11) Ease of accepting weakness in mother	.072	.313	.188	.133
12) Perception of mother as having life of her own	.007	.184	.290	-.133

Table 4 (Continued)

Item**	Factor			
	Positive Affective	Resentment/ Role Confusion	Identifi- cation	Communi- cation
13) Lack of anger	-.347	.356	.451*	.270
14) Lack of resentment	-.134	.706*	.117	.099
15) Communication	.494*	-.022	-.042	.425*
16) Mother's understanding of child	.410*	-.215	.123	.544*
17) How well mother listens	.492*	-.066	-.032	.410*
18) Caring	.464*	.277	-.190	.233
19) Miss mother when away	.695*	-.288	-.144	.217
20) Respect	.682*	.387	-.025	-.096
21) Value mother's opinion	.539*	.161	.035	.274
22) Admiration	.715*	.287	.096	-.046
23) Desire to be like mother	.635*	-.050	.430*	-.035
24) Satisfaction with mother's life style as own	.377	-.048	.566*	.036

*Items meeting criteria for inclusion on subscale.

**See Appendix D for exact wording of items.

father scale. These are 1) ease of talking about a problem, 2) confidence of help being given when needed, 3) ease of talking about a romantic problem, 4) communication, 5) mother's understanding of child, 6) how well mother listens, 7) ease of talking about a school problem.

Composite scores were obtained for each of the four factors by summing the scores for all the items meeting criterion on that factor. These composite scores were used for the same reasons that applied to the use of composite scores for the father scale. To justify using these composite scores in the data analysis, correlations between these composite scores and the corresponding exact factor scores, computed as the linear weighted sum of all 24 items on that factor, were calculated. Table 5 reveals that the composite scores and the corresponding exact factor scores are measuring virtually the same constructs and justifies the use of the composite scores. To measure the extent of the association among the composite scores, intercorrelations among these composite scores were computed. Table 6 shows that all four composite scores are significantly positively correlated with one another.

Measures of internal consistency for the Positive Affective subscale, the Resentment/Role confusion subscale, the Identification subscale, and the Communication subscale revealed coefficient alpha's of .94, .61, .84, and .88, respectively. The subscales appear to measure their respective constructs consistently.

A total score for the Mother scale was computed as the sum of the means of each of the four composite scores for each factor.

Table 5

Simple Correlations Among Composite Scores and Factor Scores on the Mother Scale of the Parent-Child Relationship Survey

Factor Scores	Composite Scores			
	Positive Affective	Resentment/Role Confusion	Identification	Communication
Factor 1: Positive Affective	.994*			
Factor 2: Resentment/Role Confusion		.807*		
Factor 3: Identification			.824*	
Factor 4: Communication				.974*

*p < .0001

Table 6

Simple Correlations Among the Subscales on the Mother Scale of the Parent-Child Relationship Survey

Subscale	Composite Scores			
	Positive Affective	Resentment/Role Confusion	Identification	Communication
Positive Affective		.300**	.692**	.885**
Resentment/Role Confusion			.168*	.135*
Identification				.565**
Communication				

*p < .05
**p < .0001

This total score as well as the scores for each subscale were used in the subsequent analysis.

Tests of the Major Hypotheses

Although the dependent measures assess different constructs, the literature has suggested that these constructs are interrelated. Consequently, to control for an increased experiment-wise Type I error rate, a 2 factor between subjects multivariate analysis of variance was computed to test the hypotheses on a linear combination of the dependent measures. The two factors were marital status of the family and sex of subject. Because the computations on the computer necessary to compute a multivariate analysis of variance involving a repeated measures factor are exceedingly difficult, the hypothesis (Hypothesis 3) involving the sex of parent factor was not tested.

The hypotheses were further tested by univariate analyses of variance to be described below. These analyses were performed for the following reasons: 1) The dependent measures assess different constructs and, hence, univariate analyses were required to more precisely test the hypotheses for each construct. 2) Because of the aforementioned difficulty in using a multivariate analysis of variance to test for an effect involving a repeated measures factor, univariate analyses were needed to test for sex of parent effects.

Hypothesis 1. Subjects from divorced families will perceive their relationships with their fathers less positively than will subjects from intact families.

The dependent measures used in the multivariate analysis of variance were the father scales of the inclusion and affection subscales of the Life Interpersonal History Enquiry, the father scale of the warmth subscale of the Parent Evaluation Scales, and the father scale of the Parent-Child Relationship Survey. As Table 7 reveals, a significant main effect for marital status of the family was found on a linear combination of these instruments measuring the perceived father-child relationship (Wilk's criterion = .851, $F = 8.69$, $df = 4,199$, $p < .0001$).

To analyze which instruments contributed to this effect for marital status of the family, univariate analyses of variance were performed. The dependent measures used to test the hypothesis were the father scales of the inclusion, affection, and total subscales of the Life Interpersonal History Enquiry, the father scale of the parental warmth subscale of the Parent Evaluation Scales, the father scale of the Parent-Child Relationship Survey, and the Communication, Father Involvement, Positive Affective, and Anger subscales of the father scale of the Parent-Child Relationship Survey. Separate 2 factor between subjects analyses of variance were performed on each of the dependent measures. The 2 factors were sex of subject and marital status of the family.

Table 8 presents the means and standard deviations for subjects from divorced homes and for subjects from intact homes. Tables 9 - 17 present the results of the analyses of variance. As the tables reveal, with the exception of the Anger subscale of the Parent-Child Relationship Survey, significant or borderline significant effects

Table 7

Summary of Multivariate Analysis of Variance for Those
Instruments Measuring Perceived Father-Child Relationship

Source of Variance	Wilk's Criterion	F	df	p
Sex of Subject	.965	1.78	4,199	.1349
Marital Status of Family	.851	8.69	4,199	.0001
Sex of Subject X Marital Status of Family	.991	.43	4,199	.7872

Table 8

Means and Standard Deviations for Dependent Measures
Assessing Perceived Father-Child Relationship
by Marital Status of Family

Marital Status of Family	Divorced		Intact	
	Means	Standard Deviations	Means	Standard Deviations
<u>Dependent Instrument</u>				
Total Score of Life Inter- personal History Enquiry*	76.9	36.5	69.2	27.5
Inclusion Subscale of Life Interpersonal History Enquiry*	47.3	22.4	42.8	16.9
Affection Subscale of Life Interpersonal History Enquiry*	30.5	14.2	26.8	11.3
Warmth Subscale of Parent Evaluation Scales*	1.1	2.6	-.81	2.1
Parent-Child Relationship Survey Total Score**	15.1	7.3	19.3	5.5
Anger Subscale**	4.9	1.7	4.8	1.4
Communication Subscale**	3.8	1.9	5.0	1.3
Father Involvement**	3.0	1.9	4.3	1.4
Positive Affective**	4.0	1.7	5.5	1.2

*Higher scores indicate less positive perceptions.

**Higher scores indicate more positive perceptions.

Table 9

Summary of ANOVA for Father Scale of Total Score
of Life Interpersonal History Enquiry (LIPHE)

Source of Variance	df	SS	MS	F	p
Sex of Subject	1	13.0	13.0	.01	.91
Marital Status of Family	1	3323.3	3323.3	3.29	.07
Sex of Subject X Marital Status of Family	1	1016.3	1016.3	1.01	.32
Error	227	229450.8	1010.8		

Table 10

Summary of ANOVA for Father Scale of Inclusion Subscale
of Life Interpersonal History Enquiry (LIPHE)

Source of Variance	df	SS	MS	F	p
Sex of Subject	1	157.9	157.9	.42	.52
Marital Status of Family	1	1100.2	1100.2	2.90	.09
Sex of Subject X Marital Status of Family	1	274.9	274.2	.73	.40
Error	227	86021	378.9		

Table 11

Summary of ANOVA for Father Scale of Affection Subscale
of Life Interpersonal History Enquiry (LIPHE)

Source of Variance	df	SS	MS	F	p
Sex of Subject	1	26.9	26.9	.17	.68
Marital Status of Family	1	791.7	791.7	4.90	.03
Sex of Subject X Marital Status of Family	1	31.2	31.2	.19	.66
Error	222	35847.6	161.5		

Table 12

Summary of ANOVA for Father Scale of Warmth Subscale
of Parent Evaluation Scales (PES)

Source of Variance	df	SS	MS	F	p
Sex of Subject	1	.49	.49	.09	.76
Marital Status of Family	1	189.2	189.2	34.63	.0001
Sex of Subject X Marital Status of Family	1	1.8	1.8	.32	.57
Error	208	1136.5	5.5		

Table 13

Summary of ANOVA for Father Scale of Parent-Child
Relationship Survey (PCRS)

Source of Variance	df	SS	MS	F	p
Sex of Subject	1	.00	.00	0.00	.99
Marital Status of Family	1	1020.2	1020.2	34.0	.0001
Sex of Subject X Marital Status of Family	1	11.3	11.3	.38	.54
Error	229	6874.9	30.02		

Table 14

Summary of ANOVA for Anger Subscale of Father Scale of
Parent-Child Relationship Survey (PCRS)

Source of Variance	df	SS	MS	F	p
Sex of Subject	1	5.4	5.4	1.75	.19
Marital Status of Family	1	.72	.72	.23	.63
Sex of Subject X Marital Status of Family	1	1.4	1.4	.47	.50
Error	229	704.6	3.1		

Table 15

Summary of ANOVA for Communication Subscale of Father
Scale of Parent-Child Relationship Survey (PCRS)

Source of Variance	df	SS	MS	F	p
Sex of Subject	1	.6	.6	.22	.64
Marital Status of Family	1	77.7	77.7	28.69	.0001
Sex of Subject x Marital Status of Family	1	1.6	1.6	.58	.45
Error	222	600.95	2.7		

Table 16

Summary of ANOVA for Father Involvement Subscale of
Father Scale of Parent-Child Relationship Survey (PCRS)

Source of Variance	df	SS	MS	F	p
Sex of Subject	1	.2	.2	.08	.78
Marital Status of Family	1	91.9	91.9	36.85	.0001
Sex of Subject X Marital Status of Family	1	1.5	1.5	.60	.44
Error	226	563.1	2.5		

Table 17

Summary of ANOVA for Positive Affective Subscale of
Father Scale of Parent-Child Relationship Survey (PCRS)

Source of Variance	df	SS	MS	F	p
Sex of Subject	1	.53	.53	.23	.63
Marital Status of Family	1	131.8	131.8	57.71	.0001
Sex of Subject X Marital Status of Family	1	4.0	4.0	1.75	.19
Error	222	507.2	2.3		

Table 18

Summary of Multivariate Analysis of Variance for Those
Instruments Measuring Perceived Mother-Child Relationship

Source of Variance	Wilk's Criterion	F	df	p
Sex of Subject	.970	1.63	4,217	.17
Marital Status of Family	.915	5.04	4,217	.001
Sex of Subject X Marital Status of Family	.936	3.68	4,217	.01

for marital status of the family were found on every dependent instrument, with the exception of the Anger subscale of the Parent-Child Relationship Survey (father scale of the total LIPHE score: $F = 3.29$, $df = 1,227$, $p < .07$; father scale of the inclusion subscale of LIPHE: $F = 2.90$, $df = 1,227$, $p < .09$; father scale of the affection subscale of LIPHE: $F = 4.90$, $df = 1,222$, $p < .03$; father scale of the warmth subscale of the PES: $F = 34.63$, $df = 1,211$, $p < .0001$; father scale of the Parent-Child Relationship Survey: $F = 33.98$, $df = 1,229$, $p < .0001$; Communication subscale of the PCRS: $F = 28.69$, $df = 1,222$, $p < .0001$; Father Involvement subscale of the PCRS: $F = 36.85$, $df = 1,226$, $p < .0001$; Positive Affective subscale of the PCRS: $F = 57.71$, $df = 1,222$, $p < .0001$).

Therefore, the hypothesis was strongly supported.

Hypothesis 2. Subjects from divorced families will perceive their relationships with their mothers more positively than will subjects from intact families.

The dependent measures used in the multivariate analysis of variance were the mother scales of the inclusion and affection subscales of the Life Interpersonal History Enquiry, the mother scale of the warmth subscale of the Parent Evaluation Scales, and the mother scale of the Parent-Child Relationship Survey. As Table 18 reveals, a significant main effect for marital status of the family was found on a linear combination of these instruments measuring the perceived mother-child relationships (Wilk's criterion = .915, $F = 5.04$, $df = 4,217$, $p < .001$). However, the significant difference was in a direction opposite to that predicted by the hypothesis. A significant

interaction between sex of subject and marital status of the family was also found (Wilk's criterion = .936, $F = 3.68$, $df = 4,217$, $p < .01$).

To analyze which instruments contributed to this effect for marital status of the family, univariate analyses of variance were performed. The dependent measures used to test the hypotheses were the mother scales of the inclusion, affection, and total subscales of the Life Interpersonal History Enquiry, the mother scale of the warmth subscale of the Parent Evaluation Scales, the mother scale of the Parent-Child Relationship Survey, and the Communication, Positive Affective, Identification, and Resent/Role confusion subscales of the mother scale of the Parent-Child Relationship Survey. Separate 2 factor between subjects analyses of variance were performed on each of the dependent measures. The 2 factors were sex of subject and marital status of the family.

Table 19 presents the means and standard deviations for subjects from divorced homes and for subjects from intact homes. Tables 20 - 28 present the results of the analyses of variance. As the tables reveal, the results show significant differences in a direction opposite to that predicted by the hypothesis on a majority of the dependent measures; that is, mother-child relationships were perceived less positively by subjects from divorced families than by subjects from intact families. Significant effects for marital status of the family were found on the mother scale of the total LIPHE score ($F = 7.55$, $df = 1,227$, $p < .01$), the mother scale of the inclusion subscale of LIPHE ($F = 6.84$, $df = 1,227$, $p < .01$), the mother scale

Table 19

Means and Standard Deviations for Dependent Measures
Assessing Perceived Mother-Child Relationship
by Marital Status of Family

Dependent Instrument	Marital Status of Family			
	Divorced		Intact	
	Means	Standard Deviations	Means	Standard Deviations
Total Score of Life Interpersonal History Enquiry*	71.3	24.8	62.5	23.1
Inclusion Subscale of Life Interpersonal History Enquiry*	44.3	14.6	39.3	13.7
Affection Subscale of Life Interpersonal History Enquiry*	27.0	11.2	23.2	9.9
Warmth Subscale of Parent Evaluation Scales*	3.6	2.1	2.8	1.2
Parent-Child Relationship Survey**	17.0	5.5	18.0	5.3
Communication Subscale**	4.5	1.3	4.9	.95
Positive Affective**	5.0	1.4	5.6	1.2
Resentment/Role Confusion**	4.8	1.3	5.1	1.5
Identification**	3.7	1.4	4.0	1.7

*Higher scores indicate less positive perceptions.

**Higher scores indicate more positive perceptions.

Table 20

Summary of Analysis of Variance for Mother Scale of Total
Score of Life Interpersonal History Enquiry (LIPHE)

Source of Variance	df	SS	MS	F	p
Sex of Subject	1	751.2	751.2	1.29	.26
Marital Status of Family	1	4391.7	4391.7	7.55	.01
Sex of Subject X Marital Status of Family	1	844.5	844.5	1.45	.23
Error	227	137966.2	581.4		

Table 21

Summary of ANOVA for Mother Scale of Inclusion Subscale of
Life Interpersonal History Enquiry (LIPHE)

Source of Variance	df	SS	MS	F	p
Sex of Subject	1	287.0	287.0	1.42	.24
Marital Status of Subject	1	1383.9	1383.9	6.84	.01
Sex of Subject X Marital Status of Family	1	522.8	522.8	2.58	.11
Error	227	48144.8	202.4		

Table 22

Summary of ANOVA for Mother Scale of Affection Subscale of
Life Interpersonal History Enquiry (LIPHE)

Source of Variance	df	SS	MS	F	p
Sex of Subject	1	109.6	109.6	.96	.33
Marital Status of Family	1	845.0	845.0	7.40	.01
Sex of Subject X Marital Status of Family	1	53.5	53.5	.47	.50
Error	227	25914.9	114.2		

Table 23

Summary of ANOVA for Mother Scale of Warmth Subscale
of Parent Evaluation Scales (PES)

Source of Variance	df	SS	MS	F	p
Sex of Subject	1	3.6	3.6	1.61	.21
Marital Status of Family	1	39.0	39.0	17.44	.0001
Sex of Subject X Marital Status of Family	1	5.3	5.3	2.36	.13
Error	226	505.5	2.2		

Table 24

Summary of ANOVA for Mother Scale of Parent-Child
Relationship Survey (PCRS)

Source of Variance	df	SS	MS	F	p
Sex of Subject	1	159.9	159.9	5.45	.02
Marital Status of Family	1	48.9	48.9	1.67	.20
Sex of Subject X Marital Status of Family	1	43.5	43.5	1.48	.22
Error	223	6537.2	29.3		

Table 25

Summary of ANOVA for Communication Subscale of Mother
Scale of Parent-Child Relationship Survey (PCRS)

Source of Variance	df	SS	MS	F	p
Sex of Subject	1	6.9	6.9	5.52	.02
Marital Status of Family	1	10.5	10.5	8.43	.01
Sex of Subject X Marital Status of Family	1	0.0	0.0	0.00	1.00
Error	217	271.5	1.25		

Table 26

Summary of ANOVA for Positive Affective Subscale of Mother
Scale of Parent-Child Relationship Survey (PCRS)

Source of Variance	df	SS	MS	F	p
Sex of Subject	1	8.9	8.9	6.19	.01
Marital Status of Family	1	16.6	16.6	11.45	.001
Sex of Subject X Marital Status of Family	1	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.0
Error	203	292.8	1.4		

Table 27

Summary of ANOVA for Resentment/Role Confusion Subscale of
Mother Scale of Parent-Child Relationship Survey (PCRS)

Source of Variance	df	SS	MS	F	p
Sex of Subject	1	5.8	5.8	1.7	.20
Marital Status of Family	1	3.0	3.0	.88	.35
Sex of Subject X Marital Status of Family	1	14.9	14.9	4.36	.04
Error	220	774.6	3.4		

Table 28

Summary of ANOVA for Identification Subscale of Mother
Scale of Parent-Child Relationship Survey (PCRS)

Source of Variance	df	SS	MS	F	p
Sex of Subject	1	20.3	20.3	6.87	.01
Marital Status of Family	1	3.9	3.9	1.3	.25
Sex of Subject X Marital Status of Family	1	.4	.4	.12	.73
Error	184	544.0	3.0		

of the affection subscale of LIPHE ($F = 7.40$, $df = 1,227$, $p < .01$), the mother scale of the warmth subscale of the PES ($F = 17.44$, $df = 1,226$, $p < .0001$), the Communication subscale of the PCRS ($F = 8.43$, $df = 1,217$, $p < .01$), and the Positive Affective subscale of the PCRS ($F = 11.45$, $df = 1,203$, $p < .001$). Consequently, mother-child relationships were perceived less positively by subjects from divorced families than by subjects from intact families.

Hypothesis 3. In comparison to the differences in perceived father-child and mother-child relationships in intact families, subjects from divorced families will perceive their relationships with their fathers less positively than their relationships with their mothers.

The dependent measures used to test the hypothesis were the father scales and the mother scales of the inclusion, affection, and total subscales of the Life Interpersonal History Enquiry, the father and mother scales of the Parent-Child Relationship Survey, and the Communication subscales of both the father scale and the mother scale of the Parent-Child Relationship Survey.⁴ Separate 2 factor between subjects and 1 factor within subjects analyses of variance were performed on each dependent measure. The between subjects factors were sex of subject and marital status of the family. The within subjects factor was sex of parent.

The means of the dependent measures for subjects from divorced families and for subjects from intact families are presented in

⁴The Parent Evaluation Scale and the remaining subscales of the Parent-Child Relationship Survey could not be used in the analysis because they do not yield comparable scores for the mother and father.

Table 29. The results of the analyses of variance are revealed in Tables 30 - 34. The critical test of this hypothesis is the sex of parent by marital status of the family interaction. As the tables show, significant sex of parent by marital status of the family interactions were found on the Parent-Child Relationship Survey ($F = 5.59$, $df = 1,212$, $p < .05$) and the Communication subscale of the Parent-Child Relationship Survey ($F = 8.57$, $df = 1,210$, $p < .01$). As shown in Table 29, in both cases, the interaction was due to greater perceived differences between the father-child relationship and mother-child relationship for subjects from divorced families than for those from intact families.

Although a significant main effect for sex of parent was found on the subscales of the Life Interpersonal History Enquiry, there were no significant sex of parent by marital status of the family interactions on any of the subscales of this instrument. Thus, although the mother-child relationship is perceived more positively than the father-child relationship in divorced families on the subscales of this instrument, this effect is present in intact families. Therefore, the hypothesis was supported on the Parent-Child Relationship Survey and the Communication subscale of this instrument, but was not supported on the subscales of the Life Interpersonal History Enquiry.

Hypothesis 4. In comparison to the differences in perceived father-child and mother-child relationships between sons and daughters in intact families, sons from divorced families will perceive their relationships with their parents less positively than will daughters from divorced families.

Table 29

Means on Dependent Measures Comparing Perceived Father-
Child and Mother-Child Relationships

Dependent Measures	Marital Status of Family			
	Divorced		Intact	
	Mother	Father	Mother	Father
Total Score of Life Interpersonal History Enquiry*	71.3	76.9	62.5	69.2
Inclusion Subscale of Life Interpersonal History Enquiry*	44.3	47.3	39.3	42.8
Affection Subscale of Life Interpersonal History Enquiry*	27.0	30.5	23.2	26.8
Total Score of Parent-Child Relationship Survey**	17.0	15.1	18.0	19.33
Communication Subscale**	4.5	3.8	4.9	5.0

*Higher scores indicate less positive perceptions.

**Higher scores indicate more positive perceptions.

Table 30

Summary of ANOVA for Total Score of Life Interpersonal
History Enquiry (LIPHE)

Source of Variance	df	SS	MS	F	p
<u>Between</u>					
Sex of Subject	1	804.8	804.8	.69	.40
Marital Status	1	7431.9	7431.9	6.38	.01
Sex X Marital Status	1	1931.6	1931.6	1.66	.20
Error	231	269171.4	1165.2		
<u>Within</u>					
Sex of Parent	1	2690.1	3690.1	8.37	.01
Sex of Parent X Sex of Subject	1	248.2	248.2	.56	.46
Sex of Parent X Marital Status	1	163.1	163.1	.37	.54
Sex of Parent X Marital Status X Sex of Subject	1	72.7	72.7	.16	.69
Error	231	441.1	441.1		

Table 31

Summary of ANOVA for Inclusion Subscale of Life
Interpersonal History Enquiry (LIPHE)

Source of Variance	df	SS	MS	F	p
<u>Between</u>					
Sex of Subject	1	63.8	63.8	.15	.69
Marital Status	1	2180.8	2180.8	5.14	.0244
Sex X Marital Status	1	859.0	859.0	2.02	.16
Error	231	98100.4	424.7		
<u>Within</u>					
Sex of Parent	1	1152.7	1152.7	7.15	.0080
Sex of Parent X Sex of Subject	1	326.2	326.2	2.02	.16
Sex of Parent X Marital Status	1	46.1	46.1	.29	.59
Sex of Parent X Marital Status X Sex of Subject	1	0.1	0.1	0.00	.98
Error	231	37236.7	161.2		

Table 32

Summary of ANOVA for Affection Subscale of Life
Interpersonal History Enquiry (LIPHE)

Source of Variance	df	SS	MS	F	p
<u>Between</u>					
Sex of Subject	1	267.6	267.6	1.30	.25
Marital Status	1	1826.7	1826.7	8.87	.0032
Sex X Marital Status	1	80.9	80.9	.39	.53
Error	226	46531.4	205.9		
<u>Within</u>					
Sex of Parent	1	1193.1	1193.1	16.36	.0001
Sex of Parent X Sex of Subject	1	1.00	1.00	.01	.90
Sex of Parent X Marital Status	1	6.9	6.9	.09	.76
Sex of Parent X Marital Status X Sex of Subject	1	0.00	0.00	.00	.99
Error	226	16481.2	72.9		

Table 33

Summary of ANOVA for Parent-Child Relationship
Survey (PCRS)

Source of Variance	df	SS	MS	F	p
<u>Between</u>					
Sex of Subject	1	99.7	99.7	.49	.48
Marital Status	1	1557.7	1557.7	7.66	.0061
Sex X Marital Status	1	35.1	35.1	.17	.68
Error	229	46559.4	203.3		
<u>Within</u>					
Sex of Parent	1	839.9	839.9	5.06	.0254
Sex of Parent X Sex of Subject	1	48.4	48.4	.29	.59
Sex of Parent X Marital Status	1	991.9	991.9	5.97	.0153
Sex of Parent X Sex of Subject X Marital Status	1	24.2	24.2	.15	.70
Error	229	38017.0	166.0		

Table 34

Summary of ANOVA for the Communication Subscale of
the Parent-Child Relationship Survey (PCRS)

Source of Variance	df	SS	MS	F	p
<u>Between</u>					
Sex of Subject	1	.145	.145	.06	.81
Marital Status	1	67.0	67.0	27.95	.0000
Sex of Subject X Marital Status	1	.55	.55	.23	.63
Error	219	525.2	2.4		
<u>Within</u>					
Sex of Parent	1	3.6	3.6	2.31	.1302
Sex of Parent X Sex of Subject	1	7.3	7.3	4.65	.0322
Sex of Parent X Marital Status	1	13.4	13.4	8.57	.0038
Sex of Parent X Marital Status X Sex of Subject	1	.02	.02	.01	.92
Error	219	341.9	1.56		

Sex Differences in Perceived Father-Child Relationships

The dependent measures used in the multivariate analysis of variance were the inclusion and affection subscales of the father scale of the Life Interpersonal History Enquiry, the warmth subscale of the father scale of the Parent Evaluation Scale, and the father scale of the Parent-Child Relationship Survey. A 2 factor between subjects multivariate analysis of variance was performed, with sex of subject and marital status of the family as the 2 factors. The critical test of this hypothesis is the sex of subject by marital status of the family interaction.

As Table 7 reveals, the interaction between sex of subject and marital status of the family was not significant on a linear combination of those instruments measuring the perceived father-child relationship. Furthermore, no main effect for sex of subject was found.

To further test this hypothesis, univariate analyses were performed. Separate 2 between subjects factor analyses of variance were performed on each of the dependent measures. The 2 factors were sex of subject and marital status of the family. Table 35 presents the means for male and female subjects from both divorced and intact families. Tables 9 - 17 present the results of the analyses of variance. As the Tables reveal, no significant interactions between sex of subject and marital status of the family were found on any of the dependent measures assessing the perceived father-child relationship. Furthermore, no significant main effects for sex of subject were found on any of these instruments.

Table 35

Means on Dependent Measures for Male and Female Subjects
from Divorced Families and Intact Families

Dependent Instrument	Divorced		Intact	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
<u>Father-Child Relationship</u>				
Total Score of Life Interpersonal History Enquiry*	74.1	79.1	71.6	67.8
Inclusion Subscale of Life Interpersonal History Enquiry*	46.5	47.9	45.1	41.5
Affection Subscale of Life Interpersonal History Enquiry*	29.7	31.2	26.5	26.9
Warmth Subscale of Parent Evaluation Scales*	1.00	1.17	-.96	-.72
Parent-Child Relationship Survey**	15.5	14.8	19.3	19.3
--Communication Subscale**	4.0	3.7	5.0	4.9
--Anger Subscale**	5.1	4.6	4.8	4.7
--Father Involvement Subscale**	3.1	2.9	4.3	4.3
--Positive Affective**	4.2	3.8	5.5	5.5
<u>Mother-Child Relationship</u>				
Total Score of Life Interpersonal History Enquiry*	66.8	74.9	61.6	63.0
Inclusion Subscale of Life Interpersonal History Enquiry*	41.0	46.8	39.2	39.3
Affection Subscale of Life Interpersonal History Enquiry*	25.8	28.0	22.4	23.6
Warmth Subscale of Parent Evaluation Scales*	3.9	3.3	2.7	2.8
Parent-Child Relationship Survey**	16.7	17.3	16.4	18.9
--Communication Subscale**	4.3	4.6	4.7	5.0
--Positive Affective Subscale**	4.7	5.2	5.4	5.7
--Resentment/Role Confusion Subscale**	5.0	4.7	4.6	5.3
--Identification Subscale**	3.2	4.1	3.7	4.1

*Higher scores indicate less positive perceptions.

**Higher scores indicate more positive perceptions.

Sex Differences in Perceived Mother-Child Relationships

The dependent measures used in the multivariate analysis of variance were the inclusion and affection subscales of the mother scale of the Life Interpersonal History Enquiry, the warmth subscale of the mother scale of the Parent Evaluation Scale, and the mother scale of the Parent-Child Relationship Survey. A 2 factor between subjects multivariate analysis of variance was performed, with sex of subject and marital status of the family as the 2 factors. The critical test of this hypothesis is the sex of subject by marital status of the family interaction.

As shown in Table 18, a significant interaction was found between sex of subject and marital status of the family on a linear combination of these instruments measuring the perceived mother-child relationship (Wilk's criterion = .936, $F = 3.68$, $df = 4, 217$, $p < .01$), while no main effect for sex of subject was found on these instruments.

To further understand the results of the multivariate analyses of variance, univariate analyses were performed. Separate 2 factor between subjects factor analyses were conducted on each of the dependent measures assessing the perceived mother-child relationship. The 2 factors were sex of subject and marital status of the family.

Table 35 presents the means for male and female subjects from intact and divorced families. Tables 20 - 28 present the results of the analyses of variance. As shown in the tables, a significant sex of subject by marital status of the family interaction was found on the Resentment/Role confusion subscale of the mother scale of the

Parent-Child Relationship Survey ($F = 4.36$, $df = 1,220$, $p < .05$), but was not found on any of the other instruments measuring the perceived mother-child relationship. As shown in Table 35, the significant interaction on the Resentment/Role confusion subscale was due to males from divorced families having relatively more positive perceptions of relationships with their mothers than females from divorced families when compared to the base rate sex differences in intact families.

A significant main effect for sex of subject was found on the mother scale of the Parent-Child Relationship Survey and 3 of the subscales of this instrument. However, although females perceived their relationships with their mothers more positively than males from divorced families on these instruments, these differences were also found in intact families. Therefore, the hypothesis was not supported.

Mediating Variables

To assess the extent to which several mediating variables either enhanced or hindered the perceived quality of the parent-child relationship in divorced families, a simultaneous multiple regression analysis was performed. Separate simultaneous regression analyses were computed for each of the following criterion variables; the mother and father scales of the inclusion, affection, and total subscale scores for the Life Interpersonal History Enquiry, the mother and father scales of the warmth subscale of the Parent Evaluation Scales, the mother and father scales of the Parent-Child Relationship Survey, the Communication, Identification, Positive Affective, and

Resent/Role confusion subscales of the mother scale of the Parent-Child Relationship Survey, and the Communication, Positive Affective, Father Involvement, and Anger subscales of the father scale of the Parent-Child Relationship Survey. For each of the separate regression analyses, the following predictors or mediating variables (see Chapter 4 for explanation of scoring) were entered into the equation simultaneously: age at the time of divorce, perceived quality of family life before the divorce, perceived quality of the predivorce father-child relationship, perceived quality of the predivorce mother-child relationship, perceived adjustment one year before the divorce, perceived adjustment one year after the divorce, quality of the relationship between the ex-spouses immediately after the divorce, quality of the current relationship between the spouses, amount of current contact between the spouses, perceived change in socioeconomic status, and perceived socioeconomic status.

Table 36 presents the results of the simultaneous multiple regression. As the table illustrates, the mediating variables collectively accounted for between 17.0% and 53.6% of the variance on each of the dependent measures and collectively accounted for a larger portion of the variance on those instruments measuring perceived father-child relationships. In the sections below, the impact of each of the mediating variables on each dependent measure will be reported.

1) Age at the time of the divorce

Because this variable was not expected to be linearly related to the perceived quality of the parent-child relationships, a 1 factor

Table 36

Summary of Simultaneous Multiple Regression on Each Dependent Instrument

Instruments	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	All Mediating Variables Combined
Predictors^a												
Mother-Child Relationship												
Total Score of Life Interpersonal History Enquiry	*	NS	NS	*	NS	*	***	*	**	***	**	31.9%***
Inclusion Subscale of Life Interpersonal History Enquiry	*	NS	NS	**	NS	*	**	*	**	**	*	29.5%***
Affection Subscale of Life Interpersonal History Enquiry	*	NS	NS	NS	NS	*	***	*	NS	***	***	32.0%***
Warmth Subscale of Parent Evaluation Scales	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	17.0% NS
Parent-Child Relationship Survey	NS	NS	NS	**	NS	NS	NS	*	NS	NS	NS	28.9%***
--Communication Subscale	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	**	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	18.9% NS
--Resentment/Role Confusion Subscale	NS	NS	NS	NS	*	NS	NS	*	NS	NS	NS	25.4%*
--Identification Subscale	NS	NS	NS	**	NS	NS	NS	NS	*	NS	NS	30.7%*
--Positive Affective Subscale	NS	NS	NS	**	NS	NS	NS	*	NS	NS	NS	28.9%*
Father-Child Relationship												
Total Score of Life Interpersonal History Enquiry	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	***	NS	NS	28.8%***

Table 36 (Continued)

Instruments	Predictors ^a											All Mediating Variables Combined
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	
Inclusion Subscale of Interpersonal History Enquiry	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	***	NS	NS	28.2%***
Affection Subscale of Interpersonal History Enquiry	NS	NS	NS	NS	**	NS	NS	NS	***	NS	NS	36.2%***
Warmth Subscale of Parent Evaluation Scales	NS	***	***	**	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	**	53.6%***
Parent-Child Relationship Survey	NS	*	*	*	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	*	NS	23.6%NS
--Communication Subscale	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	*	39.4%***
--Anger Subscale	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	*	NS	18.9%NS
--Father Involvement Subscale	NS	*	*	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	**	37.4%***
--Positive Affective Subscale	NS	**	**	**	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	***	48.5%***

NS = Not Significant; *p < .10; **p < .05; ***p < .001

^aLegend for Predictors: 1 = Subjects Age at Time of Divorce; 2 = Quality of Predivorce Family Life; 3 = Quality of Predivorce Father-Child Relationship; 4 = Quality of Predivorce Mother-Child Relationship; 5 = Adjustment 1 Year Before Divorce; 6 = Adjustment 1 Year After Divorce; 7 = Ex-Spouse Relationship Immediately After Divorce; 8 = Current Relationship Between Spouses; 9 = Amount of Contact Between Spouses; 10 = Change in Socioeconomic Status; 11 = Perceived Socioeconomic Status.

between subjects multivariate analysis of variance was computed to test the hypothesis that any one age group differed from any other age group on a linear combination of the dependent measures. The dependent measures used in the analysis were the mother and father scales of the inclusion and affection subscales of the Life Interpersonal History Enquiry, the father and mother scales of the warmth subscale of the Parent Evaluation Scales, and the mother and father scales of the Parent-Child Relationship Survey. The results of the test indicated that there were no significant differences between those groups of subjects who were 0 to 2 years at the time of the divorce, those who were 3 to 6, those who were 7 to 8, and those who were 9 to 10 years old at the time of the divorce. Furthermore, separate 1 factor between subjects univariate analyses of variance on the same dependent measures revealed no differences between groups on any of the dependent measures.

The predictor variable of age at the time of divorce was included in the simultaneous multiple regression analysis to test for the possibility of a linear relationship between age at time of the divorce and the dependent measures. As Table 36 reveals, this variable accounted for a significant portion of the variance on only the mother scales of the Life Interpersonal History Enquiry instruments. Consequently, age at the time of the divorce does not seem to be a major factor influencing the quality of the perceived parent-child relationship.

2) Condition of the family before the divorce

There were 3 separate measures of the condition of the family before the divorce (see Chapter 4). These were the measures of the quality of family life before the divorce, the quality of the pre-divorce father-child relationship, and the quality of the predivorce mother-child relationship. Each of these variables will be considered separately.

Quality of Family Life Before the Divorce

As Table 36 shows, the simultaneous multiple regression analysis revealed that the measure of the quality of the predivorce family life tended to be ($p < .10$) predictive of scores on the father scale of the warmth subscale of the Parent Evaluation Scales and the Communication, Father Involvement, and Positive Affective subscales on the father scale of the Parent-Child Relationship Survey. Consequently, the perceived condition of the family before the divorce seemed to have a moderate impact on the quality of the current perceived father-child relationship.

Predivorce Father-Child Relationship

The simultaneous multiple regression analysis, as presented in Table 36, shows that the measure of the quality of the predivorce perceived father-child relationship tended to account for a significant ($p < .10$) proportion of the variance on four of the instruments measuring the current perceived father-child relationship; the father scale of the warmth subscale of the Parent Evaluation Scales, the father scale of the Parent-Child Relationship Survey, and the Father Involvement and Positive Affective subscales of the father scale of

the Parent-Child Relationship Survey.

Predivorce Mother-Child Relationship

Results of the simultaneous multiple regression, as revealed in Table 36, indicate that the measure of the predivorce perceived mother-child relationship tended to account for a significant ($p < .10$) proportion of the variance on five of the instruments assessing the perceived current mother-child relationship; the mother scale of the total score of the Life Interpersonal History Enquiry, the mother scale of the inclusion subscale of the Life Interpersonal History Enquiry, the mother scale of the Parent-Child Relationship Survey, and the Identification and Positive Affective subscales of the mother scale of the Parent-Child Relationship Survey. This variable also tended to account for a significant ($p < .10$) portion of the variance on three of the measures of the perceived current father-child relationship; the father scale of the warmth subscale of the Parent Evaluation Scales, the father scale of the Parent-Child Relationship Survey, and the Positive Affective subscale of the father scale of the Parent-Child Relationship Survey.

3) Adjustment of the subject before and after the divorce

The current study employed 2 separate measures of perceived adjustment (see Chapter 4). These were perceived adjustment 1 year before the divorce and perceived adjustment 1 year after the divorce. Each of these measures will be considered separately.

Adjustment 1 Year Before the Divorce

As illustrated in Table 36, the multiple regression analysis revealed that the measure of perceived adjustment a year before the

divorce tended to be a significant ($p < .10$) predictor on only 2 of the dependent measures, the Resent/Role confusion subscale of the mother scale of the Parent-Child Relationship Survey and the father scale of the affection subscale of the Life Interpersonal History Enquiry.

Adjustment 1 Year After the Divorce

The regression analysis presented in Table 36 showed that the measure of perceived adjustment 1 year after the divorce tended to contribute a significant ($p < .10$) portion of the variance on four of the instruments assessing perceived mother-child relationships; the mother scale of the inclusion, affection, and total subscales of the Life Interpersonal History Enquiry and the Communication subscale of the mother scale of the Parent-Child Relationship Survey.

4) Quality of the relationship between the ex-spouse after the divorce

There were 3 measures of the quality of the relationship between the ex-spouses after the divorce employed in this study (see Chapter 4). These were measures of the quality of the relationship between the spouses immediately after the divorce, the quality of the current relationship between the spouses, and the amount of current contact between the spouses. Each of these measures will be considered separately.

Relationship Between the Spouses Immediately After the Divorce

As shown in Table 36, the simultaneous multiple regression analysis revealed that the variable of quality of the relationship between the spouses immediately after the divorce accounted for a significant ($p < .05$) portion of the variance on only the mother

scales of the inclusion, affection, and total subscales of the Life Interpersonal History Enquiry.

Current Relationship Between the Spouses

The regression analysis, as presented in Table 36, illustrated that the variable of the quality of the current relationship between the spouses accounted for a borderline significant ($p < .10$) portion of the variance on several of the instruments measuring perceived mother-child relationships: the mother scales of the inclusion, affection, and total subscales of the Life Interpersonal History Enquiry, the mother scale of the Parent-Child Relationship Survey, and the Resent/Role confusion and Positive Affective subscales of the mother scale of the Parent-Child Relationship Survey.

Amount of Contact Between the Spouses

The results of the regression analysis, as shown in Table 36, revealed that the variable of amount of contact between the spouses accounted for a borderline significant ($p < .10$) portion of the variance on both the father and mother scales of the inclusion, affection, and total subscales of the Life Interpersonal History Enquiry.

5) Change in socioeconomic status after the divorce and current socioeconomic status

To assess the impact of changes in socioeconomic status and of current socioeconomic status, a measure of changes in socioeconomic status and a measure of perceived socioeconomic status were employed in the current study (see Chapter 4). These measures are considered separately.

Change in Socioeconomic Status

The simultaneous multiple regression, as revealed in Table 36, showed that this variable accounted for a borderline significant ($p < .10$) portion of the variance on only 3 of the dependent measures; the mother scales of the inclusion and total subscales of the Life Interpersonal History Enquiry and the Anger subscale of the father scale of the Parent-Child Relationship Survey.

Perceived Socioeconomic Status

As Table 36 shows, the regression analysis revealed that perceived socioeconomic status accounted for a borderline significant ($p < .10$) portion of the variance on several of the instruments measuring perceived father-child relationships; the father scale of the warmth subscale of the Parent Evaluation Scales and the Communication, Father Involvement, and Positive Affective subscales of the father scale of the Parent-Child Relationship Survey. Perceived socioeconomic status also accounted for a borderline significant ($p < .10$) portion of the variance on the inclusion, affection and total subscales of the mother scale of the Life Interpersonal History Enquiry.

6) Quality of family life in intact families

The literature previously reviewed has suggested that parent-child relationships in divorced families may be perceived more positively than parent-child relationships in high discord intact families, but perceived less positively than parent-child relationships in low discord intact families. To explore this possibility, a regression analysis was performed on each of the dependent measures

to assess its impact on parent-child relationships. The dependent measures used were the father and mother scales of the inclusion, affection, and total subscales of the Life Interpersonal History Enquiry, the father and mother scales of the warmth subscale of the Parent Evaluation Scales, the father and mother scales of the Parent-Child Relationship Survey, the Communication, Positive Affective, Anger, and Father Involvement subscales of the father scale of the Parent-Child Relationship Survey, and the Communication, Identification, Resentment/Role confusion, and Positive Affective subscales of the mother scale of the Parent-Child Relationship Survey. The single predictor in each analysis was the measure of the quality of the family life in intact families.

Table 37 presents the results of the regression analysis. As the table shows, quality of family life accounted for a borderline significant ($p < .10$) portion of the variance on every dependent measure assessing the perceived father-child relationship, but accounted for a borderline significant ($p < .10$) portion of the variance on only the following instruments measuring perceived mother-child relationships: the mother scale of the warmth subscale of the Parent Evaluation Scales and the Communication, Identification, and Positive Affective subscales of the mother scale of the Parent-Child Relationship Survey.

To further assess the impact of this variable, the group of subjects from intact homes was divided into 2 groups based on a median-split on the variable of quality of family life; a high discord and a low discord group ($\bar{X} = 3.5$ for high discord group, $\bar{X} = 8.5$ for low

Table 37

Summary of Regression Analysis on Each Dependent Measure
with Quality of Family Life as the Predicting Variable

Instrument	Quality of Family Life
<u>Mother-Child Relationship</u>	
Total Score of Life Interpersonal History Enquiry	NS
Inclusion Subscale of Life Interpersonal History Enquiry	NS
Affection Subscale of Life Interpersonal History Enquiry	NS
Warmth Subscale of Parent Evaluation Scales	***
Parent-Child Relationship Survey Scales	NS
--Communication Subscale	***
--Resentment/Role Confusion Subscale	NS
--Identification Subscale	***
--Positive Affective Subscale	***
<u>Father-Child Relationship</u>	
Total Score of Life Interpersonal History Enquiry	**
Inclusion Subscale of Life Interpersonal History Enquiry	*
Affection Subscale of Life Interpersonal History Enquiry	*
Warmth Subscale of Parent Evaluation Scales	***
Parent-Child Relationship Survey	***
--Communication Subscale	***
--Anger Subscale	***
--Father Involvement Subscale	***
--Positive Affective Subscale	***
NS = not significant	
*p < .10	
**p < .05	
***p < .01	

discord group). These 2 groups and the divorced group were compared with 2 separate 2 factor between subjects multivariate analyses of variance. The first multivariate analysis of variance used the father scales of the inclusion and affection subscales of the Life Interpersonal History Enquiry, the father scale of the warmth subscale of the Parent Evaluation Scales, and the father scale of the Parent-Child Relationship Survey, while the second multivariate analysis of variance used the mother scales of the same instruments. For each analysis, the between subjects factors were sex of subject and group of subject (high discord, low discord, divorced).

Table 38 presents the results of the multivariate analysis of variance performed on those instruments measuring perceived father-child relationships and Table 39 presents the means on each dependent measure for subjects from each group. As the tables reveal, a significant main effect for group of subject was found (Wilk's criterion = .80, $F = 5.84$, $df = 8,394$, $p < .0001$).

To assess which dependent measures contributed to this effect, separate 2 factor between subjects univariate analyses of variance were performed on each instrument. As Table 40 shows, significant effects for group of subject were found on every instrument. In every case, the low discord group from intact families perceived their relationships with their fathers more positively than did the high discord group and the high discord group perceived their relationships with their fathers more positively than did subjects from divorced families. Duncan's multiple range test revealed that the group of subjects from divorced homes differed significantly ($p < .05$)

Table 38

Summary of MANOVA for Instruments Measuring Perceived
Father-Child Relationship for Divorced, and High
Discord and Low Discord Intact Families

Source of Variance	Wilk's Criterion	F	df	p
Sex of Subject	.960	2.06	4,197	.09
Group of Subject	.800	5.84	8,394	.0001
Sex of Subject X Group of Subject	.958	1.06	8,394	.39

Table 39

Means of Each Dependent Instrument Measuring Perceived
Father-Child Relationships by Group of Subject

Instrument	Divorced	High Discord	Low Discord
		Intact	Intact
Total Score on Life Interpersonal History Enquiry*	80.4	74.0	66.8
Inclusion Subscale of Life Interpersonal History Enquiry*	49.4	45.7	41.6
Affection Subscale of Life Interpersonal History Enquiry*	31.0	28.3	25.2
Warmth Subscale of Parent Evaluation Scales*	1.1	-.10	-1.43
Parent-Child Relationship Survey**	15.4	17.9	21.0

*Higher scores indicate less positive perceptions.

**Higher scores indicate more positive perceptions.

Table 40

Summary of Univariate ANOVA for Dependent Measures Measuring Perceived Father-Child Relationships for Divorced, and Low Discord, and High Discord Intact Families

Instrument	Effect							
	Sex of Subject				Sex of Subject X Group			
	F	df	p	F	df	p	F	p
Inclusion Subscale of Life Interpersonal History Enquiry	1.46	1,200	.23	3.4	2,200	.04	1.06	.35
Affection Subscale of Life Interpersonal History Enquiry	.03	1,200	.86	3.7	2,200	.03	.36	.70
Warmth Subscale of Parent Evaluation Scales	.15	1,200	.70	21.3	2,200	.0001	.41	.66
Parent-Child Relationship Survey	0.00	1,200	.95	19.4	2,200	.0001	2.02	.14

from the low discord group of subjects from intact families on every measure, but the subjects from divorced families differed significantly from subjects from high discord intact families only on the father scale of the warmth subscale of the Parent Evaluation Scales and the father scale of the Parent-Child Relationship Survey.

Table 41 presents the results of the multivariate analysis of variance performed on those instruments measuring perceived mother-child relationships and Table 42 presents the means on each dependent measure for subjects from each group. As the tables reveal, a significant main effect for group of subject was found on those instruments measuring perceived mother-child relationships (Wilk's criterion = .857, $F = 4.30$, $df = 8,430$, $p < .0001$).

To further assess which dependent measures contributed to the effect for group of subject, separate 2 factor between subjects univariate analyses of variance were performed on each instrument measuring perceived mother-child relationships. As Table 43 reveals, significant effects for group of subject were found on the mother scales of the inclusion ($F = 4.79$, $df = 2,218$, $p < .01$) and affection ($F = 4.74$, $df = 2,218$, $p < .01$) subscales of the Life Interpersonal History Enquiry and on the mother scale of the warmth subscale of the Parent Evaluation Scales ($F = 14.24$, $df = 2,218$, $p < .0001$), but were not found on the mother scale of the Parent-Child Relationship Survey. In every case, the subjects from divorced families perceived their relationships with their mothers less positively than the subjects from high discord intact families and the high discord group viewed their mother-child relationships less positively than subjects

Table 41

Summary of MANOVA for Instruments Measuring Perceived
Mother-Child Relationship for Divorced, and High
Discord and Low Discord Intact Families

Source of Variance	Wilk's Criterion	F	df	p
Sex of Subject	.963	2.05	4,215	.09
Group of Subject	.857	4.30	8,430	.0001
Sex of Subject X Group of Subject	.931	1.95	8,430	.05

Table 42

Means of Each Dependent Instrument Measuring Mother-
Child Relationship by Group of Subject

Instrument	Divorced	High Discord Intact	Low Discord Intact
Total Score of Life Inter- personal History Enquiry*	72.4	65.6	59.7
Inclusion of Life Interper- sonal History Enquiry*	45.0	41.1	37.7
Affection of Life Interper- sonal History Enquiry*	27.4	24.5	22.0
Warmth Subscale of Parent Evaluation Scales*	3.5	3.2	2.4
Parent-Child Relationship Survey**	16.9	17.8	18.2

*Higher scores indicate less positive perceptions.

**Higher scores indicate more positive perceptions.

Table 43

Summary of Univariate ANOVA for Dependent Measures Measuring Perceived Mother-Child Relationships for Divorced, and High Discord and Low Discord Intact Families

Instrument	Effect							
	Sex of Subject			Group of Subject			Sex of Subject X Group of Subject	
	F	df	p	F	df	p	F	p
Inclusion Subscale of Life Interpersonal History Enquiry	.67	1,218	.41	4.8	2,218	.01	1.38	.26
Affection Subscale of Life Interpersonal History Enquiry	.81	1,218	.37	4.7	2,218	.01	.22	.80
Warmth Subscale of Parent Evaluation Scales	.43	1,218	.51	14.2	2,218	.0001	1.07	.35
Parent-Child Relationship Survey	6.5	1,218	.01	.95	2,218	.39	1.27	.27

from low discord intact families. Duncan's multiple range test revealed that the subjects from divorced homes differed significantly ($p < .05$) from subjects from low discord intact families on all measures except the mother scale of the Parent-Child Relationship Survey, but that the differences between subjects from divorced families and high discord families did not reach significance on any dependent measure.

CHAPTER 6

DISCUSSION

The results of this study show quite clearly that there are differences in the perceptions of parent-child relationships between children from intact families and children from families that have experienced divorce 7 or more years ago.

The present investigation has found that the parent-child relationship in divorced families is perceived less positively by the children than the parent-child relationship in intact homes. In this respect, the detrimental short and medium term effects of divorce on parent-child relationships, as cited by Goode (1956), Landis (1960), Westman (1972), Toomin (1974), Weiss (1975), Hetherington, Cox, and Cox (1976), and Wallerstein and Kelly (1980a), were found in those families who experienced divorce 7 or more years ago. More specifically, the parent-child relationship in divorced families, as contrasted with parent-child relationships in intact families, seems to be characterized in the view of the subjects by a greater perceived distance between parent and child, poorer communication between parent and child, less affection and warmth between parent and child, and less positive feelings in general. These results support Hetherington, Cox, and Cox (1978), who found that after 2 years parent-child interaction in divorced families was less healthy than parent-child interaction in both high and low discord intact families.

Differences in the subjects' perceived parent-child relationships were found when the parent-child relationship in divorced

families was compared with that in low discord and high discord intact families. On all of the constructs just mentioned, children from divorced families perceived their relationships with their parents less positively than those in low and high discord intact families. On these grounds, therefore, the author disagrees with Steinzor (1969) and Grollman (1969) who maintained that divorce may be a more positive solution to marital conflict than is the continuation of the conflict within the nuclear family.

Although these differences are striking, the present investigation found no evidence that parent-child relationships in divorced families are unhealthy or pathological. On an absolute basis, subjects from divorced families typically rated their relationships with their parents as essentially average in quality. By comparison, subjects from intact families rated their parent-child relationships as being above average in quality.

The implications of this finding for the day to day lives of parents and children are unclear. It may be that the parent-child relationship in divorced families is in fact average in quality. However, it may also be that subjects responded more positively on the self-report questionnaires than they really felt or that subjects are unaware of some of the negative consequences of divorce on their relationships with their parents. In any case, further research is needed to interpret the meaning of this result. It is also important to recognize that, although the group difference in perceptions of parent-child relationships between subjects from divorced families and subjects from intact families were significant on virtually all

dimensions studied, there are quite meaningful individual differences within each group. In fact, a number of subjects from divorced families perceived their relationships with their parents more positively than did some subjects from intact families. Therefore, although the "average subject" from a divorced family perceived his/her parent-child relationships less positively than the "average subject" from an intact family, there was considerable overlap suggesting the long term effects of divorce on parent-child relationships are not uniform for all divorced families.

Father-Child Relationship

With these caveats in mind, the author did find that on virtually every construct considered, including closeness, affection, warmth, communication, and overall positive feeling, the father-child relationship was viewed less positively than the mother-child relationship in divorced families. Therefore, the author found support for the conclusions of Landis (1960), Westman (1972), Toomin (1974), Weiss (1975), Hetherington, Cox, and Cox (1976), and Wallerstein and Kelly (1980b) that the quality of the father-child relationship is likely to deteriorate following the divorce. In fact, the father-child relationship in divorced families is perceived less positively than the father-child relationship in high discord and low discord intact families on all constructs.

As is generally true of the population as a whole in the 1970's and 1980's, approximately 89% of the subjects lived with their mothers after the divorce. Evidently, the difficulties inherent in such a

noncustodial role for the father or the divorce settlement process potentially lead to a deterioration in the father-child relationship. The current system of divorce resolution makes it very difficult for fathers to remain actively involved with their children. Not only do many fathers not have the opportunity to experience living with their children on a daily basis, but they are often uninformed about their children's progress at school and are often not told about potentially rewarding activities that they might share with their children. Furthermore, many fathers experience fights with their ex-wives surrounding issues relating to the children and relating to the divorce settlement. As Hetherington, Cox, and Cox (1976) reported, these pressures make it difficult for many fathers to remain as committed and enthusiastic about their visitation periods with their children. Consequently, many fathers begin to see their children less regularly. Seemingly, the effects of this waning involvement continue for a number of years following the divorce.

It is not surprising that the long term consequences of such a process is that the children from divorced families perceive their relationships with their fathers in a less positive manner than do children from intact families. While a difference was expected, in fact, the amount of perceived involvement on the part of the father, as measured by the Father Involvement subscale of the Parent-Child Relationship Survey, was one of the most striking differences between subjects from intact and divorced families.

Interestingly, although the father-child relationship was perceived less positively than the mother-child relationship by subjects

from divorced families, this difference was also true for intact families on several dimensions. Subjects from intact families perceived their fathers as caring less for them and including them less in their lives when compared with their mothers. Consequently, a somewhat less severe form of the same phenomenon may be occurring in intact families. Fathers in intact families may be less actively involved with their children than are mothers in intact families. This may reflect a stereotyped sex role adoption on the part of mothers and fathers, with fathers being more concerned with their work and outside activities and mothers being more concerned with child-rearing. In any event, the stresses of divorce exacerbate this lack of active involvement on the part of the father.

While Westman (1972), McDermott (1968, 1970), Wallerstein and Kelly (1975, 1980b), and Hetherington, Cox, and Cox (1978) have suggested that in the short run boys are affected more adversely by divorce than are girls (including in their relationships with their fathers) the present results indicate that the long term effects of divorce on the father-child relationship are fairly uniform for males and females. That is, looking back after a number of years, male and female subjects perceive their relationships with their fathers in a similar fashion.

The conception of the fathers' continued active involvement as the critical element in understanding the long term effects of divorce on the father-child relationship is supported by a number of the responses to one of the open-ended questions the subjects answered. Several of the respondents blamed their less than

satisfying relationship on a lack of continued involvement with the father. For example, the following responses to the question "How satisfied are you with your relationship with your father?" are representative of this lack of satisfaction.

Not at all. His wife won't let us get together. He sneaks away to see me. I feel sad that I can't spend time with him. (18 year old female)

I'm not at all satisfied. He doesn't call or write. He lives in a different state with his new wife. (18 year old female)

Not very. He has never had time for me. (21 year old female)

I'm not. I haven't seen him for 10 years. (18 year old female)

I never see him so there is no relationship. (23 year old male)

Not satisfied. I never see my father, or hear anything about him. (25 year old male)

Not as satisfied as I could be. He doesn't seem to spend enough time with me. (19 year old male)

Furthermore, several subjects who perceived their father-child relationship as having become more satisfying felt that was due to increased contact with the father over the years. The following responses are indicative of this:

Satisfied with the way things are now. My relationship with him when I was younger was limited due to the distance between his home and my home. (18 year old male)

Very satisfied. I wish he had been around more in the past as well as the present. (19 year old male)

In sum, although there were important individual differences, the majority perceived their relationships with their fathers as less than satisfying. In fact, several claimed that no relationship existed at all because the father never made an effort to see them or because he lived in another city.

As previously stated, the data also suggest that the effects of divorce on the quality of the current perceived father-child relationship are not uniform for all divorced families. In the following section, the importance of the mediating variables responsible for this lack of uniformity will be discussed.

First, the data lead one to the conclusion that divorce has a less severe impact on those fathers and children who had a more positive predivorce family life and predivorce father-child relationship. These findings are in agreement with those of Landis (1960), McDermott (1968, 1970), and Wallerstein and Kelly (1980b), who report that the post-divorce parent-child relationship was affected by the condition of the family before the divorce. It was also found that those subjects whose parents have continued contact after the divorce are more likely to perceive their father-child relationship positively. This finding supports the position of Steinzor (1969), Toomin (1974), Hetherington, Cox, and Cox (1976), Jacobson (1978), and Wallerstein and Kelly (1980a) that healthier relationships between the spouses after the divorce have a positive impact on the post-divorce parent-child relationships. Once again, the documented importance of these mediating variables are indicative of the crucial importance of father involvement in determining the perceived quality of the

post-divorce father-child relationship.

No support was found for Herzog and Sudia's (1971) conclusions that the changes in socioeconomic status after the divorce are important contributors to the changes in the father-child relationships.

Specifically, while the standard of living in the subject's home may have decreased following the divorce, this change did not seem to have any lasting implications for the quality of the father-child relationship. This may be due to the fact that the child is often unaware that any changes in living standard immediately after the divorce are causally related to the father's absence. In fact, the child may perceive the mother as causing the decrease in living standard. In this sense, the psychological and physical involvement of the father are more important factors than is financial involvement in determining the quality of the father-child relationship because financial involvement is not as salient to the child--particularly to younger ones. Another possible explanation for the failure to confirm Herzog and Sudia's (1971) position is that changes in socioeconomic status immediately after the divorce did have some impact on the father-child relationship, but that this impact declined over time and was nonexistent after 7 or more years. This declining impact may be due to the child's increased adjustment to the post-divorce changes in the home. Finally, it should be noted that the subjects in this study were from a fairly homogeneous middle socioeconomic class group and may not have experienced any great decreases in standard of living after the divorce. In this sense, the effects of such changes would not be found in the present data, although the

effect may be in a more heterogeneous sample.

Although changes in socioeconomic status after the divorce were not found to have a significant effect on the current perceived father-child relationship, it was found that, to a slight extent, the higher the perceived current socioeconomic status in the family, the more positively the father-child relationship was perceived. Perhaps, those subjects and their fathers from higher socioeconomic families who are less burdened with the stresses of making ends meet financially have more time and energy to maintain their relationship with one another.

It has been suggested by McDermott (1968) and Wallerstein and Kelly (1974, 1980a) that the adjustment of the child before the divorce is predictive of the quality of postdivorce adjustment. Based on the finding that the predivorce adjustment of the child was not significantly related to the perceived quality of the current father-child relationship, the author must challenge such conclusions as they apply to the post-divorce father-child relationship. It makes sense that a measure of intrapsychic functioning, such as adjustment, does not significantly relate to the perceived quality of the father-child relationship.

Finally, the present results are consistent with Wallerstein and Kelly's (1980b) finding that, after 5 years, the child's age at the time of the divorce is no longer an important predictor of the child's adjustment to the divorce. Groups of subjects who were a variety of different ages at the time of the divorce perceived their father-child relationships in a similar manner. Evidently, the differing effects

of divorce for children who were different ages at the time of the divorce, as reported by Landis (1960), Westman (1972), Klatskin (1972), and Wallerstein and Kelly (1974, 1975, 1976a, 1976b), are no longer present after at least 7 years. A process of equilibration may be occurring in the ensuing years making the reactions to divorce more uniform.

Mother-Child Relationship

Subjects from divorced families perceived their current mother-child relationships as having less closeness, less affection, less warmth, poorer communication, and less positive feelings in general than did subjects from intact homes. The findings do not support those who claimed that divorce may in the long run actually improve the mother-child relationship (Landis, 1960; Steinzor, 1969; Wallerstein & Kelly, 1980a). Instead, the present results suggest the reality is that the divorce often leads to a deterioration in the mother-child relationship, although not to the same extent as the father-child relationship. Furthermore, mother-child relationships in divorced families are perceived less positively than mother-child relationships in high and low discord intact families on all the constructs discussed above.

Because mothers typically gain custody of the children following divorce, the deterioration in the post-divorce mother-child relationship is likely due to a different mechanism(s) than the one(s) that applies to the post-divorce father-child relationship. The present author agrees with Weiss (1975) and Wallerstein and Kelly (1980b) that

many difficulties with the mother-child relationship after divorce are due to the strikingly new role a custodial divorced mother acquires. For example, the mother faces pressures she never experienced before. Specifically, economic pressures might require work outside of the home for the first time, parenting problems might result from a possible lack of experience in disciplining children, along with social stresses associated with being a single person once again. Coping with the demands of such pressures requires that the mothers undergo changes with which the child may be uncomfortable. While Wallerstein and Kelly (1980a) found that such changes do indeed tax the mother-child relationship immediately after the divorce, they found that many mother-child relationships experienced no significant deterioration after the first year following divorce and some actually improved. In contrast, the data suggest that quite often the perceived deterioration in the mother-child relationship continues for a number of years after the divorce.

In contrast to the lack of any sex differences in relation to the father-child relationship, the present investigator found that female subjects perceived their relationships with their mothers more positively than did male subjects. In support of the reports of Westman (1972), McDermott (1968, 1970), Wallerstein and Kelly (1975, 1980b), and Hetherington, Cox, and Cox (1978) that boys are more likely to be adversely affected by divorce than girls, it was found that female subjects perceive that they communicate more effectively with their mothers, have more positive feelings concerning their relationships with their mothers, and identify more with their mothers

than do male subjects. Although daughters from divorced families still perceive their relationships with their mothers less positively than daughters from intact families, the mother-daughter relationship in divorced families has advantages that the mother-son relationship does not have. It seems that the daily contact that the mother has with her children maximizes her capacities as a role model with her daughter. Daughters may be more sensitive to the increased stresses the mother must face, while sons may be more defiant and rebellious because they do not perceive the mothers as adequate substitutes for their "lost" fathers. This conception of the problem is consistent with the present finding that females from divorced families perceived themselves as identifying with their mothers to the same degree as did females from intact families.

The conception of the excess stresses experienced by the mothers following the divorce as being the critical element in understanding the long term effects of divorce on the mother-child relationship is consistent with a number of responses to one of the open-ended questions the subjects answered. Several responses indicated that the mother-child relationship had suffered because circumstances led the mothers to change sometimes for the better and sometimes for the worse. For example, the following responses to the question "How satisfied are you with your relationship with your mother?" are representative:

Not at all. I wish she would get better
and be the mother I need. (18 year old
female)

Not very. Mother is very weak. She lets people take advantage of her. (18 year old male)

Not at all. After the divorce, she had absolutely no relationship with my brother, so she spends all her time trying to make this up with him without thinking about me. (18 year old female)

I'm not very satisfied. She does generally what I want no matter what I ask of her, but we get into arguments quite often. (18 year old male)

She is the greatest mother ever and would give the world to me if she could and loves me too much. I don't blame her for the divorce. I just wish she would have left before he beat her into 3 nervous breakdowns. (21 year old female)

Fairly satisfied, but she has her moments when I think our relationship is going downhill. (17 year old male)

Very satisfied now. We finally are getting along. I grew up and now we are alike. (18 year old female)

Satisfied, but maybe sometimes not as close as I feel it could be. I feel that she has tried hard to do the best she could. (18 year old male)

Although certainly not conclusive, these responses do suggest that the mother-child relationship can either deteriorate due to the added stresses after the divorce or can develop into a more empathetic and supportive relationship. In contrast to the open-ended responses for the father-child relationship, many subjects, particularly females, reported that their relationship with their mothers was mutually supportive and understanding. Overall, however, the quantitative data suggest that there were enough subjects whose

mother-child relationship suffered following the divorce to cause the "average" mother-child relationship in divorced families to be perceived less positively than in intact families.

As was true for the effects of divorce on the father-child relationship, the long term effects of divorce on the mother-child relationship are not uniform for all families. Several mediating factors may attenuate the potential negative consequences of divorce on mother-child relationships. As expected, it was found that those subjects who perceived their relationship with their mothers before the divorce more positively were more likely to have positive perceptions of the current mother-child relationship. However, it is interesting that the perceived quality of the family life before the divorce was unrelated to the current perceptions of the mother-child relationship, while the quality of the predivorce family life was related to the current perceptions of the father-child relationship. Evidently, when divorced subjects remember their family life before the divorce, they are more likely to remember the impact the fathers had on the family.

Support was provided for the findings of McDermott (1968, 1970) and Wallerstein and Kelly (1974, 1980a) that the adjustment of the child at the time of the divorce has an important impact on the current mother-child relationship. In particular, those subjects who perceived themselves as better adjusted at the time of the divorce felt closer to their mothers, felt that their mothers cared for them more, communicated better with their mothers, and resented the changes in their mothers after the divorce less than those subjects

who perceived themselves as less well adjusted. In contrasting these findings with the fathers' (presented above), the data suggest that the adjustment of the child has more impact on the parental relationship when the child and parent live together. This may be due to the fact that those children who are better adjusted may be more able to withstand the stresses and consequent changes in the mother (custodial parent) after the divorce.

The author also found that the better the current relationship between the spouses, the more positively the current mother-child relationship is perceived. This finding supports Steinzor (1969), Toomin (1974), Hetherington, Cox, and Cox (1976), Jacobson (1978), and Wallerstein and Kelly (1980a), who report that the negative impact of divorce can be lessened by the support provided by a good relationship between the spouses after the divorce. It is interesting that the quality of the current ex-spouse relationship is an important factor in the mother-child relationship, while the quantity of current contact between the spouses is important for the father-child relationship. This may again reflect the importance of the sheer physical availability of the father.

No evidence was found to support Herzog and Sudia's (1971) suggestion that the potentially negative consequences of divorce can be causally related to changes in socioeconomic status after the divorce. This finding is somewhat anomalous, in that it was expected that greater changes in socioeconomic status after the divorce would create excessive stress on the mother and lead ultimately to a greater deterioration of the mother-child relationship. The fact

that this did not happen may reflect the counterbalancing of 2 tendencies: 1) a tendency towards excessive stress bringing the mother and child closer together due to the necessity of working together to make ends meet and 2) a tendency towards the added stress increasing the distance between mother and child because of rather sudden changes in the mother. An alternate explanation, however, is that it may also be that in a rather homogeneous socioeconomic sample such as the one employed in this study, such changes may not be identified as important even though they may be in the population as a whole.

Finally, as was true of the perceived father-child relationship, the present data supports Wallerstein and Kelly's (1980b) findings that, over many years, the child's age at the time of the divorce is no longer an important contributor to the child's reaction to the divorce. Evidently, the forces present over a many year period tend to make the child's reactions to the divorce more similar regardless of his/her age at the time of the divorce.

Implications for Future Research

This study presents a new instrument designed to assess the perceived quality of parent-child relationships, the Parent-Child Relationship Survey (PCRS). This instrument has both mother and father scales, each of which has 4 subscales. The father scale has a Communication subscale, a Positive Affective subscale, an Anger subscale, and a Father Involvement subscale, while the mother scale has a Communication subscale, a Positive Affective subscale, a Resentment/Role confusion subscale, and an Identification subscale. This

instrument has excellent internal consistency and the results that the divorced group and the intact group of subjects differed significantly on the instrument provide evidence for contrasted group validity. The instrument seems worthy of use in future research.

Further development of the instrument might fruitfully proceed along a number of different lines. First, the psychometric properties of the questionnaire need to be reassessed on a different sample of subjects. It seems possible that the instrument is a reliable and valid indicator of perceived parent-child relationships in only a middle class university student sample. Therefore, it needs to be administered to groups of individuals from a variety of backgrounds. Second, upon further administration of the instrument, the underlying factor structure of the items, derived from the factor analysis which was the basis for the formation of the subscales, needs to be reassessed. The underlying constructs, or subscales, derived from the factor analysis may only apply to the specific sample studied. If the same underlying constructs are identified from factor analyses of future administrations, one can have relatively more confidence in the reliability and validity of the instrument. Third, the instrument needs to be validated against an independent criterion measure of the quality of the parent-child relationship. Such a criterion measure might include ratings from structured interviews with the subjects, ratings of observations of parent-child interaction in either a laboratory or home setting, and ratings of structured interviews with the parents. Finally, the questionnaire could be improved by adding new items which seem to have the potential of measuring the

nature of the parent-child relationship and by deleting those items which were not included on any of the subscales of this instrument. Through such a process, the reliability and validity of the questionnaire should be significantly improved.

The use of self-report written questionnaires completed only by the children in the parent-child relationship necessarily provides a rather limited behavioral sample upon which to draw causal inferences regarding the nature of parent-child relationships in divorced families. It is important to note that this investigation studied only the perceptions of the children and did not all assess the perceptions of the parents. Because of the difficulties and stresses inherent in the process of divorce, there is reason to believe that children may have their own unique perspectives of their parent-child relationships. Of course, for the very same reasons, parents also may have their own unique perspectives, but one cannot acquire a thorough understanding of the nature of any relationship without knowledge of the perceptions of both parties in the relationship.

Furthermore, as Anastasi (1976) has noted, self-report inventories are essentially crude instruments whose application is limited. Self-report questionnaires are also prone to social desirability response sets, which may have systematically altered the results of this study. In the present study, it is conceivable that subjects from intact homes presented their perceptions of their parent-child relationships in a more favorable light because they were complying with a social norm that parent-child relationships should be perceived in a positive manner. On the other hand, subjects from

divorced families may have presented their perceptions of their parent-child relationships in a less favorable light because they were complying with a social expectation that parent-child relationships in divorced families are usually perceived more negatively than parent-child relationships in intact families. Thus, the nature of the results of this study may have occurred because subjects implicitly expected the results to occur.

Therefore, future research needs to include the parents in the assessment process and other assessment techniques need to be employed. First, the parents might be administered a series of self-report questionnaires to assess their perceptions of their relationships with their children. However, to gain a more complete understanding of the nature of the parent-child relationship, the children and parents might be thoroughly interviewed either alone or together regarding the nature of their relationship. To acquire a more behavioral measure of the quality of the parent-child relationship, parent-child interaction in either the laboratory or home setting might be observed and rated. When supplemented with interviews and observational ratings, the self-report instrument may be more useful in assessing the nature of the relationship.

Further investigations in this area need to systematically explore the impact of the mediating variables on the quality of the parent-child relationship in a more precise manner. The mediating variables in this study were measured by questions and combinations of questions whose psychometric properties are as yet unknown. For these reasons, one must place relatively less confidence in the

interpretation of the results as they relate to the impact of the mediating variables.

To assess the mediating variables in a more precise manner, interviewing the parents and/or the children may provide more valid measures of the quality of the family life before the divorce, the changes in socioeconomic status after the divorce, the quality of the current relationship between the ex-spouses, and the adjustment of the child. The interview provides the opportunity to explore in more depth the nature of these intervening factors and their impact on the parent-child relationship. Information that could not be acquired from the interviews, such as the adjustment of the child before the divorce, might be acquired through school record or from friends or relatives of the family. Furthermore, other mediating factors need to be identified and systematically explored using the same methods.

In this vein, information regarding the mechanisms that have been hypothesized as accounting for the differences in perceived parent-child relationships between divorced and intact families needs to be gathered. Far more accurate data on the quantity and quality of the noncustodial father's involvement with his children and the stresses experienced by the custodial mother can be collected with interview techniques. By using this data, the conceptions of the forces underlying the long term effects of divorce on parent-child relationships can best be tested.

A further limitation of the current study is that it provides no clues about the stages through which the parent-child relationship

passes in divorced families from the time of the divorce until the present. The present author frequently referred to the changes the relationship must undergo in the years following the divorce, but the current study provides only a static measure of the nature of the long-term effects of divorce on the parent-child relationship. Therefore, future studies might use longitudinal or cross-sectional methods to attempt to acquire a dynamic understanding of the effects of divorce on the parent-child relationship. In the same vein, the use of case studies to supplement the information gained from the group design studies might significantly add to our knowledge of the individual variability with respect to the long term effects of divorce on parent-child relationships.

Finally, further investigation in this area needs to investigate the effects of divorce on parent-child relationships in a non-college student sample of individuals. College students are typically from fairly similar backgrounds; most come from fairly educated white middle class families. The small range of variability among such a sample may have hindered the chances of finding differences in perceived quality of parent-child relationships for differing socioeconomic classes. There is also reason to believe that the homogeneity in the sample reduced the chances of finding differences in the importance of several other intervening variables. Furthermore, different cultural groups have differing expectations and customs concerning the nature of the changes in the family after the divorce. For example, cultural groups who involve grandparents and other relatives in the child-rearing process may experience less severe

deterioration in parent-child relationships following the divorce. These differences may significantly alter the major findings of the current investigation.

Implications for Intervention

The results of this investigation suggest several implications for intervention. Clearly, the finding that individuals from divorced families perceive their relationships with their parents less positively than do individuals from intact families points to the need for treatment to reduce the potentially harmful effects of divorce. Based on this conclusion, this study provides support for the utility of primary, secondary, and tertiary preventive efforts, as described by Caplan (1964).

At the primary prevention level, the documented importance of the predivorce family relationships indicates that efforts could be fruitfully employed to strengthen parent-child relationships in the general population. The healthier the family relationships are before the divorce, the more likely it is that the post-divorce family relationships should be healthy if divorce does occur. In fact, even within nuclear families, there seem to be a variety of family experiences, some of which seem to be less healthy than others. Thus, psychoeducational work, in the form of workshops, classes, brochures, and presentations to the public might effectively prevent some unnecessary tension should divorce occur.

Furthermore, systemic change, in the form of legal reform, is needed to enable fathers to have a more equitable chance to gain

custody of their children and, if they cannot gain custody, to allow them to remain more actively involved with their children. In this respect, perhaps the most equitable arrangement in the author's opinion may be a co-custody situation, in which both parents have legal custody of the child.

There are several indicators that secondary preventive interventions may be effective. Secondary preventive efforts are ones which detect and treat difficulties as early as possible and before the problems grow into more severe ones. The finding that the quality of the relationship between the spouses after the divorce is an important predictor of the later quality of the parent-child relationships is a clear indicator that some form of post-divorce conflict resolution mechanism may be beneficial. Such a mechanism might include mediation services provided through the legal system or through traditional mental health channels. This study also provides partial support for the importance of the child's adjustment, especially in the year following the divorce. This result indicates that children of divorce might greatly benefit from some brief psychotherapeutic or crisis intervention work. Such early detection and treatment may foster healthier parent-child relationships in the future.

Finally, many children and parents from divorced families would seem to be amenable to tertiary preventive efforts. The severity of the long term difficulties in the parent-child relationship are clear indicators that many of those who have experienced divorce within the last 10 years would benefit from treatment. These treatment programs might include individual psychotherapy with the child and/or

the parents, family therapy with both parents and the child included, group psychoeducational sessions for adults and children, or some form of couples therapy or mediation service. The hostilities and the difficulties inherent within the divorce process itself make the thought of bringing the ex-spouses together seem doomed to failure; however, the gains from some form of tertiary treatment may make the difficulties in such an endeavor well worth the effort.

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APPENDIX A

Subject # _____

Demographic Information

Please complete the following items:

1. Sex M F
2. Age _____
3. What occupation does your father currently have? _____
4. What occupation does your mother currently have? _____
5. What socioeconomic class do you consider yourself to be a member of?
 - a) lower
 - b) lower middle
 - c) middle
 - d) upper middle
 - e) upper
6. List all the children in your family from the oldest to the youngest and circle either brother or sister for each one. Put "me" in your place.

oldest	1) _____	brother	sister
	2) _____	brother	sister
	3) _____	brother	sister
	4) _____	brother	sister
	5) _____	brother	sister
	6) _____	brother	sister
	7) _____	brother	sister

APPENDIX B

Subject # _____

Life Interpersonal History Enquiry

For every item, place a number from 1 to 6 in the space on the answer sheet. Be sure that the item number you are answering corresponds with the number on the answer sheet. The numbers mean:

1	2	3	4	5	6
definitely	not true	tends to	tends to	true	especially
not true		not be true	be true		true

I would like my mother to:

1. Engage more in activities with me. _____
2. Share more of her recreational time with me. _____
3. Spend more time with me. _____
4. Give me more attention. _____
5. Take me more on trips and excursions. _____
6. Feel more attached to me. _____
7. Be more interested in my activities. _____
8. Feel more strongly that I am a significant aspect of her life. _____
9. Be more interested in me. _____
10. Feel more strongly that I am an important member of the family. _____
11. Be more interested in the things that I am interested in. _____
12. Be more interested in helping me to learn. _____
13. Feel more strongly that I am a significant person. _____
14. Feel more strongly that I am an important person. _____
15. Display more affection for me. _____
16. Be more of a friend and pal to me. _____

17. Give me more proof of her love for me. _____
18. Give me more praise for my accomplishments. _____
19. Feel more love for me. _____
20. Feel closer to me as a person. _____
21. Show more that she liked me as a person. _____
22. Feel more affection for me. _____
23. Feel more warmth for me. _____

I would like my father to:

1. Engage more in activities with me. _____
2. Share more of his recreational time with me. _____
3. Spend more time with me. _____
4. Give me more attention. _____
5. Take me more to various events. _____
6. Feel more attached to me. _____
7. Be more interested in my activities. _____
8. Feel more strongly that I am a significant aspect of his life. _____
9. Be more interested in me. _____
10. Feel more strongly that I am an important member of the family. _____
11. Feel more strongly that spending time with me is important. _____
12. Be more interested in helping me to learn. _____
13. Feel more strongly that I am a significant person. _____
14. Feel more strongly that I am an important person. _____
15. Display more affection for me. _____
16. Be more of a friend and pal to me. _____

17. Give me more proof of his love for me. _____
18. Give me more praise for my accomplishments. _____
19. Feel more love for me. _____
20. Feel closer to me as a person. _____
21. Show more that he liked me as a person. _____
22. Feel more affection for me. _____
23. Feel more warmth for me. _____

APPENDIX C

Subject # _____

Parent Evaluation Scales

Please answer true or false to the following statements about your mother. Write a 1 on the answer sheet for a true response and a 2 for a false response.

1. I enjoy being with her because she is warm and affectionate.	T	F
2. She has made our home cheerful by her presence.	T	F
3. She has taught me many useful and creative things by working with me in a friendly, helpful way.	T	F
4. She has tried to dominate everyone, including me.	T	F
5. I have always felt free to bring my friends home because she has always made them welcome.	T	F

Please answer true or false to the following statements about your father. Write a 1 on the answer sheet for a true response and a 2 for a false response.

1. He has tended to be quarrelsome and sometimes abusive.	T	F
2. In some ways he acted like a petty tyrant.	T	F
3. His outbursts of temper have often frightened me.	T	F
4. He has a good sense of humor, but has never used it to ridicule me.	T	F
5. He has caused our family anxiety and embarrassment on quite a few occasions.	T	F
6. He has always been as financially generous with our family as his income would permit.	T	F
7. He has always helped in planning family outings and other fun activities.	T	F

8. He likes my friends and has always made them feel welcome in our home.	T	F
9. Very seldom has he punished me or "bawled me out" in front of my friends.	T	F

APPENDIX D

Subject # _____

Parent-Child Relationship Survey

Please complete the following items about your father. Be sure that the item number you are answering corresponds with the number on the answer sheet.

1. How much time do you feel you spent with your father? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
(1 = almost none, 7 = a great deal)
2. How well do you feel you have been able to maintain a steady relationship with your father? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
(1 = not at all, 7 = extremely)
3. How much do you trust your father? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
(1 = not at all, 7 = a great deal)
4. How confident are you that your father would not ridicule or make fun of you if you were to talk about a problem. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
(1 = not at all, 7 = extremely)
5. How confident are you that your father would help you when you have a problem? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
(1 = not at all, 7 = extremely)
6. How close do you feel to your father? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
(1 = very distant, 7 = very close)
7. How comfortable would you be approaching your father about a romantic problem? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
(1 = not at all, 7 = extremely)
8. How comfortable would you be talking to your father about a problem at school? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
(1 = not at all, 7 = extremely)
9. How confused are you about the exact role your father is to have in your life? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
(1 = not at all, 7 = a great deal)

10. How accurately do you feel you understand your father's feelings, thoughts, and behavior?
(1 = not at all, 7 = a great deal) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
11. How easily do you accept the weaknesses in your father?
(1 = not at all, 7 = extremely) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
12. To what extent do you think of your father as an adult with a life of his own, as opposed to thinking of him only as your father?
(1 = think of as only father, 7 = see as adult with life of his own) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
13. How often do you get angry at your father?
(1 = almost never, 7 = quite often) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
14. In general, how much do you resent your father?
(1 = not at all, 7 = a great deal) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
15. How well do you communicate with your father?
(1 = not at all, 7 = extremely) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
16. How well does your father understand your needs, feelings, and behavior?
(1 = not at all, 7 = extremely) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
17. How well does your father listen to you?
(1 = not at all, 7 = extremely) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
18. How much do you care for your father?
(1 = not at all, 7 = a great deal) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
19. When you are away from home, how much do you typically miss your father?
(1 = not at all, 7 = a great deal) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
20. How much do you respect your father?
(1 = not at all, 7 = a great deal) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
21. How much do you value your father's opinion?
(1 = not at all, 7 = a great deal) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
22. How much do you admire your father?
(1 = not at all, 7 = a great deal) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

23. How much would you like to be like your father? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
(1 = not at all, 7 = a great deal)
24. How much would you be satisfied with your father's life style as your own? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
(1 = not at all, 7 = extremely)

Please complete the following items about your mother. Be sure that the item number you are answering corresponds with the number on the answer sheet.

1. How much time do you feel you spend with your mother? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
(1 = almost none, 7 = a great deal)
2. How well do you feel you have been able to maintain a steady relationship with your mother? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
(1 = not at all, 7 = extremely)
3. How much do you trust your mother? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
(1 = not at all, 7 = a great deal)
4. How confident are you that your mother would not ridicule or make fun of you if you were to talk about a problem? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
(1 = not at all, 7 = extremely)
5. How confident are you that your mother would help you when you have a problem? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
(1 = not at all, 7 = extremely)
6. How close do you feel to your mother? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
(1 = very distant, 7 = very close)
7. How comfortable would you be approaching your mother about a romantic problem? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
(1 = not at all, 7 = extremely)
8. How comfortable would you be talking to your mother about a problem at school? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
(1 = not at all, 7 = extremely)
9. How confused are you about the exact role your mother is to have in your life? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
(1 = not at all, 7 = a great deal)

10. How accurately do you feel you understand your mother's feelings, thoughts, and behavior?
(1 = not at all, 7 = a great deal) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
11. How easily do you accept the weaknesses in your mother?
(1 = not at all, 7 = extremely) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
12. To what extent do you think of your mother as an adult with a life of her own, as opposed to thinking of her only as your mother?
(1 = think of as only mother, 7 = see as adult with life of her own) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
13. How often do you get angry at your mother?
(1 = almost never, 7 = quite often) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
14. In general, how much do you resent your mother?
(1 = not at all, 7 = a great deal) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
15. How well do you communicate with your mother?
(1 = not at all, 7 = extremely) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
16. How well does your mother understand your needs, feelings, and behavior?
(1 = not at all, 7 = extremely) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
17. How well does your mother listen to you?
(1 = not at all, 7 = extremely) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
18. How much do you care for your mother?
(1 = not at all, 7 = a great deal) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
19. When you are away from home, how much do you miss your mother?
(1 = not at all, 7 = a great deal) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
20. How much do you respect your mother?
(1 = not at all, 7 = a great deal) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
21. How much do you value your mother's opinion?
(1 = not at all, 7 = a great deal) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
22. How much do you admire your mother?
(1 = not at all, 7 = a great deal) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

23. How much would you like to be like your mother? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
(1 = not at all, 7 = a great deal)
24. How much would you be satisfied with your mother's life style as your own? 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
(1 = not at all, 7 = extremely)

APPENDIX E

Subject # _____

Experience of Divorce Questionnaire

Please complete the following items as best as you can remember. Be sure that the item number you are answering corresponds with the number on the answer sheet.

1. How old were you when you parents were divorced?
 1. less than 2
 2. 3-6
 3. 7-8
 4. 9-10

2. If you can remember, how would you describe your home before the divorce?
(1 = unhappy, 7 = happy)
 - 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

3. Who did you live with immediately after the divorce?
 1. father
 2. mother
 3. other

4. Who did you live with five years after the divorce?
 1. father
 2. mother
 3. other

5. If you moved back and forth between your mother's home and your father's home, please explain the arrangement:

6. What was the quality of your relationship with your father before the divorce?
(1 = terrible, 7 = excellent)
 - 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

7. What was the quality of your relationship with your mother before the divorce?
(1 = terrible, 7 = excellent)
 - 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

8. Has your father remarried?
 1. yes
 2. no

9. If so, how old were you when he did? _____
10. Has your mother remarried? 1. yes
2. no
11. If so, how old were you when she did? _____
12. How often did your mother make critical and derogatory comments about your father immediately after the divorce?
(1 = almost never, 7 = very often) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
13. How often did your father make critical and derogatory comments about your mother immediately after the divorce?
(1 = almost never, 7 = very often) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
14. How often does your father make critical and derogatory comments about your mother now?
(1 = almost never, 7 = very often) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
15. How often does your mother make critical and derogatory comments about your father now?
(1 = almost never, 7 = very often) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
16. How much contact do your parents have now? 1. almost none
2. once or twice a year
3. once a month
4. every week
5. more than once a week
17. How well do your parents get along now?
(1 = extremely poorly, 7 = extremely well) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
18. After the divorce, to what extent would you say that one of your parents moving away caused a financial burden on your family?
(1 = not at all, 7 = tremendously) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
19. During the first year after the divorce, what was the standard of living in your home as compared to before the divorce?
(1 = extremely less, 7 = extremely more) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

20. During the year prior to the divorce, how happy were you?
(1 = not at all, 7 = extremely) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
21. During the year prior to the divorce, how well did you get along with others?
(1 = not at all, 7 = extremely) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
22. During the year prior to the divorce, how well adjusted were you?
(1 = not at all, 7 = extremely) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
23. During the year prior to the divorce, how anxious were you?
(1 = not at all, 7 = extremely) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
24. How happy were you in the year following the divorce?
(1 = not at all, 7 = extremely) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
25. How well did you get along with others in the year following the divorce?
(1 = not at all, 7 = extremely) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
26. How well adjusted were you in the year following the divorce?
(1 = not at all, 7 = extremely) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
27. How anxious were you in the year following the divorce?
(1 = not at all, 7 = extremely) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
28. How happy are you now?
(1 = not at all, 7 = extremely) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
29. How well do you get along with others now?
(1 = not at all, 7 = extremely) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
30. How well adjusted are you now?
(1 = not at all, 7 = extremely) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
31. How anxious are you now?
(1 = not at all, 7 = extremely) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

APPENDIX F

Subject # _____

Family Life Questionnaire

Please complete the following items. Be sure that the item number you are answering corresponds with the number of the answer sheet.

1. How would you describe the quality of your family life?
(1 = unhappy, 7 = happy) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
2. How well do your parents get along now?
(1 = extremely poorly, 7 = extremely well) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
3. How often does your mother make critical and derogatory comments about your father?
(1 = almost never, 7 = very often) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
4. How often does your father make critical and derogatory comments about your mother?
(1 = almost never, 7 = very often) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

APPENDIX G

Subject # _____

Open-Ended Questions

Please respond briefly to the following questions. Write your answers on this sheet.

1. How much time do you expect to spend with your father during vacations from school?
2. How much time do you expect to spend with your mother during vacations from school?
3. How satisfied are you with your relationship with your father?
4. How satisfied are you with your relationship with your mother?
5. How would you describe your relationship with your father?
6. How would you describe your relationship with your mother?
7. What do you expect your relationship with your father to be like in ten years?

8. What do you expect your relationship with your mother to be like in ten years?
9. How consistent has your father been in his behavior towards you since the divorce?
10. How consistent has your mother been in her behavior towards you since the divorce?
11. To what extent do you feel you were the cause of the divorce?