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WOMEN'S WORKING MODELS OF RELATIONSHIPS:
THE ROLE OF PARENTAL MARITAL STATUS,
ATTACHMENT STYLE, AND PERCEIVED FAMILY CONFLICT

A Dissertation Presented

by

CATHERINE L. DIMMITT

Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Massachusetts Amherst in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

May 1995

School of Education

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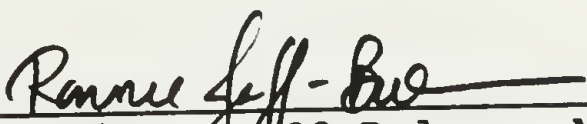
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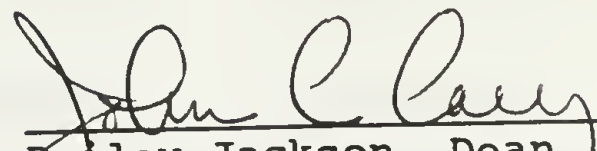
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ABSTRACT

WOMEN'S WORKING MODELS OF RELATIONSHIPS:

THE ROLE OF PARENTAL MARITAL STATUS,
ATTACHMENT STYLE, AND PERCEIVED FAMILY CONFLICT

MAY 1995

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* The purpose of this study was to investigate the relationship between experiencing parental divorce as a child and cognitive schemas of primary relationships as an adult. Four questions were of interest: is there a significant relationship between experiencing parental divorce as a child and adult attachment style? Do women with parents who divorced during their childhood describe their relationships with their parents in different ways than those whose parents stayed married? What, if any, are the differences between the romantic relationships of young women whose parents divorced when they were children and those whose parents are still married? And fourth, what role does conflict play in attachment style and relationship expectations?

Subjects were 196 female undergraduate students. A measure of interpersonal schemas was used to determine

expectations of, and stated satisfaction with, relationships during adulthood. Retrospective and current conflict between and with parents was measured as well. Adult attachment measures, adjective lists and questions about mental models were used to elicit further information about experiences and descriptions of relationships.

* Women whose parents divorced when they were children did not differ significantly from those with married parents on the measures of attachment or in their descriptions of their mothers. They were also equally likely to be in a romantic relationship and to describe their romantic partner and the relationship in positive terms. However,* women with divorced parents were much more negative about their fathers. Attachment style was usually related in different ways to each of the measures in this study, suggesting that parental divorce and attachment have somewhat independent effects on adult relationships.

The strongest finding of this study was that higher levels of conflict between parents during childhood is a stronger predictor of low satisfaction with current relationships with both mothers and fathers than parental divorce itself. Conflict with each parent during childhood was the strongest predictor of satisfaction with the current relationship with that parent. Attachment was the factor which most significantly predicted satisfaction with romantic partners as an adult, although the regression

equation with the greatest amount of predictive validity for romantic partners also contained parental divorce as a factor.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Statement of the Problem

In the past 20 years, divorce has become a ubiquitous part of our culture. It shapes how we understand relationships, what we mean by commitment, and how we define "family." When a couple divorces, their marital bond is not the only relationship affected. Increasingly, attention has been given to the impact divorce has on children in these families and to the ongoing effect of marital dissolution on all familial interactions.

Almost half of all children born in the past 20 years will experience parental divorce (Hetherington, 1989). And, for the first time ever, a considerable minority of young adults in our society have parents who divorced while they were growing up. While the research literature about children's short-term responses to divorce is relatively extensive, to date there is not enough information about possible long-term effects of this experience.

Given the number of young adults who have experienced parental divorce, it is valuable to discover whether there are significant differences between those who have had this experience and those who have not. Because there are a vast number of mediating factors, individual differences in experience, and possible outcomes of divorce, this study

will focus on only a few specific potential outcomes of parental divorce.

Purpose of the Study

This study sought to gain greater understanding about the extent to which experiencing parental divorce during childhood has an impact on young adult women's relationships. Relationship variables were the focus of the study because, although general findings about the long-term impact of divorce are quite mixed, the few longitudinal studies that exist have found that divorce clearly impacts on adult relationships with parents (Booth & Amato, 1994; Wallerstein & Blakeslee, 1989) and with romantic partners (Kuh & Maclean, 1990; Wallerstein & Blakeslee, 1989). Women were chosen as subjects because the research in the field has found significant sex differences, particularly for relationship variables (Booth & Amato, 1994; Hetherington, Stanley-Hagan, & Anderson, 1989; Kuh & Maclean, 1990; Wallerstein & Blakeslee, 1989).

Attachment theory (Bowlby, 1969, 1973, 1980) was included as a variable because it provides a useful paradigm for understanding relationship patterns. Hazan and Shaver's work (1987, 1990, 1994) on adult attachment styles has shown that people's beliefs and behaviors in adult relationships are linked to early attachment experiences. Because divorce interrupts parent-child relationships, at least with the non-custodial parent, it seems possible that experiencing

parental divorce might have an impact on subsequent attachment style. To date, studies which have considered this relationship have not found significant effects, however (Brennan & Shaver, 1993; Hazan & Shaver, 1987).

The possible mediating role of conflict between and with parents was examined because this variable was not considered in other studies of attachment and divorce. Parental divorce is a concrete occurrence, and thus it may be easier for both subjects and researchers to attribute subsequent difficulties to that event, rather than to consider related, and possibly more salient, factors such as familial conflict (Emery, 1982, 1988).

Four primary questions were considered in this study. First, is there a significant relationship between experiencing parental divorce and adult attachment style? Second, do women with parents who divorced during their childhood describe their relationships with their parents in different ways than those whose parents stayed married? Third, what, if any, are the differences between the romantic relationships of young adult women whose parents divorced when they were children and those whose parents are still married? And fourth, what role does conflict play in attachment style and relationships expectations?

While some studies have addressed the first three questions raised, this research will allow for some replication and hopefully integration of previous findings

in these areas. Studies about the effects of divorce on subsequent relationships with parents have seldom been integrated with research about romantic relationships. The only study to do so (Wallerstein & Blakeslee, 1989) has several methodological weaknesses.

Attachment theory provides a theoretical link between parental and romantic relationships which may allow for some integration of these research findings. Consideration of the role of parental conflict will help clarify the extent to which outcomes often attributed to divorce may or may not be related to other factors for which divorce is a marker variable.

Significance of the Study

As the research in the divorce field has become more sophisticated, the numerous mediating factors which influence children's response to parental divorce are increasingly considered. It has become clear that parents' divorce is only one aspect, albeit a significant one, of a constellation of experiences which may differ for people whose parents have divorced, when compared to people from intact families. Income, family status, parental conflict, housing, schools, neighborhood, and other significant factors in children's lives can change. While divorce is often the catalyst for most of the changes that these families undergo, a family's responses to the particular

stresses precipitated by divorce interact in complex ways with the actual experience.

More information about the interaction between divorce and adult relationship patterns will be generated by this study, which may be useful for clinical work. If divorce is related to differences in adult expectations about relationships, possible interventions can be developed which address these issues. An increasingly sophisticated understanding of the ways in which divorce does and does not impact on children's subsequent world-views is crucial as well, as social norms about divorce affect the meaning-making processes of those who have this experience.

This study will also hopefully generate greater understanding of the possible relationships between childhood experiences and adult behaviors and beliefs. Attachment theory, psychoanalytic theory, object relations theory and other psychological theories assume that childhood experiences shape or even determine adult relationships, but the research findings have been mixed (Flaherty & Richman, 1986; Parker, Barrett, & Hickie, 1992).

Specifically, there is much debate about whether there are childhood experiences that change the basic attachment style a person develops during infancy. Bowlby (1980) considered parental death to be a possible interruptive factor, but believed that early attachment experiences mediated the response children had to the stress of a parent

dying, not that the stress changed the child's basic schemas. If divorce is considered a loss (Kuh & Maclean, 1990; Wallerstein & Blakeslee, 1989), then it seems possible that some of the negative outcomes for children of divorced parents might be partially due to disrupted mourning processes (Kuh & Maclean, 1990) rather than a change in attachment style per se. In addition, this study may be able to clarify some of the ways that parental divorce and attachment style have similar or differing impacts on adult women's expectations and descriptions of relationships.

Finally, this research will enable some comparisons to be made between the findings of case study research about adult women who have experienced parental divorce (Wallerstein & Blakeslee, 1989; Wallerstein & Corbin, 1989) and other methods of inquiry. These studies have provided the only wide-ranging and well-integrated investigation of the effects of parental divorce to date. However, many of the case study results have not been adequately replicated in studies using more reliable measures and control group comparisons.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Introduction

General theoretical and experimental concerns as well as research findings about the impact of parental divorce for children are discussed in the first section of this review of the literature. The second section outlines attachment theory in general, and then, more specifically, reviews research on adult attachment. Studies about what Bowlby called "working models" (1969) and cognitive schemas, particularly their impact on adult romantic relationships, are included in this section. The last section describes the relevant findings on the relationships between parental divorce and working models of relationships, including attachment style. In each section, studies which have considered the mediating role of conflict will be discussed as well.

Research on Divorce

The Prevalence of Divorce

The percentage of marriages ending in divorce has increased steadily since 1960 and now appears to be leveling off at approximately 50% (Hernandez, 1988; Chiro, 1995). More than one million children experience parental divorce each year and current estimates are that at least half of all children born in the last 15 years will experience parental divorce (U.S. National Center for Health

Statistics, 1991). Of those with divorced parents, at least 35% live with a step-parent during some of their childhood (Glick, 1984), and at least one in ten with remarried parents experience a second divorce before they are age 18 (Hetherington, 1989). An unknown, though large, percentage of the current adult population has experienced parental divorce as well.

Cultural norms and values about families and marriage are inherent in any discussion of divorce and its potential effects for the adults and children involved. The dramatic increase in divorce in modern American society has necessarily changed those societal norms. However, as is typical with historical and social change, theoretical ideas and ideals shift more slowly than actual events.

Studies about divorce "have been driven by a value orientation that assumes that the two-parent family is the ideal family structure and that deviations from this form are risky" (Barber & Eccles, 1992, p. 108). Divorce researchers are increasingly acknowledging that neither a pathogenic model of divorce nor an overly optimistic stance reflects the complexity of the findings (Hetherington, 1989, Wallerstein & Blakeslee, 1989). Divorce is a permanent part of our social experience, and it makes sense to consider its impact with as little moralizing as possible.

General Research Issues

The research on divorce incorporates a spectrum of social constructions about divorce. The paradigms of researchers have necessarily influenced what assumptions are made, which questions get asked and how results are interpreted, whether those paradigms are consciously noted or not (Scarr, 1985). Research literature on divorce also spans several disciplines which often have different methods of investigation and theorizing (Kurdek & Berg, 1983). Additionally, the research lacks theoretical unity (Kelly, 1988). Thus the integration of findings is a complex task.

A consistent question in psychology is the extent to which adult behavior is related to experiences during childhood. Unless evaluation occurs over the course of a lifetime, information about the past, and especially about childhood, is based on memory and/or family stories.

Increasingly there is awareness that

meaning or coherence is not static, but is constantly reworked as new events and discontinuities are integrated into the story of one's life. Meaning is constructed in context: the same event can take on different meanings depending on the conditions under which it is remembered (Reissman, 1990, p.13).

Thus it is impossible to say with certainty that any specific outcome is an effect of having parents divorce, as, to a certain extent, the effects are what they have been construed to be. Often inquiries about the consequences of divorce have ignored this meaning-making that occurs.

Whether or not divorce has specific outcomes for those

involved seems to depend at least in part on whether people believe divorce is the causative factor. It is unlikely that events in our lives are independent of the interpretations and meanings we make of them.

Measuring the impact of divorce is also problematic because children's reactions and adjustment to divorce are a complex interaction of feelings, thoughts and behaviors (Kurdek & Berg, 1983). Many studies have used behavioral observations or parent and teacher reports which may not reflect the full extent of a child's response to divorce. Studies which have compared parent and child assessments of the child's adjustment to divorce have found that parents may not notice their children's difficulties or negative feelings or may project their own difficulties onto their child (Kurdek, Blisk, & Siesky, 1981; Wallerstein & Blakeslee, 1989; Wallerstein & Kelly, 1980). Divorce affects those who experience it, but it also alters the expectations of others (Kuh & Maclean, 1990). Thus the beliefs and attitudes of teachers and parents necessarily influence their observations and also their reporting to a researcher.

How the children involved make sense of divorce-related events impacts their adjustment (Kurdek & Berg, 1983), so some researchers have asked children and young adults with divorced parents how they believe the divorce has affected their lives. Not surprisingly, studies which have used

self-report measures have found differences in the ways that children and parents make sense of divorce (Fulton, 1979; Kurdek & Burg, 1983; Wallerstein & Blakeslee, 1989). As with the adults, social norms are still a factor in this meaning-making process, but the focus is on what the children involved have to say about their experience.

Several researchers have suggested that factors such as the overall quality of relationships in families are more important than whether a divorce per se has occurred (Barber & Eccles, 1992; Dancy & Handal, 1984; Emery, 1982, 1988; Garnezy, 1983; Hess & Camara, 1979). Research has found that a strong parent-child relationship lessens some of the possible negative outcomes of divorce (Hess & Camara, 1979; Hetherington, Cox, & Cox, 1982). Kelly's (1988) review of divorce literature also found that a positive relationship between children and their non-custodial parent predicted future adjustment.

It has also been suggested that marital conflict is another relevant factor. In his review of the divorce literature, Emery (1982) concluded that conflict between parents, rather than parental separation, may explain many of the difficulties experienced by children whose parents divorce. A meta-analysis of 92 studies about the differences between children living with a divorced single parent and those living with married parents (Amato & Keith, 1991) found that conflict, even more than lowered income or

parental absence, was the factor which consistently predicted more problematic outcomes for the children involved.

Studies on the Short-Term Impact of Parental Divorce

Most of the research on the impact of divorce for children has focused on the time of marital separation and divorce and the family transition during the subsequent few months, or occasionally, years. These studies of short-term impact have found clear evidence that parental divorce disrupts children's lives, with a range of outcomes including academic difficulties, increased aggressive and otherwise inappropriate behavior, depression, withdrawal, and several other emotional and behavioral problems (Guidubaldi & Perry, 1985; Guidubaldi, Perry, & Cleminshaw, 1984; Hetherington, Cox, & Cox, 1979, 1985; Kalter, Riemer, Brickman, & Chen, 1985; Krantz, 1988; Kurdek & Berg, 1983; Wallerstein & Kelly, 1975, 1980). Several studies have found that adolescents with divorced parents have higher rates of delinquency (Kalter et al. 1985; Kuh & Maclean, 1990; McDermott, 1970; Wallerstein & Blakeslee, 1989). Research with clinic populations has been inconclusive; Kalter (1977) found that children with divorced parents had significantly more outpatient evaluations in psychiatric hospitals, but a study with a larger sample (Schoettle & Cantwell, 1980) did not find this difference. Amato and Keith's (1991) meta-analysis of the divorce research

literature found that children with divorced parents scored lower than those from intact families on several different outcomes, with a median effect size being .14 of a standard deviation. There are several other excellent summaries of this literature (Allison & Furstenberg 1989; Guidubaldi et al., 1984; Hetherington, 1981; Kurdek, 1983) as well.

Most of the studies of the short-term impact of divorce have not adequately considered the extent to which the characteristics of children seen as a consequence of divorce were present prior to the marital disruption (Barber & Eccles, 1992). Some researchers have argued that the problems often seen with children when their parents are divorcing may be due to the period of conflict and emotional discomfort which often precedes a divorce, as much as the divorce itself (Barber & Eccles, 1992; Long, 1986).

Mediating Factors in Studies on the Long-Term Impact of Parental Divorce

Parental divorce is not an isolated event with specific outcomes, but rather a complex series of interrelated changes in life circumstance (Hetherington, Stanley-Hagan, & Anderson, 1989). As the research about divorce has become more sophisticated, more often taking into account the intraindividual, intrafamilial, and socio-cultural factors which impact on the findings (Kurdek, 1988), researchers have discovered several significant mediating factors (see review by Hetherington, Stanley-Hagan, & Anderson, 1989).

Conflict. One of the most frequently cited of these factors is parental conflict (Amato & Keith, 1991; Barber & Eccles, 1992; Camara & Resnick, 1988; Emery, 1982; Enos & Handal, 1986; Franklin, Janoff-Bulman & Roberts, 1990; Hayashi, 1993; Kelly, 1988). When parents divorce, the degree of conflict and violence in the home often increases (Forehand, McCombs, Long, Brody & Fauber, 1988; Wallerstein & Blakeslee, 1989), and some researchers (Barber & Eccles 1992; Emery, 1982; Franklin et al., 1990; Hayashi, 1993; Long, Forehand, Fauber, & Brody, 1987) have hypothesized that many of the outcomes attributed to divorce may be more related to parental conflict. Research findings that children adapt better in a low-conflict single-parent or step-parent family than in a conflictual intact family of origin (Enos & Handal, 1986; Forehand, McCombs, Long, Brody, & Fauber, 1988; Hetherington et al., 1989; Long, 1986) support this hypothesis. Similarly, Garber (1991) has also found that young adults' self-esteem was significantly related to parental conflict, but not parental divorce.

Remarriage. Studies of the long-term impact of divorce are further complicated by the high rate of remarriage of divorced parents (Barber & Eccles, 1992; Furstenberg, Nord, Peterson, & Zill, 1983; Kelly, 1988). Because approximately 80% of divorced men and 75% of divorced women remarry (Hetherington et al., 1985), in most studies the children involved experienced the remarriage of

one or both of their parents, and a significant minority (25%) also experienced a second divorce (Wallerstein & Blakeslee, 1989). These multiple changes in family necessarily have an impact on the children involved.

Abandonment. The relatively high rates of abandonment by non-custodial parents also complicates findings on effects of divorce. Studies of divorce cite abandonment rates of 9 percent (Wallerstein & Kelly, 1980) to 28 percent (Hodges, 1986), with findings that the younger the child, the more likelihood there is that the non-custodial parent will stop being involved. In these situations parental divorce is equated with desertion so that it becomes impossible to determine to what extent either event has a causal impact on subsequent psychological well-being.

Socioeconomic status. Another crucial confounding variable is socioeconomic status (Acock & Kiecolt, 1989; Barber & Eccles, 1992; Hetherington et al., 1985; Wallerstein & Corbin, 1989; Weitzman, 1988). The income of single mothers with custody diminishes considerably after divorce for a number of reasons (Weitzman, 1985). Many researchers have suggested that some of the negative findings about the impact of divorce may be attributable to this drop in income (Acock & Kiecolt, 1989; also see Barber & Eccles, 1992, for a more extensive discussion). However, a large, random sampled, nation-wide study (Guidubaldi et al., 1984) found that parental divorce was correlated with a

number of negative social and academic effects independent of several SES measures, including parental income, education and occupation. Another well-sampled study from Finland (Aro & Palosaari, 1992) also found several negative outcomes even when income and social class was considered.

Age. The age of the child at the time of parental divorce has been found to be a mediating factor in several outcome studies. The findings of the California Children of Divorce Study (CCDS) (Wallerstein, 1985, 1987; Wallerstein & Blakeslee, 1989; Wallerstein & Corbin, 1989; Wallerstein, Corbin & Lewis, 1988; Wallerstein & Kelly, 1980) have focused on the different responses of children at various developmental stages. Dividing their sample into a preschool, early latency, and late latency/adolescence groups, the CCDS has found strong age differences in both the immediate and the long-term reactions of children to their parents' divorce. This study has provided an increased understanding of the varying outcomes for children of different ages and development levels.

The CCDS findings about age differences in long-term adjustment were that children who had been ages 2 to 6 when their parents divorced seemed to adjust to the changes in their families more easily than older children, despite their high levels of distress at the time of the divorce (Wallerstein et al., 1988). Children who were between the ages of 9 and 18 when their parents divorced, on the other

hand, continued to feel that their parents' divorce was a major influence in their lives even ten years after it occurred (Wallerstein et al., 1988). The authors hypothesize that older children may retain more distressing memories of unhappiness and conflict, as well as more memories of an intact family, and that this may have a negative impact on them. However, older children are more able to assess and cope with the additional stresses, are more likely to understand that they have not caused the divorce, and more often utilize extrafamilial support systems (Hetherington et al., 1989).

Sex. Many sex differences have been found in research on divorce. In general, boys seem to have more difficulties than girls adjusting to parental divorce and to life in a mother-custody single-parent household, especially during the initial transition period, whereas girls seem to have more problems coping with mothers' remarriage (Guidubaldi & Perry, 1985; Guidubaldi et al., 1984; Hetherington et al., 1985; Hetherington et al., 1989; Wallerstein & Blakeslee, 1989; Wallerstein & Kelly, 1980). Kurdek (1988) has posited that girls and boys may be equally affected by their parents' divorce, but that boys may be more apt to act out their response, whereas girls may use internalized behaviors to cope.

The CCDS found what was called a "sleeper effect" regarding long-term adjustment of girls, whereby many of

those who had been doing quite well at the time of the divorce and for a number of years afterwards seemed to have increased difficulties when they reached early adulthood (Wallerstein & Blakeslee, 1989; Wallerstein & Corbin, 1989). Age was a confounding factor as well in this finding, with younger girls doing much better than the older girls on a number of measures ten years after the divorce. Because these younger girls had experienced parental divorce at younger ages, there seems to be a complex interaction between age of parental divorce experience, gender, and long-term findings. Until the girls who were infants and young children when their parents divorced also reach adulthood, the CCDS findings about the "sleeper effect" need to be considered tentative and possibly true only for a sample which experienced parental divorce during latency and adolescence. Hetherington et al. (1989) and Wallerstein and Corbin (1989) discuss gender differences in more depth.

Adjustment of custodial parent. Children's response to parental divorce has been found to be highly correlated with the adjustment of the custodial parent (usually the mother) and to her mental health, use of social support systems, and stress level (Hetherington, 1979; Kurdek, 1981; Kurdek & Berg, 1983; Wallerstein & Corbin, 1989; Wallerstein & Kelly, 1980). Not surprisingly, when the relationship between the custodial parent and child is a good one, outcomes are usually more positive (Kurdek & Berg, 1983; Wallerstein &

Blakeslee, 1989; Wallerstein & Corbin, 1989; Wallerstein & Kelly, 1980).

Other mediating variables. Numerous other mediating factors have been noted by researchers, including the quality of marital and parent-child relationships prior to separation, the child's relationship with the noncustodial parent, child-rearing practices, custody and visiting arrangements, the child's developmental and psychological strengths and weaknesses, and the relationship between the parents before, during, and after the divorce (Fauber, Forehand, Thomas, & Wierson, 1990; Hess & Camara, 1979; Kelly, 1988; Kurdek 1988; Wallerstein & Blakeslee, 1989; Wallerstein & Kelly, 1980). Changes in residency, parental occupation, child care arrangements, social relationships, support networks, family relationships, and physical and mental health of the parents (Hetherington et al., 1985) are also crucial variables.

Hetherington (1989) and Kurdek (1988) both have stressed that children's individual differences in cognitive-developmental level, attributional style, appraisal processes, temperament, coping strategies and stress threshold all interact in important ways with the life events that they experience. Other individual attributes such as intelligence, independence, locus of control beliefs, and self-esteem also affect children's ability to cope with stressful life situations (Fogas,

Wolchik, Braver, Freedom, & Bay, 1992; Garmezy, 1983; Hetherington et al., 1989), and hence with their adaptation to divorce. The resources available to children and their subsequent life experiences, especially in interpersonal relationships (Hetherington, 1989), profoundly affect how meaning gets made about parental divorce, and hence shape the long-term impact of that event.

Studies on the Long-Term Impact of Parental Divorce

Some of the sequelae of parental divorce only become apparent years after the actual event has occurred. Both Kalter (1985) and Wallerstein and Blakeslee (1989) have suggested that during late adolescence and early adulthood, when romantic relationships become a developmental focus, parental divorce has an impact not evident during earlier ages. Because of the numerous mediating factors as well as difficulties with identifying retrospective causation, the long-term impact of divorce is difficult to determine conclusively, however.

Empirical research regarding the long-term impact of parental divorce has been inconsistent and beset by methodological difficulties. Some researchers have found that many of the short-term differences between children with divorced parents and those with married parents usually diminish over time (Emery, 1988; Hetherington, 1989; Kulka & Weingarten, 1979), while several others have found that experiencing parental divorce as a child has a significant

and wide-ranging impact on later life (Aro & Palosaari, 1992; Friedman et al., 1995; Kalter & Renbar, 1981; Kelly, 1988; Kuh & Maclean, 1990; Kulka & Weingarter, 1979; Wallerstein & Blakeslee, 1989). Studies which have focused on a specific aspect rather than on general psychological functioning have also found some long-term differences, although only within specific domains such as marriage-related beliefs (Barber & Eccles, 1992; Franklin, et al., 1990). Barber and Eccles (1992) reviewed this research.

The California Children of Divorce study. One of the best known and most extensive series of studies done on the long-term impact of divorce is the work of the California Children of Divorce Study (CCDS) (Wallerstein, 1985, 1987; Wallerstein & Blakeslee, 1989; Wallerstein & Corbin, 1989; Wallerstein & Kelly, 1980). Families were referred to the study while parents were separating, and clinical interviews were done with all family members at the time of the divorce, as well as one year, five years, and ten years later. The sample consisted of middle-class, well-educated, white families in the San Francisco area.

The CCDS has been highly criticized from a number of perspectives. There is considerable sample bias, no control group, and reliance on clinical judgement and subjective interpretation for data collection (Levitin, 1979). There was no measurement of preexisting psychiatric conditions, which confounds the negative outcome findings (Behar, 1991).

While the sample is relatively large, it becomes much smaller when broken down into age groups, and many conclusions are drawn based on insubstantial numbers (Barber & Eccles, 1992; Levitin, 1979). In addition, all of those who participated in the CCDS were referred to a clinic, so they may have been more seriously distressed at the time of the divorce than the average divorcing family (Barber & Eccles, 1992). Findings from this study may not be generalizable to groups who are not middle-class and white. It's also impossible to judge how being a participant in the study impacted subjects' identity as children of divorced parents.

Despite these shortcomings, the CCDS is one of the few studies to date which has followed a group of children with divorced parents into adulthood, thus enabling a unique perspective on possible short- and long-term consequences of parental divorce. While there are several problems with the research, the clinical findings are nonetheless quite compelling and insightful (Levitin, 1979). The CCDS findings have vastly expanded the knowledge base of the divorce research field, and at the very least, provided preliminary data for use in replication studies.

The CCDS found that there are often dramatic differences between children's short-term and long-term reactions to parents' divorce (Wallerstein & Blakeslee, 1989). Some children who had been troubled at the time of

their parents' divorce were doing quite well ten years later, while for others the opposite was true. A number of the young people in the study still attributed many of their life difficulties to the experience of divorce, and they felt that being a "child of divorce" had become an identity, a "self-definition that strongly affects their current and future relationships" (Wallerstein & Blakeslee, 1989, p.23). The authors hypothesize that the coping mechanism of denial or repression successfully used to handle the divorce during childhood may have unexpected repercussions later in life.

Two of the repeated themes in the interviews at the ten-year mark were the fear of rejection and betrayal, and a vulnerability to the experience of loss (Wallerstein & Blakeslee, 1989). The young adults in this study felt less protected, less comforted, less supported and less cared for than others, and many were still deeply hurt and angry at their parents. The children in this study expressed "a strong desire for what they feel their parents didn't achieve-- a good marriage, commitment, romantic love that lasts, and faithfulness" (Wallerstein & Blakeslee, 1989, p.24). Yet they worried that these goals were unlikely to be fulfilled. They were also extremely concerned about betrayal and rejection in their love relationships.

Considerable gender differences were found in the CCDS in a number of areas. Many of the women were highly anxious and ambivalent in their relationships with men, despite

having ongoing relationships with their non-custodial fathers. These women often felt that their fathers didn't love or value them, and they spoke about their fathers with a "curious mix of affection and disdain" (Wallerstein & Blakeslee, 1989, p.67). Most had little trust in their fathers, and were openly critical of them.

If the relationships between fathers and daughters were characterized by distance and distrust, the CCDS found that divorced mothers and daughters tended to be close and sometimes overly dependent. Many adult daughters were struggling with a strong identification with a mother who was perceived as a "failed woman, a woman whom she can't use as a positive object of identification and whom she cannot surpass without intense guilt" (Wallerstein & Blakeslee, 1989, p.105). A tremendous fear of abandonment and betrayal was also rooted in this identification, even when mothers had happily remarried.

Almost one fourth of the families in the CCDS reported violence in the marriage or during the course of divorcing. Of the children who witnessed parental violence, at the ten year follow-up almost half had been or were involved in abusive relationships themselves, and overall, 20% of the young women in the study were in abusive relationships ten years after their parents' divorce. Without a comparative sample however, it is difficult to tell how different this is from those without divorced parents.

Lack of ambition was another common finding for the young people in this study. More than a third of those aged 19 to 29 had "little or no ambition ten years after their parents' divorce" (Wallerstein & Blakeslee, 1989, p.148). This substantial subgroup consisted of chronic underachievers who didn't make long-term plans and, despite the high level of education of their parents, tended to have few educational or career goals. The authors relate this finding to

unresolved psychological issues between divorced fathers and their children, in which the major strand is that the young people feel rejected, unloved, and undervalued....[They] turn on themselves as being unworthy of love and support, incapable of achievement. In their own eyes they become identified with the unloved and unlovable child-- the child whom they think their fathers recognize and avoid. (Wallerstein & Blakeslee, 1989, pp. 149-150)

This interplay between lack of ambition and sense of rejection is concretely expressed in the low numbers of college students in this study. Despite the fact that all of the young people in the CCDS study had at least one parent with a college degree, only half were attending college. Interpretation of this finding is complicated by socioeconomic factors, however, because only one-third of the fathers who were financially able to do so were giving any assistance to their children in college. Of the subjects over 18, 60% were on a downward educational course compared to their fathers and 45% were on a downward course compared with their mothers (Wallerstein & Blakeslee, 1989).

One of the most important, though not surprising, findings of the CCDS is that "the quality of the mother-child relationship is the single most critical factor in determining how children feel about themselves in the postdivorce decade and how well they function in the various domains of their lives" (Wallerstein & Blakeslee, 1989, p. 187). Unfortunately, the study also found that divorcing did not necessarily increase the quality of mothering, and that, in fact, after 10 years over a third of the previously good mother-child relationships had deteriorated, as had half of the good father-child relationships. In the study, as many as 35% of the children or young adults had poor relationships with both parents ten years after the divorce, a significant jump from the 10% in the same situation before their parents had divorced (Wallerstein & Blakeslee, 1989).

The National Survey of Health and Development study.

Another important source of information about the long-term impact of parental divorce for women has been the National Survey of Health and Development (NSHD) study. The NSHD, based in Great Britain, has provided prospective longitudinal data for the study of long-term consequences of family disruption (Kuh & Maclean, 1990). Because the NSHD has followed subjects throughout their lifespan, and not just from the time of parental divorce, it provides a valuable perspective in this field of research. The NSHD

has a class-stratified sample of the legitimate births that occurred during a week in March, 1946 in England, Wales and Scotland. The sample consists of 5,362 people who have been evaluated every 2 years during childhood and every 5 years during adulthood. The adult sample discussed here was evaluated at age 36, and consisted of 87% of the original sample.

Earlier evaluations of this data (see Kuh & Maclean, 1990, for a review) have found that experiencing parental divorce prior to age 16 "leads to a higher risk of emotional and behavioral problems both by acting on children's self-perception and on the expectations of others around them" (Kuh & Maclean, 1990, p.121). Studies using the NSHD sample have found that, when compared to those with intact families, women who experienced parental divorce or separation were significantly more likely to have been delinquent during adolescence, to have married in their teen years, to have had an illegitimate baby, to be divorced or separated themselves, and to report stomach ulcers and psychiatric illness (Kuh & Maclean, 1990).

Kuh and Maclean's (1990) study focused on outcomes for women at age 36. They found that the divorced parent group (DP, N = 101) had significantly less educational attainment and had lower occupational status than the intact family group (IF, N = 1454), even when their mother's educational status was controlled for. The DP group was significantly

more likely to be living with men who were not in paid work and not looking for work. There was a significant difference in the mean age at first marriage for the DP group, with many more of them marrying as teenagers. In addition, the DP group was less likely to have never married, more likely to be divorced or separated, and twice as likely to have married more than once (Kuh & Maclean, 1990).

The DP group was significantly more likely to have experienced psychiatric illness, and to have a greater number of psychiatric symptoms. This relationship remained significant even after adjusting for mother's education, parents' mental health, childhood illness, and fathers' social class. Of the women in the NSHD sample who drank alcohol, those in the DP group had significantly higher levels of mean alcohol consumption than drinkers in the IF group. The DP group was also significantly more likely to smoke than the IF group.

The NSHD data also allows for comparisons among families with parental death (PDE), parental divorce or separation, and intact families. For all of the variables mentioned above, where there were significant differences between the DP and IF groups, there were not differences between the PDE and IF groups (Kuh & Maclean, 1990). The authors conclude that parental divorce leads to "more long term emotional and socioeconomic disadvantage than parental

death" because of the "greater emotional effect of such an event" as well as the "likelihood of downward social mobility in the remnant family after divorce" (Kuh & Maclean, 1990, p. 133).

While this study provided valuable life-span data about women who had experienced parental divorce or separation, it is not without flaws. The social context of divorce has changed considerably in the last 20 years, as divorce has become more prevalent. Because their parents divorced in a time when there was more stigma attached to that experience, the women in this study may well have experienced more shame and loss of self-esteem because of their parents' divorce or separation.

Other longitudinal data. The Booth and Amato study (1994) is one of the only other studies besides the CCDS and NSHD research to use longitudinal data to evaluate the long-term effects of experiencing parental divorce. And, unlike the CCDS research, they used a large national sample. Booth and Amato (1994) sought to determine the role of parental marital quality and divorce on subsequent parent-child relations after 12 years. They found that children report being closer to and having more contact with parents when parental marital quality is higher and parents are not divorced. Their research showed that marital difficulties weaken parent-child ties, and that divorce causes even further attenuation. This finding was stronger for

opposite-sex parents than for same-sex parents, even if the same-sex parent did not have custody. Father-daughter relationships were the most vulnerable, while mother-daughter relationships were the most resilient. They conclude that divorce and poor parental marital quality have mostly independent effects on later parent-child relationships.

In families where there was low marital quality or divorce, Booth and Amato (1994) found that subjects tended to be quite close to one parent, even if there was diminished closeness with the other parent. In families with high marital quality, on the other hand, children tended to have similar kinds of relationships-- either close to both or close to neither-- with both parents.

In this study, parental support, defined by questions about behaviors such as help with school work and the amount of affection and conversation between a parent and child, was found to be a crucial factor which seems to mediate the negative impact of low marital quality and parental divorce. In families where there was poorer marital quality or divorce there tended to be less parental support, which was associated with less closeness to and less contact between children and parents in adulthood (Booth & Amato, 1994). The results of this study confirm that the relationships between parents and children are crucial mediating factors for the effects of divorce.

Additional research findings about the long-term effects of divorce has emerged in recent studies of the "Termite" data (Friedman, et al., 1995). Begun in 1921, the Terman Life-Cycle Study followed several hundred gifted children throughout their lifespan. The Friedman et al. (1995) research used death certificates of the members of the study who have died to determine retroactively what factors predicted longevity. They found that subjects who had experienced parental divorce had a one third greater mortality risk than those whose parents remained married until they were 21 ($p < .01$). Parental death did not have a significant effect. People whose parents had divorced were more likely to divorce themselves ($p < .05$), but when adult divorce was controlled for, parental divorce during childhood was still a significant predictor of premature death ($p < .05$). The significant findings for parental divorce held up even when several other factors were controlled for, and the authors concluded that parental divorce and personality were independent predictors of longevity for this sample.

Parental divorce and subsequent psychological well-being. Several other studies have evaluated the general psychological functioning of adults with divorced parents compared to people with married parents. Kulka and Weingarten (1979) found that adults whose parents had divorced when they were children (during the 1950's) were

more likely to say they had felt an impending nervous breakdown, and they had sought professional help more often than those from intact families. In a large sample of 22-year-old Finnish adults (N=1,656), Aro and Palosaari (1992) found that women with divorced parents were significantly more likely to have depressed scores on the Beck Depression Inventory, with larger differences for white-collar families than for blue-collar families. Men and women with divorced parents, when compared to those with nondivorced parents, also had poorer school performance, were less likely to have a high school degree, were less likely to be attending college, and were less likely to be living with their families. All of these differences held true after adjusting for social class (Aro & Palosaari, 1992).

Similar to NSHD findings (Kuh & Maclean, 1990), the Finnish sample (Aro & Palosaari, 1992) also found that men and women with divorced parents were significantly more likely to smoke daily and drink heavily, again regardless of social class. Women from divorced families reported more negative life events and interpersonal problems, and had more frequently experienced divorce, separation, or abortion, even after economic factors were included. Compared to women without divorced parents, this group reported more conflict with intimate partners, with their mothers, and with their friends (Aro & Palosaari, 1992).

In a study of general adjustment, which took into consideration the role of conflict as well as parental divorce, Slater and Calhoun (1988) found that subjects who had married parents with high levels of conflict and subjects with divorced parents were more likely to report adjustment difficulties in college and less likely to have strong social support than subjects from low-conflict intact families. Interestingly, they also found that college students who reported high rates of conflict prior to their parents' divorce were doing better on several measures of social functioning than those with divorced parents who had low levels of conflict. The authors suggest that the decrease in conflict for the former may be the salient factor explaining this difference.

Parental divorce and adult romantic relationships.

Some research on the long-term impact of divorce has focused on specific aspects of adult functioning. One of the strongest findings about children who experience parental divorce is that they are significantly more likely to become divorced themselves, which most studies found had a negative impact on general happiness levels and satisfaction with relationships (Glenn & Kramer, 1985, 1987; Glenn & Shelton, 1983; Keith & Finlay, 1988; Kuh & Maclean, 1990; Kulka & Weingarten, 1979; Mueller & Pope, 1977). There is much debate about reasons for this finding, which has been attributed to the tendency of those with divorced parents to

marry earlier, to have a low expectation of success in marriage with corresponding low commitment, to have a belief that it is possible or necessary to leave a bad marriage, to have less value for the marital role, to have fewer economic and social resources, and to have more difficulty in intimate relationships in general (Barber & Eccles, 1990; Glenn & Kramer, 1985; Keith & Finlay, 1988).

A study which took into consideration the mediating factors of conflict, parent-child relations, parents' remarriage, age and sex (Booth, Brinkerhoff, & White, 1984), found that subjects whose parents had divorced were more likely to be actively dating in college. Dating activity increased even more when a custodial parent remained single, when greater amounts of conflict as well as divorce were experienced, or when there was a decline in the quality of parent-child relations subsequent to the divorce. Age and sex had no effect. Those who had experienced post-divorce conflict between parents or a deterioration of parent-child relations were less satisfied with their dating partners. The authors hypothesize that the pattern of greater dating activity coupled with lower satisfaction with partners in adults with divorced parents may be due to a wish to not repeat their parents' mistakes.

Amato (1988) surveyed a large sample of adults and compared those who had experienced parental divorce as children, those who had a parent die, and those raised in

intact families. He found that those with divorced parents described their childhoods in more negative terms than the other two groups, mostly because of increased amounts of conflict and family disorganization at the time of the divorce. However, the three groups didn't differ significantly in their attitudes towards marriage, being single, or living together.

In addition to those reviewed previously, there seem to be some additional mediating factors for the long-term impact of parental divorce. For instance, marital roles have been found to involve a three-way interaction of people's gender, the marital history of their parents, and level of religiosity (Livingston & Kordinak, 1990). In a study of female college students, Southworth and Schwarz (1987) found that the frequency of daughters' contact with their fathers after the divorce was a better predictor of the quality of the current relationship than divorce per se. Those with little post-divorce contact differed significantly from those from intact families in perceptions of father's acceptance and consistency of love, but those with more contact did not differ. This study also found that women from divorced homes were significantly more likely to indicate that they would cohabit before marriage, and they planned to work for more years after college. There were no differences in anticipated age of marriage or on a measure of trust in relationships.

In a study of world assumptions, depression, and trust beliefs in college students (Franklin et al. 1990), the differences found between those with divorced parents (DP) and those from intact families (IF) tended to be related to marriage and interpersonal relationships rather than broader assumptions about benevolence, meaningfulness, or generalized trust in others. When compared with the IF group, those in the DP group were less optimistic about and predicted less success in their future marriages, believed that their future spouse would be less dependable, had poorer relationships with fathers, thought parental divorce was more acceptable, and trusted their parents less. There were no differences between the DP and IF groups in reported depression or sense of self-worth. In addition, this study found no age-related or gender differences in the DP group, which is different than the findings of several other studies.

These authors conclude that the long-term impact of experiencing parental divorce may be related primarily to specific beliefs about marriage and to relationships with parents (Franklin, et al., 1990). Because there were no differences by age or gender, the authors hypothesized that long-term outcomes for all who experience parental divorce may be more similar than expected, at least for the population they were studying and within the cognitive domains they evaluated (Franklin et al., 1990).

Divorce and relationships with parents during adulthood. Research on the long-term effects of divorce has tended to focus on psychological adjustment and adult romantic relationships rather than on consequences for ongoing parent-child relationships. Numerous factors impact the relationships people have with their parents when they are grown, and for children with divorced parents, several additional factors come into play. In a large, nationally representative sample, provision of child support, residential proximity of the non-custodial parent, and the length of time since the divorce were the key factors influencing later contact between divorced parents and their children (Furstenberg, Nord, Peterson, & Zill, 1983). When either parent remarries, children also have less contact with the non-custodial parent (Aquilino, 1994; Furstenberg et al., 1983).

In general, the custodial parent, usually the mother, is able to maintain a better relationship with her child(ren) over time than the non-custodial parent. Research has consistently found that adults with divorced parents report less intimacy, fewer positive interactions, and more negative feelings about their fathers than those whose parents have remained married (Aquilino, 1994; Booth & Amato, 1994; Fine, Moreland, & Schwebel, 1983). Booth and Amato (1994) found this negative effect was considerably stronger for daughters than for sons.

The findings are more mixed for mothers. Fine et al. (1983) found that subjects with divorced parents had more negative perceptions of their relationship with their mothers than those from intact families, although the women were more positive than the men. Aquilino (1994) found almost no differences in quality or amount of contact between mothers and their grown children when he compared subjects who had grown up in intact families and those who had lived with divorced single mothers. There were no differences for sex. Booth and Amato (1994) found that sons with divorced parents were somewhat less close to both parents, whereas daughters were much less close to fathers and only a bit less close to their mothers. Overall, these studies suggest that the mother-daughter post-divorce relationship may be more resilient than the mother-son relationship.

Despite many individual differences, research by Fine, et al. (1983) found that overall, college students whose parents had divorced at least 10 years earlier described their relationships with their parents in general as more distant, less affectionate, and less warm than those whose parents were still married. The quality of communication and the overall level of general positive feelings about parents were lower for those whose parents had divorced. Subjects with divorced parents rated their relationships

with their parents as average, whereas those from intact families considered their relationships above average.

This study (Fine, et al., 1983) found that the negative effect of parental divorce on father-child relations was lessened when family life prior to the divorce had been positive, when the predivorce father-child relationship was stronger, when parents had more frequent post-divorce contact with each other, and when families had higher socioeconomic status. The negative effect on mother-child relations was ameliorated if the predivorce mother-child relationship was more positive, if parents maintained a higher quality post-divorce relationship, and if there was better adjustment by the child at the time of the divorce.

The most salient mediating factors discovered by Aquilino (1994) were custody arrangements, parental remarriage, the timing of family transitions, the sex of the child, and the sex of the parent. Booth and Amato (1994) identified parental support of children as a significant mediating variable.

Limitations of the Research on Divorce

Many studies have not adequately taken into consideration the myriad mediating factors such as income, parent-child relationships, and conflict, which can have significant impact on the variables being measured. Because divorce is an easily identifiable event, some researchers and their subjects link outcomes of research to divorce,

when the relationship may be correlational as much as causal. An alternative explanation is that adults who have difficulties with intimate relationships are more likely to have problematic marriages, to have greater amounts of conflict in their relationships, to have more difficulties parenting, to divorce, to be less invested in ongoing relationships with their children, and to be more likely to abandon their children. Thus the negative outcomes linked to divorce may, in part, be measuring unifying underlying factors such as general problematic relating ability as much as an effect of divorce.

Many of the studies of the long-term effects of divorce use college students as a sample. However, students are not a representative sampling of the population being considered. Especially given findings that many adults who experienced parental divorce are less likely to go to college than expected (Wallerstein & Blakeslee, 1989), the college population is probably the best-adjusted portion of that group. Those with divorced parents who are in college are more likely to have an ongoing relationship with their father and to have familial economic stability (Wallerstein & Blakeslee, 1989; Wallerstein & Corbin, 1989). Thus findings about college students with divorced parents should not necessarily be considered indicative of the divorced parent population in general.

Attachment Theory

Introduction to Attachment Theory

Attachment theory, first elucidated by Bowlby (1969, 1973, 1980), was developed in response to psychoanalytic theory and derived primarily from ethological studies (Bretherton, 1992). Bowlby (1969) posited that humans have developed a complex system of behaviors between infants and their primary caregivers (usually mothers) which optimizes the safety and survival of the infant. Infants' attachment behaviors are aimed at maintaining proximity to caregivers, who have a complementary behavioral system which makes them likely to respond to an infant's stress. Thus, young children typically protest when they are separated from their mothers, and also limit their exploratory behaviors in order to maintain proximity. If infants are distressed, the attachment process also enables them to seek and adequately receive comfort from their caregivers. According to Bowlby, there is an affective quality to attachment as well, and he theorized that "proximity and affectionate interchange are appraised and felt as pleasurable by both [infant and mother], whereas distance and expressions of rejection are appraised as disagreeable or painful by both" (Bowlby, 1969, p. 242).

At the same time that Bowlby was writing about the theoretical underpinnings of attachment theory, his American colleague Mary Ainsworth began an extensive observational

study of naturalistic (in-home) infant-mother interactions. The narrative reports which came out of these studies showed strong evidence of specific, identifiable patterns of mother-infant interaction. Mothers in the study responded to their infants with differing degrees of sensitivity, promptness, and positive emotion, which corresponded to the type and quality of mother-infant relationship and interactions which were observed a few months later (Bell & Ainsworth, 1972; Bretherton, 1992).

In an effort to find a way to replicate the in-home observations in an effective research paradigm, Ainsworth and her colleagues (Ainsworth et al., 1978) developed the Strange Situation, which provided an empirical basis for Bowlby's theory and has become the most commonly used measure of child-parent attachment. The Strange Situation evaluates the interaction between parents and their infants or young children before, during, and after increasingly stressful separation episodes. The researchers identified three distinctive behavioral patterns of parent-infant interaction which they called "infant attachment styles" (Ainsworth, et al., 1978).

In positive attachment situations, very young infants initially experience biological regulation associated with their environment/caretaker (Hofer, 1987; Pipp & Harmon, 1987). With development, older infants learn that they can safely explore their environment and that their attachment

figure is available and responsive. Psychologically, this translates into subsequent feelings of security, with concomitant trust in others, and is called "secure attachment" (Bowlby, 1969). In the Strange Situation, infants considered securely attached actively seek to reestablish proximity or contact with their parent after separation and, if distressed, seek comfort from them (Ainsworth et al., 1978).

A complex interplay of environmental conditions, the capacities of a caregiver, and innate characteristics of an infant sometimes make attachment more problematic. Some children are anxious even prior to separation, and become quite upset or even inconsolable while the parent is gone. When the parent returns, these children alternate between angry resistance and contact-seeking. In the home observations, mothers of children with these behaviors often responded inconsistently, inappropriately, or belatedly to their children's needs, which led the children to be uncertain of their availability. Ainsworth and her colleagues (1978) termed this pattern of behaviors "anxious-ambivalent attachment."

Another group of children showed little anxiety or distress during separation from their mother, did not seek to re-establish contact after the reunion, and often actively rebuffed or avoided her. During home observations, mothers of infants showing these types of behaviors had

little physical contact with their infants, showed minimal emotion, and were frequently unresponsive or insensitive to their child's distress signals. This behavior pattern is called "anxious-avoidant attachment" (Ainsworth et al., 1978).

Most research about infant attachment has focused on the three styles originally identified (secure, anxious-ambivalent and avoidant) but Main and Solomon (1986) have also identified another, less common, insecure attachment style which they call "disorganized." During the Strange Situation babies with this attachment style behave in disorganized, even contradictory, ways to cope with the separation and reunion situations. Such children often show distress, fear, wariness and disorientation (Main & Solomon, 1986). This style has also been called the A/C style (Crittenden, 1988) because such babies show both avoidant and ambivalent behaviors. While there is not yet enough empirical information about the parenting style of caregivers of children with disorganized attachment, preliminary studies have found that parents of disorganized babies have unresolved losses and grief from childhood (Main & Hesse, 1990) or were traumatized when they were children (Alexander, 1992).

Over time, the findings about these patterns of behavior between infants and their primary caregivers have been replicated and extended (Bretherton, 1985; Grossmann,

Grossmann, Spangler, Suess, & Unzner, 1985; Main & Cassidy, 1988; Sroufe, 1985), but there have been some qualifications to Ainsworth et al.'s (1978) initial findings about mothers' responsiveness and infant behavior in the Strange Situation (see Lamb, Thompson, & Gardner, 1985 for review; also Goldsmith & Alansky, 1987; Schneider-Rosen & Rothbaum, 1993).

The Strange Situation was initially used with infants and their mothers, but subsequent research has also studied infant-father attachment. Some researchers have found that infants' behavior changes depending on the quality of attachment they have with particular adults (Belsky, Rovine, & Taylor, 1984; Main & Weston, 1981), which then suggests that the Strange Situation is measuring a working model of an attachment relationship with a specific caregiver at a particular point in time (Zeanah & Zeanah, 1989). However, a recent meta-analysis found that there are more often similarities than differences between infant-mother and infant-father attachment styles, as measured by the Strange Situation (Fox, Kimmerly, & Schafer, 1991). There are several possible explanations of these results, for it may be that infant temperament plays a stronger than realized role in attachment style, that people marry spouses with similar attachment, and that babies generalize what they learn in very early interactions with their primary caretakers.

Internal Working Models

In Bowlby's initial explication of his theory of attachment (1969), he introduced the influential concept of "internal working models" (also called "representational models" or "cognitive schemas"). These are dynamic mental constructions about oneself, others, relationships, and the world which are derived from early attachment relationships and subsequently form the foundation of personality and of future social interactions. As Bowlby writes (1980):

Every situation we meet with in life is construed in terms of the representational models we have of the world about us and of ourselves. Information reaching us through our sense organs is selected and interpreted in terms of those models, its significance for us and for those we care for is evaluated in terms of them, and plans of action conceived and executed with those models in mind. On how we interpret and evaluate each situation, moreover, turns also how we feel. (p. 229)

Such cognitive models are considered "working" because they are relatively fluid, and are open to revision, verification, extension and to checks for accuracy and consistency (Bowlby, 1973; Bretherton, 1992). Through initial relationships with attachment figures, infants develop expectations and beliefs about themselves (worthy or unworthy of attention, capable or incapable of getting needs met, and so on) and about others (caring, responsive, trustworthy and accessible, or not) (Alexander, 1992; Bowlby, 1988). While the attachment behaviors measured in the Strange Situation seem to be initially specific to the primary caregiver, over time such patterns are generalized

to an extent to other relationships and situations (Sroufe, 1988; Sroufe & Fleeson, 1989). However, there are limits to the influence of the attachment aspects of relationships, and any relationship may be comprised of numerous other components (i.e. play, caregiving, sexual) in addition to attachment (Ainsworth, 1991).

With greater experience and subsequent reinforcement, internal working models become increasingly stable, automatic, and hence less accessible to awareness (Bowlby, 1980; Bretherton, 1992). As these cognitive patterns become more constant, they increasingly shape attention, memory, information processing, feelings and behavior (Bretherton, 1990; Main, Kaplan, & Cassidy, 1985; Zeanah & Zeanah, 1989) and hence they become the basis of persistent behavioral and emotional differences.

These habitual patterns of relating become less open to change as they are selectively reinforced by expectation and experience. Such stability usually aids cognitive processing and helps people operate effectively and efficiently in the world. However, depending on the amount of defensive distortion in the models, stability can also be a detriment. If distortion in a person's working models causes relevant information to be excluded, important opportunities to update the cognitive models are then lost (Bowlby, 1980, 1988; Crittenden, 1990). A circular pattern of interaction evolves, whereby working models "persist in a

more or less uncorrected and unchanged state even when the individual in later life is dealing with persons who treat him in ways entirely unlike those that his parents adopted when he was a child" (Bowlby, 1988, p. 130). These rigid expectations and subsequent behaviors then shape how others respond, and can then reinforce and hence perpetuate those defensively distorted working models. Bowlby (1980), Crittenden (1990) and Bretherton (1990) have written more extensively on the relevant research about the cognitive processes involved in internal working models.

Research about the continuity of attachment styles and related working models of relationships has taken two paths. Research with children over time has found that attachment styles are relatively stable in children from 12 months to 6 years old (Main & Cassidy, 1988; Main, Kaplan, & Cassidy, 1985), but only when the family situation is stable and caretaking is consistent (Vaughn, Egeland, Sroufe, & Waters, 1979). Persistence of attachment style in childhood seems likely to be due to both continued patterns of parental response as well as to the child's increasingly stable working models which have developed in response to that relationship (Bowlby, 1986). Research on cross-generational transmission of attachment behavior has found that a mother's attachment relationship with her own mother strongly predicts her subsequent attachment relationship

with her child (Fonagy, Steele, & Steele, 1991; Main, et al., 1985; Zeanah & Zeanah, 1989).

While most attachment research has generated information about the relative stability of attachment styles over time, there has also been considerable discussion about changing working models, and particularly about ameliorating some of the negative outcomes of the insecure attachment styles and related working models through early interventions in the family system and through therapy (Belsky & Nezworski, 1988; Bowlby, 1988). Bowlby hypothesized that there is a biological tendency towards security, but that movement can occur in either direction (Bowlby, 1969, 1973, 1988). He suggested that, during childhood, significant changes in caretaking brought about by the death of a parent, prolonged separation from a parent, parental depression, and so on, can change a child's working models of relationships, and ultimately attachment style, from more secure to insecure.

There are considerable clinical implications of this debate. Belsky and Nezworski (1988) have proposed that:

If the nature and quality of care provided to the child is changed and/or the child's or adult's working model of self and of relationships is modified, then, according to attachment theory, we should expect that developmental outcomes anticipated on the basis of early assessments of attachment security should not necessarily emerge. Although such contextual and/or personal changes may be difficult to evoke, they are presumed not only possible but also to have expectable outcomes. (p. 14)

There is some debate about how extensive changes in working models can be, and whether underlying and metacognitive schemas are subject to significant alteration, or whether new information is added to what is already there. The latter stance receives support from the idea that, under stress, people tend to regress to earlier working models and related behaviors (Belsky & Nezworski, 1988; Sroufe, 1988). Sroufe (1988) has posited that early working models are transformed, but not erased, by subsequent changes in a relationship situation or in a child. He has found that, "individuals with a basic sense of inner security and confidence may more readily recover from debilitating stress and continue to 'expect well' even in malevolent circumstances" (Sroufe, 1988, p. 29). Very early attachment experiences from birth to 6 months of age may be particularly fixed and resistant to change because they are encoded at the sensorimotor level (Bowlby, 1973; Pipp & Harmon, 1987).

Ricks (1985) has proposed that changes in working models, to be truly transformative, must occur on an emotional as well as cognitive level. She posits that changes in attachment style can occur through three major types of emotionally corrective experience in relationships:

through change within the same early relationships across time, through repeated experience in other relationships that disconfirm earlier acquired models, and through especially strong emotional experience within a single relationship that, similarly, disconfirms earlier postulates. (p. 227)

Similarly, Main, Kaplan, and Cassidy (1985) have suggested that only concrete experience can alter internal working models of relationships, at least during childhood and prior to the stage of formal operations.

Adult Attachment

While much of attachment theory and research concerns infants and young children, a basic tenet of the theory is that attachment relationships are important across the life cycle (Ainsworth, 1991; Bowlby 1980, 1986). Bowlby theorized that adult responses to loss and separation relate to earlier attachment experiences, and that attachment styles and related behaviors impact on adult relationships.

In support of the idea that attachment relationships with primary caregivers remain relatively consistent over time, research by Botens et al. (1991) showed that adults with secure attachment stated that their parents were warmer, more responsive and more supportive than those with insecure attachment. They also found that those with an avoidant attachment described their parents as more rejecting. These findings were stronger for mothers than for fathers, supporting the infant research (Main et al., 1985) that the mother-child relationship has a greater impact on subsequent attachment style than the father-child relationship.

For adults, working models derived from childhood attachment experiences continue to shape their relationships

with their primary caretakers (usually parents) and also shape their romantic relationships. Weiss (1982) was the first to write more specifically about the ways in which emotional bonds between adult romantic partners resembled the attachment relationship between parent and child: a) when stressed, adult romantic partners seek proximity to each other, b) romantic partners are associated with comfort and security, and c) anxiety may be felt when separation occurs. Hazan and Shaver (1987) researched the idea that romantic love can be conceptualized as an attachment process, and since then attachment theory has had an increasing impact on research about adult romantic and marital relationships (Hazan & Shaver, 1994; Vormbrock, 1993).

Adult attachment to romantic partners differs in some important ways from infant attachment (Hazan & Shaver, 1987; Shaver & Hazan, 1988, 1992; Weiss, 1982). Infant-caretaker relationships are complementary; the infant seeks security and the adult provides care. Adult relationships are between peers and are more reciprocal; each partner both provides and seeks care. Another difference is that adult attachment relationships may involve sexuality and reproduction. Thus, in addition to attachment components, adult romantic relationships also have caregiving and sexual components (Shaver & Hazan, 1988; Shaver, Hazan & Bradshaw, 1988; Vormbrock, 1993; Weiss, 1982).

In their initial study, Hazan and Shaver (1987) hypothesized that romantic love during adulthood is integrally related to the attachment process all humans undergo as infants, and that differences in adult relationship styles are due to variations in people's attachment histories from childhood. In support of their hypothesis, they found that:

(a) relative prevalence of the three attachment styles is roughly the same in adulthood as in infancy, (b) the three kinds of adults differ predictably in the way they experience romantic love, and (c) attachment style is related in theoretically meaningful ways to mental models of self and social relationships and to relationship experiences with parents (Hazan & Shaver, 1987, p. 511).

Subsequent research on the continuity of attachment styles has also shown support for Hazan and Shaver's original hypotheses, both in different samples (Brennan & Shaver, 1991; Collins & Read, 1990; Hazan & Shaver, 1990; Pistole, 1989; Vormbrock, 1993) and in different countries (Feeney & Noller, 1990, 1992; Mikulincer, Florian & Tomacz, 1990). Shaver and Hazan (1992) have reviewed this literature.

Hazan and Shaver's (1987) initial model has been expanded by Bartholomew and Horowitz (1991), who propose that adult attachment is comprised of internal working models of the self and internal working models of others. Each model can be positive or negative, with four resulting attachment styles: secure (positive models for both self and others), preoccupied (negative self-model, positive other-model), dismissing avoidant (positive self-model, negative

other-model), and fearful avoidant (negative models for both self and others).

When Bartholomew and Horowitz (1991) compared this model with Hazan and Shaver's (1987) original concept of three adult attachment styles, secure attachment was consistent for both models, anxious-ambivalent attachment was correlated with the preoccupied style in this model, and avoidant attachment was correlated with both the dismissing and the fearful avoidant styles. Further investigation of the overlap of the Hazan and Shaver (1987) model and the Bartholomew and Horowitz (1991) model found that the two measures were highly related (Brennan, Shaver, & Tobey, 1991). The Bartholomew and Horowitz (1991) model takes into account the most recent infant attachment research showing that there seems to be a fourth infant attachment style, which has been called the A/C or disorganized style (Main & Solomon, 1986). The disorganized style in infants seems to be related to the fearful avoidant style in Bartholomew and Horowitz's (1991) model (Brennan, et al., 1991).

Adult attachment and working models of relationships.

Several studies have examined the connection between attachment style and adults' working models of relationships (Bartholomew & Horowitz, 1991; Botens, Shaver, & Levy, 1991; Collins & Read, 1990; Feeney & Noller, 1990; Hazan & Shaver, 1987; Simpson, 1990). Secure adults are consistently found to be the most positive about themselves, others,

relationships, and the world. In their initial study, Hazan and Shaver (1987) asked participants to answer a number of basic true-false questions about general mental models such as "I have more self-doubts than most people." As expected, secure adults were the most positive about themselves and about relationships in general. Kobak and Sceery (1988) found that their secure participants were more ego-resilient, less hostile, less anxious, and less distressed.

On a variety of scales, Collins and Read (1990) found that secure adults report higher self-esteem, were more trusting, more likely to believe people are altruistic, more willing to stand up for their beliefs and able to adapt to different situations. In Fiala and Pietromonaco's (1991) research, subjects read relationship scenarios and were then asked to imagine themselves in a relationship with the person they'd read about. All of those in the study, regardless of their own attachment style, reported feeling most comfortable with the fictional partner who displayed secure behavior. Secure subjects were the most positive about the imagined relationship, and anxious-ambivalently attached subjects were the most likely to believe they would experience anxiety and jealousy. This research demonstrated elegantly the role that working models of relationships play in the interpretation of neutral information.

Adult attachment and romantic partners. When Collins and Read (1990) examined the relationship between perceived

parental caregiving and the attachment style of subjects' current romantic partner, they found that descriptions of the opposite-sex parent predicted their romantic partner's attachment style. They conclude that these findings support Bowlby's assertion that "individuals select and create their social environment in ways that confirm their working models and thus promote continuity in attachment patterns across the life span" (Collins & Read, 1990, p. 660).

Brennan and Shaver's (1991) research discovered several distinctions between the romantic relationships of people with each attachment style. They found that, compared to securely attached individuals, those who are avoidant consider themselves more self-reliant and are less likely to seek physical and emotional closeness with romantic partners. Anxious-ambivalent subjects wished for greater closeness and commitment from their romantic partners, and they were more jealous and fearful of abandonment than those who were securely attached. Subjects with anxious-ambivalent and avoidant attachment styles were more likely to express frustration and anger toward romantic partners than those with a secure attachment. Insecurely attached adults were also more likely to describe their romantic partners as unappreciative, inattentive, inconsiderate and lacking in understanding. Both avoidant and anxious-ambivalently attached subjects found it difficult to trust

their romantic partners, whereas subjects with secure attachment did not.

Collins and Read (1990) found that people were likely to choose romantic partners who confirmed their attachment style. Thus, for example, those who were anxious-ambivalent and thus more likely to worry about abandonment, were more likely to be with avoidant partners who confirmed their expectations. Likewise, those with a secure attachment style who expected a more positive experience were more likely to be with securely attached partners who were able to provide that experience. This pattern was also found, although with less robustness, by Simpson (1990).

Kobak and Hazan (1991) discovered that securely attached married people were more comfortable expressing their feelings with their spouses, communicated better and reported greater amounts of marital satisfaction. Simpson (1990) found that secure adults indicated that they have more trust, commitment, satisfaction and interdependence in their romantic relationships. Those with an avoidant attachment style reported less interdependence and commitment than those who were anxious-ambivalent, whereas those who were more anxious-ambivalent indicated that there was less trust in their romantic relationship. Feeney and Noller's research (1992) discovered that adults who are avoidantly attached were most likely to be relieved when relationships ended, while anxious-ambivalent adults were

surprised and upset. Those who were anxious-ambivalent were also the most likely to quickly seek a new romantic partner.

Pistole (1989) found that securely attached college students had higher levels of satisfaction with their romantic relationships, and were more likely to use conflict resolution strategies which were mutually focused. Those who were anxious-ambivalent were the most likely to solve a conflict by obliging their partner's wishes. Those who were avoidantly attached had difficulty approaching conflict directly, and Pistole hypothesizes that this is because this style of conflict resolution requires focusing on a situation which may result in rejection, which may be overwhelming for those with this attachment style (Pistole, 1989). Hazan and Shaver (1992) review this research literature in more detail.

Limitations of the adult attachment model. Several problems exist in the adult attachment literature. Hazan and Shaver's initial conceptualization (1987) may be too simplistic to adequately convey the complexity of adult relationships (Levy & Davis, 1988). Their model of romantic love has been criticized for not adequately considering the role of passion or of communication in adult romantic relationships (Hendrick & Hendrick, 1989; Sternberg, 1987). Several authors have also illustrated the measurement limitations of the initial model (Bartholomew & Horowitz, 1991; Collins & Read, 1990). However, the attempts to

remedy the weaknesses have resulted in a subsequent lack of consistency in the adult attachment measures used in the literature.

Parental Divorce and Attachment

The research reviewed above about parental divorce indicates that it is usually a considerable disruption for those involved and that it can cause several changes in children's lives and in the relationships they have with their parents. Divorce also often increases children's exposure to conflict and violence (Emery, 1982; Wallerstein & Blakeslee, 1989) and other negative models of relating. Given these findings, it seems possible that the experience of parental divorce would impact on children's attachment processes and subsequent mental models of relationships.

If there is a relationship, however, it may be correlational rather than causal. Adults with insecure attachment styles are more likely to divorce (Hazan & Shaver, 1987) and are also more likely to have insecurely attached children (Grossmann & Grossmann, 1991; Main, Kaplan, & Cassidy, 1985; Ricks, 1985). If the origins of attachment style are in the early interaction between a parent and child, divorce may be only part of a constellation of experiences that can contribute to subsequent insecure attachment.

Bowlby (1980) theorized that early attachment experiences with caregivers shaped how children respond to

subsequent stresses, and that those stresses per se were unlikely to fundamentally alter a child's basic schemas. Thus a third possibility is that other factors in a child's life may be more salient predictors of attachment style and mental models of relationships than divorce per se. Booth and Amato (1994) found that general parental marital quality was one such factor and Emery (1982) hypothesized that marital conflict, whether a marriage ended in divorce or not, was possibly such a factor.

Hazan and Shaver's initial study (1987) used a hierarchical discriminant-function analysis to assess predictability of membership in the attachment categories from a combination of attachment-history variables. They concluded that "parental divorce seemed unrelated to attachment type" and that the "quality of [a person's] relationship with each parent and the parents' relationship with each other" (Hazan & Shaver, 1987, p. 516) were the best predictors of attachment type.

In the only study to date directly addressing the relationship between divorce and attachment, Brennan and Shaver (1993) found that parental divorce did not significantly affect adult attachment style, nor did it impact on the status or quality of subjects' current romantic relationship. For those whose parents were still married, the perceived quality of their parents' marriage was related to attachment style, with those who reported

unhappily married parents being more likely to also say they had an insecure attachment style. Subjects whose parents were divorced and whose mother (who was usually the custodial parent) had remarried were more likely to have a secure attachment style and less likely to be avoidantly attached. Subjects whose fathers remarried, on the other hand, were more likely to indicate that they were avoidantly or anxious-ambivalently attached. When both parents remarried, subjects were more likely to say they were either securely or avoidantly attached. Subjects whose parents did not remarry were less likely to be secure and more likely to be avoidant or anxious-ambivalent.

Brennan and Shaver (1993) also found that parental marital quality, but not divorce per se, was related to the likelihood of being in a relationship. Subjects with unhappily married parents were more likely to be in a romantic relationship and also were more likely to be critical of that relationship. Subjects with divorced parents whose mothers had remarried were more likely to be in a relationship, but neither parental divorce nor remarriage had an impact on the reported quality of the relationship.

In summary, research about divorce and attachment style often reflects what Bowlby (1980) initially hypothesized; it is less the specific events in people's lives and more the relationships that impact on subsequent adult functioning.

Thus divorce per se may not be a predictor of adult attachment. Rather, some of the related changes often associated with or caused by divorce, such as greater conflict between parents, decreased contact with a non-custodial parent, and the stresses of lowered income may explain some of the negative outcomes of divorce. Research findings that children from intact families with greater conflict or poor marital quality are similar to those from divorced families support this idea. The findings that several relationship variables can mediate the negative impact of divorce provide further corroboration.

This study will allow for a comparison of how well parental divorce and attachment each predict satisfaction with, and descriptions of, adult relationships with parents and with romantic partners. With increased understanding of the number and complexity of factors which impact on adults' styles of relating, hopefully the research about the roles of divorce and attachment will continue to become more expansive and integrated.

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conflict between parents, decreased contact with a non-custodial parent, and the stresses of lowered income may explain some of the negative outcomes of divorce. Research findings that children from intact families with greater conflict or poor marital quality are similar to those from divorced families support this idea. The findings that several relationship variables can mediate the negative impact of divorce provide further corroboration.

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CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

Design of the Study

So far, many of the often-cited results of case study research have not been adequately replicated in studies using more reliable measures and a control group comparison. Keeping in mind criticisms of previous research with this population, there was an attempt to reduce mediating factors such as sex and age in this study. The parental education, race, and subject education of both the divorced parent and the control groups were measured to ensure matched samples. Within the group with divorced parents, measures of age at the time of the divorce, remarriage of parents, the presence of step-siblings, and custody status were included so that these factors could be considered in the study.

Subjects

Subjects were 196 female students (sophomores, juniors and seniors) in undergraduate psychology, education and human development courses at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst and at Smith College. Because of the focus of the study, subjects who indicated that they had experienced the death of a parent, parental institutionalization due to mental illness, parental addiction, or prolonged separation from a parent during childhood were excluded from the study.

Female subjects were used for several reasons; the mediating factor of sex could be excluded, research about

the long-term effects of divorce have found that relationship variables may be particularly salient for female subjects, and more women subjects were available. Despite the limitations of using a college sample, students were used as subjects because research (Wallerstein & Blakeslee, 1989) has found that some possible long-term effects of parental divorce for young women emerge at this time. In addition, people this age are transitioning developmentally from their families of origin to independent living. Attachment and romantic relationships are both particularly salient at this time.

Procedure

At the University of Massachusetts at Amherst students were contacted during class and given the option of participating in the study. They were told that the questionnaire would take them 60 to 90 minutes to complete, that they would have a week to do so, and that they would receive \$2.00 for a completed form. At Smith College the study was one of several that students could participate in for 5 points extra credit in psychology classes.

The questionnaire and a cover letter (see Appendix A) stating that the research was a study of "how our past relationships affect our current relationships" were distributed to all students at both sites who chose to take part in the study. Of the 232 questionnaires distributed, 201 were returned, and 196 were mostly (85% or more)

complete. Questionnaires missing data for specific areas were not used in statistical evaluation of that area. Subjects were thus self-selected from the total student group.

Instrument

The questionnaire asked for information in a number of formats (see Appendix A for the complete instrument). The introduction informed subjects that they would be asked to consider their past and present relationships with their parents and romantic partner. If they were not currently in a relationship, they were asked to use their closest friend. This relationship was referred to as "romantic partner/friend" throughout the rest of the instrument. Questions about parental divorce were placed with general demographic information at the end of the questionnaire so that subjects wouldn't identify the focus of the study.

Descriptions of Mother, Father, Romantic Partner/Friend and Parents' Marriage

To gather general descriptive information about subjects' mother, father and romantic partner/friend, an adjective list was used. The list contained both positive and negative adjectives (e.g., "loving," "unresponsive," "strong") and was a short version of the one used by Hazan & Shaver (1987) to determine adult attachment styles. Participants were asked to put a corresponding letter next to the words which applied to their mother (M), father (F)

and romantic partner (R), with overlaps possible. The option of adding additional adjectives was also included.

An adjective list containing both positive and negative adjectives (e.g., "friendly," "angry" "warm"), which was also adapted from Hazan & Shaver (1987), was used to gather information about the relationship between participants' parents during their childhood. Here, they were asked to circle the words that applied to what they remembered about their parents' marital relationship when they were a child. If their parents divorced while they were a child, participants were instructed to also place a star next to adjectives which described their parents' relationship with each other after the divorce. Additional adjectives could be added if necessary.

The Interpersonal Schema Questionnaire (ISQ)

Theorists in several fields of psychology have attempted to understand people's representations of relationships. What Bowlby calls "working models" (1969) and Hazan and Shaver (1987) call "mental models," some cognitive theorists have called "interpersonal schemas" (Safran, 1990). An interpersonal schema is defined as "a generic knowledge structure based on previous interpersonal experience, that contains information relevant to the maintenance of interpersonal relatedness" (Safran, 1990, p.87). These schemas are believed to be cognitive structures and are thus abstract representations of actual

experience. Like working models and mental models, interpersonal schemas are hypothesized to be initially formed in the context of attachment relationships, and to shape subsequent thoughts, feelings and behavior in more general contexts. They also contain the rules, standards and strategies that guide interpersonal interactions (Safran & Hill, 1988).

As with Bowlby's working models (1969) and Hazan and Shaver's mental models (1987), Safran's concept of interpersonal schemas includes the assumption that humans have a biological, wired-in propensity for maintaining interpersonal relatedness (Safran, 1990). He theorizes that these interpersonal schemas facilitate infants' predictions of interactions with attachment figures and thus maintain relatedness. Safran, also like Bowlby, posits that the information and strategies which are used to maintain relatedness are learned. People can thus develop interpersonal strategies based on schemas which were adaptive for them as an infant, yet which may not work as well in adult contexts.

The Interpersonal Schema Questionnaire (ISQ) was designed to elicit people's schemas and to evaluate how successful those schemas are in maintaining relatedness. The ISQ attempts to get at the complexity and context-specific nature of human interaction, and includes measures of both individual and context variables of behavior.

The ISQ contains 16 scenarios where subjects are asked to imagine themselves behaving in certain ways (e.g., "Imagine yourself feeling warm and affectionate towards ____"). After each scenario, subjects are asked to "imagine how the person you are with would respond." They then choose one of 8 responses (e.g., "Would be impatient or quarrelsome," or "Would respect me or trust me."). Safran and Hill (1988) hypothesized that people's expectations of how others will react to them allows for inferences about the implicit rules they use to guide their behavior. To assess whether they expect the same responses from different people, subjects are asked to evaluate each of the scenarios for three significant others (mother, father, and romantic partner/friend).

After choosing the response of the other person, subjects were asked to indicate the desirability of that response on a Likert scale ranging from one ("undesirable") to seven ("desirable"). Thus even if two people both choose a certain response, one may find it desirable, whereas the other may not. This allows for evaluation of the extent to which desirability is related to the person involved and/or to the situational context (Safran & Hill, 1988). The overall mean of desirability for all of the scenarios combined can also be computed.

The preliminary study of this measure (Safran & Hill, 1988) was designed to determine whether the ISQ would

discriminate between subjects with high symptomology (HS) and low symptomology (LS), as determined by scores on the Symptom Check List Global Symptom Index (SCL-90 GSI) scores. They found that the LS group expected more normatively desirable responses from significant others than the HS group did. The HS subjects rated all expected responses in all situations with each significant other as less desirable than the LS group did, even when the response was a positive one. Members of the HS group also expected more hostile responses to hostile behaviors and fewer friendly responses to friendly behaviors than the LS group. The differences between the LS and HS groups were much smaller when subjects imagined themselves with their friend than with their mother or father. Safran and Hill (1988) concluded that these preliminary findings show that the ISQ has some construct validity, although more research is necessary.

For this study, subjects completed the ISQ for their mother, their father and their romantic partner/friend.

The Adult Attachment Measures

Hazan and Shaver's initial study on adult attachment (1987) introduced a measure of adult attachment which is based on the three basic attachment styles (secure, anxious-ambivalent, and avoidant) initially found with infants in the Strange Situation (Ainsworth, et al., 1978). The measure consists of three paragraphs describing general descriptions of feelings and cognitions about intimacy, each

corresponding to an attachment style:

I am somewhat uncomfortable being close to others;
I find it difficult to trust them completely, difficult
to allow myself to depend on them. I am nervous when
anyone gets too close, and often, love partners want
me to be more intimate than I feel comfortable being.
[avoidant]

I find that others are reluctant to get as close
as I would like. I often worry that my partner doesn't
really love me or won't want to stay with me. I want
to merge completely with another person, and this
desire sometimes scares people away.
[anxious-ambivalent]

I find it relatively easy to get close to others
and am comfortable depending on them and having them
depend on me. I don't often worry about being
abandoned or about someone getting too close to me.
[secure]

Subjects are asked to indicate which one best describes how
they feel. While many of the adult attachment researchers
(see Shaver & Hazan, 1992, for a review) still use this
measure, others (Bartholomew and Horowitz, 1991; Collins &
Read, 1990; Hendrick & Hendrick, 1989; Mikulincer, Florian,
& Tolmacz, 1990) have modified and refined it.

In this study, attachment style was assessed using both
a more recent version and the original Hazan and Shaver
(1987) measure. Subjects were first asked to complete a 22-
item scale comprised of the 18 items in Collins and Read's
(1990) Adult Attachment Scale and 4 statements from
Bartholomew's (1990) description of a dismissing avoidant
style of adult attachment. The Adult Attachment Scale
consists of the individual statements which comprise Hazan
and Shaver's (1987) three attachment style descriptions.

Subjects rated each of the 22 items on a Likert-type scale with scores ranging from "Agree Strongly" to "Disagree Strongly." After the longer measure, subjects were asked to indicate "the single alternative that best describes how you feel in romantic love relationships" from the Hazan and Shaver three paragraph measure.

In Hazan and Shaver's initial study they performed a hierarchical discriminant-function analysis and found that their two sets of discriminant functions were statistically significant, with a combined X^2 (46, $N = 506$) = 131.16, $p < .001$. The two functions accurately classified 56% of the anxious-avoidant subjects, 51% of the anxious/ambivalent subjects, and 58% of the secure subjects (Hazan & Shaver, 1987). In their replication study, they again performed a hierarchical discriminant-function analysis and found that their two sets of functions were statistically significant, with a combined X^2 (50, $N = 101$) = 128.3, $p < .001$. In the second study the two functions correctly classified 75% of the avoidant subjects, 90.5% of the anxious-ambivalent subjects, and 85.7% of the secure subjects. These initial findings have been replicated in several other studies (Brennan & Shaver, 1991; Brennan, Shaver, & Tobey, 1991; Feeney & Noller, 1990; Shaver & Hazan, 1992). There is little reliability data for this measure, although Pistole's (1989) statistical analysis of categorical data had a

contingency coefficient of .598, suggesting adequate consistency.

Mental Models about Relationships

Bowlby (1969) hypothesized that early attachment experiences were the basis for cognitive "working models" or "mental models" of relationships. These mental models reflect what people expect of themselves and others during interpersonal interactions, and are based on experiences of caregiver responsiveness during infancy. As part of their initial study, Hazan and Shaver (1987) devised eight statements concerning relationship- and self-concepts in an attempt to get at this dimension of attachment. The statements include items such as "I have more self-doubts than most people," and "People are generally well-intentioned and good-hearted." In this study, subjects were asked to indicate how much they agreed or disagreed with these statements using a five point Likert scale ranging from strongly agree to strongly disagree, with the option of "mixed, not sure".

Measure of Conflict

The measure of conflict was derived from Peterson and Zill's (1986) National Survey of Children. Using a Likert scale ranging from "never" to "often," including a "don't know/don't remember" option, the subjects were asked to indicate how often, in general, they remember their parents arguing/fighting when they were a child. Then they were

asked about 13 specific potential topics of conflict such as money, work, and so on, including an "other" category. An additional question asked how often these arguments became physical, and another asked whether either parent was ever physically hurt as a result of a fight.

Using a scale of "not at all" to "extremely," subjects were also asked how conflictual their relationship with their mother was when they were young, and how conflictual they consider their relationship with their mother to be now. The same questions were asked about their relationship, past and present, with their father.

Demographic Information

The last page of the questionnaire contained general demographic questions about age, sex, race, number of children in the family, education of subject/mother/father, and income. Included were questions about parental death, divorce, addiction, and institutionalization. Subjects with divorced parents filled out an additional section which asked about their age when their parents divorced, which parent had custody, whether either of their parents remarried or established another long-term relationship and their age when that occurred, and whether or not they had step-siblings. Using a Likert scale ranging from "not at all" to "extremely" they were asked to indicate how close they feel to their step-parent(s) if they have one. On a range of "never" to "all the time," the group with divorced

parents were also asked how often they think about their parents getting back together and how often they wish their parents had a closer relationship.

The questions "How do you think your parents' relationship has affected you?" and "If your parents are still married, what do you think/feel about their relationship? or If your parents are divorced or separated, what do you remember thinking/feeling about their relationship when they were married? What is their relationship now, and how do you think/feel about it?" were also included in the questionnaire but are not analyzed here.

Research Questions

1. Is there a significant relationship between experiencing parental divorce as a child and subsequent adult attachment?

2. Do women with divorced parents describe their relationships with their parents in different ways than those whose parents are still married?

3. Are there differences between the romantic relationships of young women whose parents divorced when they were children and those whose parents are still married?

4. What role does conflict between and with parents play? Does conflict mediate some of the outcomes which have been attributed to parental divorce?

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

Characteristics of the Sample

Subjects were 196 female students (sophomores, juniors and seniors) in undergraduate psychology, education and human development courses at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst and at Smith College. The mean age of the subjects was 21 years, with a mode of 19 years old. In this sample, 149 women (80%) were white, 23 (12%) were Asian, 6 (3%) were Black, 4 (2%) were Hispanic, and 4 (2%) described themselves as Other. Socioeconomic status was predominantly middle and upper middle class, with a mean family income of approximately \$38,000. Only 8 (4.9%) subjects indicated that their family's income was below \$12,000, and the median response (41.5%) was for parental income of more than \$60,000. The sample had well-educated parents, with 138 (75.4%) of the mothers and 159 (84.1%) of the fathers completing at least some college.

One hundred twenty-nine women in this sample (66%) had parents who had not divorced, and comprised the married parent (MP) group. Sixty-seven women (34%) had parents who had divorced during their childhood, and they constituted the divorced parents (DP) group for this study. In the DP group, age at the time of the divorce varied from birth to 18, with a mean of 7 years 11 months, and a mode of age 7. In 59 families (88% of the DP group) mothers had custody;

joint custody occurred for 4 (7%) women in this subsample, and in 3 (4.5%) of the cases fathers had custody. Thirty-six (54%) of the women in the DP group reported that their mothers had remarried, 42 (63%) had remarried fathers and 36 (54%) had step-siblings.

The DP group reported a median family income in the \$20,000 - \$29,000 range, whereas the MP group had a median family income in the range of more than \$60,000, a significant difference ($X^2(5, n = 160) = 29.56, p < .0001$). With the exception of parental income, there were no significant differences between the MP and DP groups for any of the demographic variables.

Of the entire sample, 138 (71%) indicated that they were currently in a romantic relationship, and 13 (6.9%) were married. Of that group, 106 (77%), had a male partner and 32 (23%) had a female partner. This is a higher percentage of lesbian relationships than is expected, but there were no significant differences between those with female partners and those with male partners on any of the variables in the study.

Fifty-six subjects were not currently in a romantic relationship, and over half of that group indicated that their closest friend was female ($n = 32, 59\%$), and the rest had a male closest friend ($n = 23, 41\%$). Outlying numbers which skewed the mean were eliminated, and with those corrections, the mean length of time women had been with

their romantic partner was 8 months, whereas the mean length of time of the friendships was 2 years and 4 months. This difference was significant ($p < .05$).

Divorced Parents and Adult Attachment Style

For the total sample ($N = 196$), 84 (44.2%) indicated that they were securely attached on the Hazan and Shaver (1987) measure, 63 (33.2%) endorsed the avoidant style, and 43 (22.6%) described themselves as anxious-ambivalent. This was a somewhat lower percentage of secure attachment style than most other studies on adult attachment have found (Brennan & Shaver, 1990; Feeney & Noller, 1990; Hazan & Shaver, 1987; Hazan & Shaver, 1990).

A cross-tabulation of parents' marital status by attachment style found a close to significant correlation between these two factors ($X^2(2, N = 190) = 5.34, p = .069$) (see Table 1). The most prevalent attachment style for women with married parents was secure (48.4%) and the least common was anxious-ambivalent (24.2%). For those with divorced parents on the other hand, the most prevalent attachment style was avoidant (43.9%) and anxious-ambivalent was again the least common (19.7%). For the MP group the percentage of subjects in each of the three attachment styles was more similar to other samples, whereas the DP group accounts for much of the skewing of this sample.

When the data is broken down by attachment style, 46% of those who indicated an avoidant style of attachment had

experienced parental divorce during childhood, whereas only 29% of those who indicated a secure attachment and 30% of those with anxious-ambivalent attachment had divorced parents. Thus, most of the differences in attachment between the MP and DP groups are due to the findings about women with avoidant attachment.

T-tests comparing mean level of agreement on the longer, sentence-based attachment measure also found some significant differences between the MP and DP groups, which reflected the more avoidant attachment styles of the DP group. More women with divorced parents agreed ($t(124) = 3.08, p < .01$) that "I find it difficult to allow myself to depend on others," which is an indication of what Bartholomew (1990) termed the fearful avoidant style of attachment. Women with married parents were more likely to agree ($t(127) = -2.38, p < .05$) that "I do not often worry about someone getting too close to me," which is indicative of a more secure style. This group also showed more agreement ($t(122) = -2.28, p < .05$) with the sentence "I am comfortable depending on others," which is also a secure attachment statement. There were not significant differences for the other 19 attachment statements. Because of the number of t-tests conducted for the sentence-based measure of attachment, Bonferroni corrections were computed. None of the differences noted above met the $p < .0023$ criteria needed with such corrections.

Contrary to the findings of Brennan and Shaver (1993), parental remarriage did not have a statistically significant impact on adult attachment style for this sample. Neither the presence of step-siblings, nor subjects' age at the time of parental remarriage, nor the type of parental custody, had a significant effect on attachment style.

Findings for Parental Divorce

Parental Divorce and Relationships with Parents

The second primary question of this study was how experiencing divorce as a child is related to relationships with parents during adulthood. For questions about relationships with mothers there were no significant differences between the DP and MP groups. Adjectival descriptions of mothers, overall satisfaction with mothers' imagined responses on the ISQ, and levels of past and current conflict were all quite similar for the two groups.

In contrast to relationships with mothers, there were numerous and robust findings for relationship with fathers. The MP group endorsed significantly more positive adjectives than the DP group overall ($t(189) = -4.41, p < .000$), and fewer negative adjectives ($t(189) = 2.25, p < .05$).

Because of these findings, one-tailed t -tests comparing mean level of endorsement of each adjective by parental marital status were conducted. Bonferroni corrections were calculated to compensate for the number of tests run. Even

with those corrections, women with married parents were significantly more likely to indicate that their father was respectful, responsible, strong, and fair (all $p < .000$), as well as loving, understanding, confident, responsive, caring, good-natured, respecting, and humorous, (all $p < .0017$). Using cross-tabulation of adjective agreement by parental marital status in order to get percentages, Table 2 shows the results, with significance adjusted by Bonferroni corrections.

The measures of past and present conflict between parents and children did not find strong differences between the two groups. There were no significant differences for relationships with mothers or for conflict with fathers during childhood, although women with divorced parents reported somewhat more conflict with their fathers now ($p = .054$).

On the measure of cognitive schemas, the ISQ, a 1-tailed t -test comparing the means of the MP and DP groups for overall satisfaction with their fathers' imagined responses in all 16 scenarios found that women with married parents were more positive about their fathers ($p = .057$). When analyzed individually, this finding was true, though not significantly so, for all but one of the situations in this measure.

In summary, women with divorced parents described their fathers in much less positive ways and in more negative ways

than women with married parents. They also reported more current conflict and less satisfaction with their expectations about their fathers' behavior on the ISQ. None of these differences were found for mothers.

Parental Divorce and Romantic Relationships

The third question of this study was how parental divorce influences women's relationships with romantic partners. The 71% of the entire sample who indicated that they were currently in a romantic relationship were used for these statistics. Of those, 77% had a male partner and 23% had a female partner, but because no significant differences were found by sex of romantic partner for any of the variables, that was not included as a factor.

In contrast to findings from case study research (Wallerstein & Blakeslee, 1989), and similar to other quantitative research (Brennan & Shaver, 1993) this study found no significant differences between those with divorced parents and those with married parents for descriptions and expectations of romantic partners. Women in the DP and MP groups were equally likely to currently be in a romantic relationship, and there were no significant differences for length of relationship. When the overall number of positive and negative adjectives that women in each group used to describe their romantic partners were compared, the results were not significantly different. When endorsement of individual adjectives by the two groups was compared,

because of the number of tests, Bonferroni corrections were used. Within that criteria, there were not significant differences for any of the individual tests.

On the Interpersonal Schema measure, after indicating how they believed their romantic partner would behave toward them in the situation described, subjects indicated how satisfied they were with that response. When a 1-tailed t -test was conducted comparing the mean level of satisfaction with the imagined responses for all 16 scenarios combined, no differences between the two groups were found.

When subjects' overall mean satisfaction with the responses of their mothers, fathers and romantic partner were compared using a 1-tailed t -test, both the MP and DP groups indicated the most satisfaction with their romantic partner, then their mothers, then their fathers.

Parental Divorce and Mental Models of Relationships

T -tests were used to compare the responses of the MP and DP groups to the eight mental model statements. The only significant difference was that women with divorced parents were significantly more likely to agree that "people almost always like me" ($t(187) = 2.77, p = .006$). Women with married parents were more likely to agree that "people are generally well-intentioned and good-hearted" ($t(187) = 2.77, p < .01$), but that significance level does not meet the level required with Bonferroni corrections. The

responses of the two groups were quite similar on the other six sentences.

Parental Divorce and Descriptions of Parental Relationships During Childhood

Not surprisingly, there were strongly significant differences in the ways in which women with married parents and women with divorced parents described their parents' relationship during their childhood. Women with divorced parents were asked to describe their parents' relationship both prior to and after the divorce. For these comparisons, the descriptions of the marital relationship before divorce was used. The mean total number of positive and negative adjectives for each group were compared using 1-tailed t -tests, because the direction could be predicted. The differences were strongly significant for positive descriptions of parents' marriage ($t(188) = 8.97$, $p < .000$) and for negative descriptions ($t(188) = -5.13$, $p < .000$).

Because of the extent of the level of significance, individual tests for each adjective were conducted, using Bonferroni corrections because of the number of tests. Even with those corrections, the MP group was significantly more likely to report that their parents' relationship during their childhood was friendly, caring, loving, good-humored, warm, affectionate, and respectful (all $p < .0036$). They were less likely to indicate that it was problematic, angry,

distant, unhappy, and uncomfortable than the DP group (all $p < .0036$). Only three adjectives (critical, difficult-to-understand and conflictual) were not significantly different at that level. Cross-tabulations of parent marital status by adjective endorsement were conducted in order to obtain percentages, with findings presented in Table 3. The Bonferroni level of significance was maintained.

The findings about conflict between parents during subjects' childhood were some of the most significant and consistent of the study. On almost every question, the DP group reported significantly greater amounts of conflict and violence between their parents during their childhood. These findings reiterate the negative descriptions in other parts of the measure, but add an important dimension to the picture.

On the conflict measure subjects indicated, on a Likert scale from 1 (never) to 4 (often), how often their parents fought in general and then how often they argued about a number of specific topics. There was also the option of indicating a "don't know/don't remember" answer, which was recoded as missing data for statistical computations. The mean levels of conflict indicated by the DP and MP groups were compared using 1-tailed t -tests. Bonferroni corrections for significance were computed in order to control for the number of tests which were run, with a

resulting standard of $p < .0031$ to reach significance.

Table 4 shows these results.

The DP group reported that during their childhoods their parents were significantly more likely to fight in general, and were more likely to fight about their friends, showing affection to each other, money, their drinking or drug use, other men or women, sex, work, and the child(ren) than the parents of subjects who were still married (all $p < .0031$). In addition, compared to those in the MP group, women in the DP group were more likely to report that their parents had engaged in arguments which became physical and that one of their parents had been badly hurt as a result of a physical fight with their spouse (both $p < .001$).

Findings for Attachment Styles

Given that this study did not find a statistically significant relationship between divorce and attachment, it makes sense to identify the different ways in which these two factors impact on women's descriptions of their relationships. Thus, for each variable explored above for parental divorce, the role of attachment was considered as well.

Attachment Style and Relationships with Parents

The adjective list used in this study was originally developed for use with attachment measures (Hazan & Shaver, 1987) so, not surprisingly, there were a number of significant findings. The mean number of positive and the

mean number of negative adjectives endorsed for each parent was computed. The oneway ANOVA comparing the means of positive adjectives about mothers yielded a significant effect for attachment style, $F(2, 194) = 3.41, p < .05$. The mean of negative adjectives about mothers showed significant effect for attachment style as well, $F(2, 194) = 3.60, p < .05$. Scheffe tests showed that the secure group was significantly more likely than the avoidant group to choose positive adjectives about their mothers ($p < .05$) while the anxious-ambivalent group chose the most negative adjectives, though not to a significant degree.

For fathers, the oneway ANOVA comparing the means of positive adjectives found a significant effect for attachment style, $F(2, 194) = 4.61, p < .05$. The means for negative adjectives about fathers were also significantly different, $F(2, 194) = 4.57, p < .05$. Scheffe tests found that the secure and avoidant groups were significantly different from each other for both negative and positive adjectives ($p < .05$), with securely attached women the most likely to be positive and the least likely to be negative.

Because these results were significant, a cross-tabulation of attachment style by endorsement of each individual adjective was computed (see Table 5). The differences found between the groups fit expectations of each attachment style. The secure group was more likely to indicate that they have a responsive and pleasant mother, as

well as a responsible, responsive, warm, accepting, caring, and strong father. They were the least likely to indicate that their mother is insecure, disinterested, or critical, and that their father is rejecting, unfair or angry.

Avoidant women, in contrast, were much more critical of their parents, and were often the least likely to endorse the positive adjectives and most likely to endorse the negative adjectives about both parents. Anxious-ambivalent women were not usually as negative about their parents as avoidant women, although they were the most likely to say that their mothers were insecure and critical and that their fathers were rejecting. These findings are not as significant as they initially appear to be, however, because when the greater degree of significance required by Bonferroni corrections is used, only endorsement for responsive father and angry father reached that level.

In summary, securely attached women were the most likely to endorse positive adjectives about their mothers and fathers, and avoidant women were the least likely to do so. Avoidantly attached women were the most negative about their fathers, but anxious-ambivalent women were the most negative about their mothers.

Subjects were asked how conflictual their relationships with their parents were when they were young and how conflictual they are now. These questions used a Likert scale ranging from 1 (never) to 4 (often), and including the

option of answering "don't know/don't remember," which was recoded as missing data for statistical computations. A oneway ANOVA comparing the mean levels of current conflict with mothers showed a significant effect for attachment style, $F(2,194) = 4.41, p < .05$. Scheffe tests indicated significant differences between the avoidant and secure groups ($p < .05$), with avoidant women having the higher level of current conflict with their mothers. Differences by attachment style were also found on the oneway ANOVA comparing mean levels of current conflict with fathers, $F(2,194) = 3.67, p < .05$. The avoidant group had the highest mean, although Scheffe tests were not significant.

The oneway ANOVA comparing the mean levels of perceived childhood conflict with mothers found an almost significant effect for attachment ($F(2,194) = 2.67, p = .07$). The avoidant group reported the most childhood conflict, while secure women reported the least. Differences between the groups for mean levels of perceived childhood conflict with fathers was not significant.

The Interpersonal Schema Questionnaire provided additional information about some of the differences between the relationships securely, avoidantly, and anxious-ambivalently attached women have with their parents. Using a oneway ANOVA, the overall mean levels of satisfaction with the imagined responses of mothers and fathers for all the

scenarios combined were compared, and when results were significant each scenario was also considered individually.

The differences between the three attachment styles were significant for mean satisfaction with the responses of mothers $F(2,194) = 5.58, p < .01$. Scheffe tests found that the secure and avoidant groups differed significantly from each other ($p < .05$). When analyzed individually, the secure group indicated greater satisfaction with the imagined responses of their mother in 14 of the 16 scenarios, as measured on a Likert scale of 1 (undesirable) to 7 (desirable). These results were significant for 5 of the 16 situations ($p < .05$), although none reached the level of significance required ($p < .0031$) when Bonferroni corrections for the number of tests were applied. Scheffe tests were done to test the extent of differences between each group, and for 4 of the 5 situations the avoidant and secure groups differed significantly from each other ($p < .05$). In general, anxious-ambivalently attached women were less negative than avoidant women but not as positive as secure women.

These findings support the idea that adults with a more secure attachment style have a more positive relationship with their mothers, at least retrospectively, as represented by the schemas they have about expectations of their mothers' behavior.

For fathers, the oneway ANOVA comparing the overall means of the secure, avoidant and anxious-ambivalent groups found a significant difference in the level of satisfaction of perceived paternal responses on the ISQ, $F(2,194) = 3.79$, $p < .05$. The Scheffe test showed that the avoidant and secure groups were significantly different from each other ($p < .05$). The differences were not as consistent as for mothers, however, because although the means for each scenario were highest for the securely attached group, they were only significant ($p < .05$) for one scenario, and none reached the significance required by Bonferroni corrections.

Attachment Style and Romantic Relationships

Because of the nature of the questions, only women currently in a romantic relationship were considered for these statistics ($n = 138$, 71%). Those who indicated a secure style of attachment were the most likely to be in a current romantic relationship, whereas those who were avoidant were the least likely ($X^2(2, N = 193) = 19.32$, $p < .0001$) (see Table 6). Thus the subsample used for the following statistics had a somewhat different percentage of each of the attachment styles than the sample in general.

The overall number of positive and negative adjectives endorsed for romantic partners was computed, and the means for the three attachment styles were compared using oneway ANOVA's. The differences were significant for both positive adjectives, $F(2,135) = 3.87$, $p < .05$, and negative

adjectives $F(2,135) = 4.86, p < .01$. Scheffe tests found that the avoidant and secure groups differed significantly from each other ($p < .05$) in the average number of positive adjectives used to describe their romantic partners, with the avoidant group the least positive and the secure group the most positive. For negative adjectives, Scheffe tests found that the anxious-ambivalent women were significantly more likely to use negative descriptions than either the avoidant or the secure women ($p < .05$).

To look at differences more carefully, the specific adjectives were considered. Securely attached women were the most likely to say their romantic partners are responsive ($p < .01$), as well as warm, likable, strong, and respectful ($p < .05$). They are the least likely of the three groups to indicate that their romantic partners are unresponsive ($p < .0017$) or disinterested ($p < .01$). However, only the significance level for unresponsive meets the level required by Bonferroni corrections.

Avoidant women, while the most critical of the three groups about their parents, were somewhat more positive about their romantic partners. However the avoidant women currently in romantic relationships are a subsample of the larger group. Anxious-ambivalent women were not usually as negative about their parents as avoidant women but they were the most negative about their romantic partners. They were the most likely of the three groups to describe partners as

unresponsive and disinterested ($p < .01$), and the least likely to describe partners as warm, likable, responsive or respectful ($p < .05$).

For the ISQ as well, the securely attached group had higher overall levels of expressed satisfaction for their schemas about the behaviors of their romantic partners. When oneway ANOVAs comparing the overall mean of the three attachment styles were computed, the differences were significant, $F(2,135) = 3.26$, $p < .05$. Scheffe tests found that the secure and anxious-ambivalent groups were significantly different from each other, with the anxious-ambivalent group having the lowest overall mean, and the secure group the highest. When each situation was compared, 3 of the 16 situations had significant differences, all in the same direction as the overall means, though not at the level required by Bonferroni corrections.

Attachment Style and Mental Models of Relationships

As with the adjective list, because the statements about mental models were originally designed for an attachment study, it is not surprising that oneway ANOVAs for agreement with each mental model statement found several significant effects for attachment style. Table 7 shows these results.

Because of the number of tests run, Bonferroni corrections were computed, indicating that a $p < .00625$ was needed for significance. Securely attached women indicated

that they have fewer self-doubts than the other two groups, and they are less likely to believe that others misunderstand them (both $p < .0001$). Women with a secure attachment style were also more likely to believe that they are easy to get to know, that people like them, and that others are well-intentioned. They were more likely, though not significantly so, to disagree that you have to watch out in dealing with most people, and that others will hurt, ignore or reject you if it suits their purposes.

Women with a more avoidant attachment style were the most likely to disagree that they were able to commit themselves to a long-term relationship ($p < .0001$), and the most likely to say they are more independent. They also were the least likely to say that they are easy to get to know and that people generally like them. Anxious-ambivalently attached women, on the other hand, were most likely to agree that they have more self-doubts than others ($p < .0001$) and that people misunderstand or fail to appreciate them ($p < .0001$). They also indicated that they were more willing and able than other people to make commitments to long-term relationships ($p < .0001$).

Attachment Styles and Descriptions of Parental Relationships During Childhood

There were several significant differences between secure, avoidant and anxious-ambivalently attached women in their descriptions of what they remembered about their

parents' marriages from their childhood. The mean total number of positive responses for each attachment group were compared using a oneway ANOVA, and the groups were significantly different $F(2, 193) = 7.21, p = .001$. Scheffe tests found that securely attached women were significantly more likely to note positive aspects of their parents' marriages than avoidant women ($p < .05$), while anxious-ambivalently attached women were in between the two groups.

When the mean total number of negative adjectives about parental marriages were compared using a oneway ANOVA, the results were again significant, $F(2, 193) = 3.68, p < .05$. Scheffe tests found differences between the avoidant and secure groups, $p < .05$. In concert with the previous finding, secure women were the least likely to indicate negative adjectives described their parents' marriage, while avoidant women were the most likely to do so.

When the adjectives were compared individually, women with a secure attachment style were more likely to endorse every positive adjective on the list about their parents' marriage, whether the marriage had eventually ended in divorce or not. They were the most likely to say that it had been a loving, warm, friendly, caring, respectful, and good-humored relationship, and the least likely to say that it had been conflictual or unhappy ($\chi^2 (2), p < .05$). The

only marital adjective to remain significant with Bonferroni corrections ($p < .0036$) was friendly, however.

Anxious-ambivalently attached women also endorsed a number of positive adjectives, though less often than secure women. Avoidantly attached women were the least likely to describe their parents' marriages in positive terms. Avoidant women were also the most likely to indicate that their parents' relationship was conflictual and unhappy ($X^2(2), p < .05$).

When attachment was tested as a dependent variable for adjectives about marital relationships, some important secondary findings emerged. Within the DP group, women who indicated an avoidant attachment style were the least likely of the three attachment groups to indicate that their parents marriage prior to the divorce had been loving ($X^2(2) = 13.70, p < .01$). Avoidantly attached women were also the most likely of the three attachment groups to describe their parents' marriage before the divorce as angry ($X^2(2) = 6.01, p < .05$).

In contrast, women with divorced parents who were anxious-ambivalently attached were the opposite of the avoidant women. They were the most likely to describe their parents' marriage prior to their divorce as loving and least likely to say it was angry. These results suggest that both the experience of divorce and the quality of the relationship between the parents are related to adult

attachment style. They also support Booth and Amato's (1994) findings that marital quality and divorce have related, but somewhat separate, effects.

The findings of more negative descriptions of parental marriages by those with avoidant attachment were also supported by the conflict measure. As Table 8 shows, avoidant women reported the highest overall levels of conflict and securely attached women reported the least conflict between their parents. These differences were significant both when subjects indicated the general level of fighting, $F(2, 179) = 7.66, p < .001$, and when the mean total of all of the individual topics of conflict was compared, $F(2, 176) = 4.51, p < .05$.

The Role of Conflict

Relationships with Mothers and Fathers

Using internal working models of relationships with parents as the dependent variable, as measured by the mean overall satisfaction of imagined responses for the 16 scenarios on the ISQ, multiple regression analyses using several control variables and then adding measures of marital quality, violence, parental divorce and conflict as independent variables, were conducted in order to compare the predictive validity of some of the primary variables in this study.

A correlation matrix was used to determine the most significant control variables. All of the variables used in

this study were correlated with at least one of the other variables (coefficients greater than .30), indicating that the model was appropriate. In order to ensure that the correlation matrix was not an identity matrix, the Bartlett test of sphericity was utilized (sphericity = 1329.05, $p = .00000$). An anti-image correlation matrix found a small proportion of large coefficients, and The Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure of sampling adequacy was .71088, further supporting the value of this model.

Only variables which were theoretically or statistically relevant (correlation of .30 or higher with the variable being regressed on) were used as control variables in the regression equations. The correlation matrix showed which variables would need to be forced through the equation first. Race, parental education, income and attachment were the control variables for relationships with parents, while income and attachment were the control variables for romantic relationships.

In order to have a continuous variable for attachment, a factor analysis using the 22 attachment style questions was conducted (see Appendix B). Initial statistics found that 7 factors had an eigenvalue greater than 1, which is often a standard for inclusion in a model (Collins & Read, 1990; Norusis, 1990). However, the last 3 of the 7 factors had respective eigenvalues of 1.16, 1.07, and 1.01, and accounted for little of the variance. When 4 factors were

used, communality of variables ranged from .233 to .798. Thus the 4 factor model, rather than the 7 factor model, was determined to be both efficient and sufficient for this analysis.

The factor loadings and percentage of variance accounted for are shown in Appendix B. Factors with loadings of .30 or larger were used to define factors. The first factor contained statements about how easy or difficult it is for subjects to be close to others, related to Bartholomew and Horowitz's (1990) fearful-avoidant category. The second factor had items about fear that others won't be there when needed, the desire to merge, and other reflections of anxious attachment. The third factor also consisted of items about anxiety, mostly concerning the fear of abandonment. The fourth factor contained items about comfort with dependence in relationships. Based on the items used to define each factor, the four attachment factors were called Close, Merge, Abandon and Depend, respectively.

The factors derived in this study were most related to the factors found in Collins and Read's (1990) factor analysis of attachment, which were Close, Depend, and Anxiety. All four attachment factors were used as control variables in the multiple regression analyses in this study.

The sum total of each specific topic of marital conflict added to the response about the general level of

conflict was used as an overall measure of conflict between parents during childhood. The sum total of positive descriptions of parents' marital relationship was used as the measure of positive marriage quality during subjects' childhood, and the sum total of negative descriptions was the measure of negative marriage quality. The sum of the level of endorsement for the questions about physical violence and injury were used as the measure of marital violence.

Table 9 reports the results of these analyses for relationships with mothers, and Table 10 reports the same for fathers. The first model includes only the control variables, and later models add the measures of marital quality, conflict between parents, marital violence, marital status and conflict with that parent during childhood. Cases with missing data on any of the variables were excluded, which reduced the sample sizes.

Conflict with mother as a youth was the most strongly associated, in a negative direction, with current satisfaction with the mother-daughter relationship. The strongest regression equation contained the control variables and the conflict with mother during childhood variable without other independent variables ($R^2 = .285$).

Satisfaction with the imagined responses of mothers, which theoretically represents cognitive schemas about that relationship, was negatively associated with marital

conflict, marital violence, fewer positive descriptions of parents' marriage, and conflict with mother during childhood. Each of these four factors was capable of increasing the variance significantly over the model with just control variables (Model 1, $p < .05$). The strongest control variables for relationships with mothers were the attachment factors of Close and Merge. Notably, there was not a significant association with parental divorce.

The eighth model included all of the independent variables about subjects' parents' relationship except for parental divorce, and was also able to increase the variance significantly over Model 1 ($p < .05$), to $R^2 = .153$. However, the four variables combined did not increase the variance over Model 2, which was marital conflict alone ($R^2 = .153$). When parental divorce was added to all the other combined marital quality variables, once again it did not have a significant effect.

For fathers the results were slightly different. The measure of cognitive schemas about relationships with father (the degree of satisfaction with fathers' imagined responses on the ISQ) was negatively associated with marital conflict, negative descriptions of parents' marriage, and conflict with father during childhood. It was positively associated with positive descriptions of parents' marriage. All three of these variables accounted for a significant increase in variance over the first model containing just control

variables. Income was the most significant control variable, although the attachment factors of Merge and Depend were significant in some of the equations. Again, parental divorce did not have a significant association. Violence did not have a significant association either, although adding marital violence to the equation did increase the overall variance to a significant degree over Model 1 ($p < .05$).

When all the independent variables with the exception of parental divorce were added into the equation, there was a significant increase in the amount of variance over the first model ($p < .05$), although no one factor was significant. Adding divorce into the equation did not increase variance significantly.

As with mothers, the variable concerning conflict with fathers during childhood was a strongly significant variable, both on its own and when added to other equations. Increased conflict with fathers during childhood predicted lower levels of satisfaction with the adult father-daughter relationship. The strongest equation contained the control variables, all of the marital variables except divorce, and childhood conflict with fathers ($R^2 = .278$).

These regression analyses demonstrate that the specific aspects of parents' relationship -- the extent of conflict, the presence of violence, and the positive and negative

qualities -- are better predictors of subsequent feelings about parents than the presence or absence of divorce.

Relationships with Romantic Partners

When similar regression analyses were run for relationships with romantic partner, the results were somewhat different (Table 11). For romantic partners, family income and the attachment factors of Close and Merge were the control variables most likely to be significantly related. However, the only independent variable which was significant was the amount of conflict subjects had with their mothers during their childhood. None of the marital quality variables showed significant findings for romantic partners, and once again, neither did parental marital status.

The only variables which increased the variance significantly over the equation containing just the control variables were model 6, which added conflict with mother during youth, model 8 which added parental divorce (with a positive correlation), and model 10, which added all the variables combined. The highest R^2 was .181, which was model 8. This is lower than those obtained with these variables for relationships with parents, and suggests that the variables in this study were more related to subjects' schemas about their parents than about their romantic partners.

Table 1

Parental Marital Status and Attachment Style

Attachment	Married Parents	Divorced Parents	Total
Secure	60 (48.4%)	24 (36.4%)	84
Avoidant	34 (27.4%)	29 (43.9%)	63
Anxious-Ambiv.	30 (24.2%)	13 (19.7%)	43
Total	124 (100%)	66 (100.%)	

$$\chi^2 (2, N = 190) = 5.34, p = .069$$

Table 2

Descriptive Adjectives for Fathers: Differences by Parental Marital Status

Adjectives	Married Parents	Divorced Parents
<u>Positive</u>		
responsible	81.5%	41.8%*
strong	78.2%	49.3%*
respectful	77.4%	49.3%*
caring	77.4%	55.2%*
likable	75.0%	55.2%
fair	75.0%	40.3%*
good-natured	71.8%	47.8%*
loving	71.8%	49.3%*
humorous	71.8%	49.3%*
respecting	71.8%	49.3%*
confident	70.2%	46.3%*
accepting	66.9%	50.7%
understanding	66.1%	41.8%*
pleasant	64.5%	52.2%
warm	57.3%	46.3%
responsive	56.5%	34.3%*
sympathetic	50.8%	43.3%
affectionate	44.4%	37.3%
<u>Neutral</u>		
overburdened	37.1%	20.9%
demanding	36.3%	29.9%
<u>Negative</u>		
critical	33.1%	35.8%
angry	19.4%	23.9%
intrusive	12.9%	11.9%
unresponsive	12.9%	23.9%
unfair	12.1%	22.4%
insecure	11.3%	23.9%
disinterested	11.3%	20.9%
unhappy	11.3%	20.9%
cold	11.3%	25.4%
rejecting	8.9%	22.4%

Note: Bonferroni corrections were used due to the number of tests run, requiring $p < .0017$ for significance.

$N=190$ (MP $n = 123$, DP $n = 67$); * $p < .0017$

Table 3

Descriptions of Parental Marriage during Childhood: Married Parents Compared to Divorced Parents

MARRIAGE DESCRIPTION	(<u>n</u>) and % endorsed with married parents	(<u>n</u>) and % endorsed with divorced parents
Friendly	(92) 74.8%	(24) 35.8%*
Caring	(97) 78.9%	(20) 29.9%*
Loving	(87) 70.7%	(19) 28.4%*
Good-Humored	(85) 69.1%	(16) 23.9%*
Warm	(83) 67.5%	(15) 22.4%*
Affectionate	(75) 61.0%	(12) 17.9%*
Respectful	(80) 65.0%	(12) 17.9%*
Conflictual	(39) 31.7%	(35) 55.2%
Problematic	(26) 21.1%	(29) 43.3%*
Angry	(25) 20.3%	(29) 43.3%*
Distant	(17) 13.8%	(27) 40.3%*
Unhappy	(13) 10.6%	(27) 40.3%*
Difficult-to- Understand	(30) 24.4%	(21) 31.3%
Uncomfortable	(8) 6.5%	(20) 29.9%*
Critical	(15) 12.2%	(14) 20.9%

Note: Bonferroni corrections were used due to the number of tests run, requiring $p < .0036$ for significance.

N=190 (MP n = 123, DP n = 67); * $p < .0036$

Table 4

Reported Levels of Conflict: Married Parents and Divorced Parents

Type of Conflict	Married mean (SD) (<u>n</u> =124)	Divorced mean (SD) (<u>n</u> =66)	t-value pooled variance
In general, how often did your parents fight while you were growing up?	2.63 (0.9)	3.11 (0.8)	-3.43*
About responsibilities?	2.07 (1.0)	2.54 (1.0)	-2.68
About their friends?	1.56 (0.8)	2.27 (1.1)	-4.39*
About showing affection?	1.34 (0.8)	1.90 (1.1)	-3.53*
About money?	2.55 (1.1)	3.19 (1.0)	-3.71*
About religion?	1.29 (0.7)	1.51 (1.0)	-1.69
About leisure time?	1.88 (1.0)	2.26 (1.2)	-2.09
About drinking/drug use?	1.62 (1.1)	2.51 (1.3)	-4.65*
About in-laws?	2.26 (1.1)	2.13 (1.2)	0.71
About other men/women?	1.29 (0.8)	1.87 (1.3)	-3.72*
About sex?	1.15 (0.5)	1.58 (1.1)	-3.12*
About work?	2.18 (1.0)	2.70 (1.0)	-2.99*
About the child(ren)?	2.09 (1.1)	2.85 (1.2)	-4.25*
Other?	1.96 (1.4)	2.15 (1.5)	-0.40
Mean of all topics	1.81 (0.5)	2.42 (0.8)	-6.17*
How often were fights physical?	1.21 (0.5)	1.60 (0.9)	-3.74*
Was either parent ever badly hurt...?	1.06 (0.3)	1.32 (0.7)	-3.49*

Note: Scale was 1=never, 2=hardly ever, 3=sometimes, 4=often. Bonferroni corrections were used due to the number of tests run, requiring $p < .0031$ for significance.

N=190 (MP n = 123, DP n = 67); * $p < .0031$

Table 5

Descriptions of Mothers and Fathers: Differences by Attachment Style, $p < .05$

Adjective	(<u>n</u>) % ambiv indicated	(<u>n</u>) % avoid. indicated	(<u>n</u>) % secure indicated
<u>Mother</u>			
responsive	(29) 67.4%	(37) 56.9%	(69) 79.3%*
pleasant	(32) 74.4%	(44) 67.7%	(77) 88.5%**
insecure	(14) 32.6%	(18) 27.7%	(12) 13.8%*
disinterested	(2) 4.7%	(8) 12.3%	(2) 2.3%* ⁺
critical	(20) 46.5%	(27) 41.5%	(23) 26.4%*
<u>Father</u>			
responsible	(29) 67.4%	(35) 53.8%	(66) 75.9%*
responsive	(21) 48.8%	(20) 30.8%	(53) 60.9%** [#]
warm	(22) 51.2%	(26) 40.0%	(55) 63.2%*
accepting	(24) 55.8%	(32) 49.2%	(62) 71.3%*
caring	(31) 72.1%	(37) 56.9%	(66) 75.9%*
strong	(27) 62.8%	(35) 53.8%	(68) 78.2%**
cold	(7) 16.3%	(17) 26.2%	(8) 9.2%*
rejecting	(6) 14.0%	(5) 7.7%	(1) 1.1%* ⁺
unfair	(8) 18.6%	(16) 24.6%	(7) 8.0%*
angry	(10) 23.3%	(23) 35.4%	(9) 10.3%** [#]

Note: $N = 195$ Anxious $n = 43$ Avoidant $n = 65$
 Secure $n = 87$; * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; ⁺ = cells with low expected frequency.

[#] = adjectives significant with Bonferroni correction for number of tests, which required $p < .0017$.

Table 6

Attachment Style and Likelihood of Being in a Romantic Relationship

ATTACHMENT STYLE	Current Romantic Relationship <u>n</u> (%)	No. Current Relationship <u>n</u> (%)	Total
Anxious- Ambivalent	27 (62.8%)	16 (37.2%)	43
Avoidant	36 (56.3%)	28 (43.8%)	64
Secure	75 (87.2%)	11 (12.8%)	86

χ^2 (2, N = 193) = 19.32, p < .0001

Table 7

Attachment Styles: Comparing Mean Agreement with Mental Model Statements

MENTAL MODEL STATEMENT	Attachment Style			\overline{F} (2,193)
	Ambiv.	Avoidant	Secure	
1. I am easier to get to know than most people.	2.79	3.14	2.70	2.87
2. I have more self-doubts than most people.	2.21 _a	2.55 _a	3.28 _b	5.17*
3. People almost always like me.	2.40	2.45	2.25	1.30
4. People often misunderstand me or fail to appreciate me.	2.58 _a	2.84 _a	3.38 _b	10.61*
5. Few people are as willing/able as I am to commit themselves to a long-term relationship.	2.33 _a	3.44 _b	3.15 _b	14.44*
6. People are generally well-intentioned and good-hearted.	2.47	2.45	2.18	2.74
7. You have to watch out in dealing with most people...	3.19	3.39	3.54	1.54
8. I am more independent and self-sufficient than most people...	2.97 _a	2.38 _b	2.78	4.85

Note: $N = 194$ Anxious $n=43$ Avoidant $n=64$ Secure $n=87$
 Scores had a possible range of 1 (Agree Strongly) to 5 (Disagree Strongly). Within each row, means with different subscripts differed significantly at $p < .05$ according to a Scheffe test. Bonferroni corrections were used due to the number of tests run, requiring $p < .00625$ for significance.

* $p < .0001$

Table 8

Reported Levels of Conflict Between Parents During Childhood and Adult Attachment Style

TYPE OF CONFLICT	Secure mean	Anx-Amb. mean	Avoidant mean
In general, how often did your parents fight while you were growing up?	2.54 _a	2.81	3.12 _b *

About responsibilities?	1.95 _a	2.33	2.45 _b
About their friends?	1.55 _a	1.65	2.12 _b *
About showing affection?	1.45	1.32	1.77
About money?	2.63	2.71	2.97
About religion?	1.26	1.40	1.41
About leisure time?	1.72 _a	2.10	2.24 _b
About drinking/drug use?	1.69	2.00	2.07
About in-laws?	2.05	2.41	2.28
About other men/women?	1.25 _a	1.47	1.74 _b
About sex?	1.09 _a	1.44 _b	1.43 _b
About work?	2.00 _a	2.46	2.70 _b *
About the child(ren)?	1.96 _a	2.60 _b	2.62 _b *
Other?	1.94	1.44	2.58

Mean of all topics	1.79 _a	2.01	2.28 _b *

How often were fights physical?	1.17 _a	1.37	1.59 _b *
Was either parent ever badly hurt...?	1.04 _a	1.14	1.35 _b *

Note: Scores were 1=never, 2=hardly ever, 3=sometimes, 4=often. Within each row, means with different subscripts differed significantly at $p < .05$ according to a Scheffe test. Bonferroni corrections were used due to the number of tests run, requiring $p < .0031$ for significance.

$N=178$ Anxious $n = 41$ Avoidant $n = 60$. Secure $n = 77$;

* $p < .0031$

Table 9

Standardized Beta Coefficients from Regressing Mean Satisfaction with Mothers' ISQ Responses on Measures of Marital Quality and Conflict

Predictors	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6
Race	-.040	-.022	.040	-.056	-.031	-.047
Mother's education	-.082	-.058	-.105	-.024	-.065	-.085
Income	.109	.007	.120	.057	.094	.117
Attachment Close	.229**	.096	.167	.183*	.211*	.226*
Attachment Merge	.244**	.161	.202*	.240**	.241**	.243**
Attachment Abandon	.154	.123	.137	.153	.154	.147
Attachment Depend	.004	.029	.013	.004	-.006	.005
Marital conflict		-.338***				
Marital violence			-.206*			
Marital quality-pos.				.191*		
Marital quality-neg.					-.089	
Parental divorce						.013
Conflict with mother as a youth						
Adjusted R squared	.117	.153	.149	.143	.117	.106

Note: Sample size is 125. Models 2, 3, 7, 8, 9, 10 and 11 all represent significant increments in variance over Model 1. *p < .05; **p < .01; ***p < .001 (continued)

Table 9

(continued)

Standardized Beta Coefficients from Regressing Mean Satisfaction with Mothers' ISQ Responses on Measures of Marital Quality and Conflict

Predictors	Model 7	Model 8	Model 9	Model 10	Model 11
Race	-.029	.016	-.010	.031	.021
Mother's education	-.100	-.051	-.068	-.109	-.121
Income	.123	.035	.083	.099	.137
Attachment Close	.141	.099	.107	.075	.084
Attachment Merge	.230	.161	.157	.190*	.192
Attachment Abandon	.087	.120	.127	.085	.093
Attachment Depend	-.002	.042	.051	.023	.025
Marital conflict		-.321*	-.341*	-.196	-.221
Marital violence		-.098	-.051	-.111	-.075
Marital quality-pos.		.153	.174	.101	.110
Marital quality-neg.		-.202	.178	.161	.153
Parental divorce			.126		.073
Conflict with mother as a youth	-.422****			-.341***	-.337***
Adjusted R squared	.285	.153	.150	.252	.246

Note: Sample size is 125. Models 2, 3, 7, 8, 9, 10, and 11 all represent significant increments in variance over Model 1.

*p < .05; **p < .01; ***p < .001; ****p < .0001

Table 10

Standardized Beta Coefficients from Regressing Mean Satisfaction with Fathers' ISQ Responses on Measures of Marital Quality and Conflict

Predictors	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6
Race	.062	.076	.069	.046	.105	.050
Father's education	.101	.012	.026	.157	.146	.112
Income	.206*	.234*	.245*	.124	.153	.152
Attachment Close	.137	.035	.121	.064	.089	.115
Attachment Merge	.172*	.127	.097	.155	.155	.172
Attachment Abandon	-.007	.049	.020	-.013	-.013	-.018
Attachment Depend	-.142	-.153	-.132	-.146	-.182*	-.143
Marital conflict		-.307**				
Marital violence			-.187			
Marital quality-pos.				.339***		
Marital quality-neg.					-.296**	
Parental divorce						-.082
Conflict with father as a youth						
Adjusted R squared	.074	.147	.106	.176	.147	.050

Note: Sample size is 125. Models 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10 and 11 all represent significant increases in variance over Model 1. *p < .05; **p < .01; ***p < .001 (continued)

Table 10

(continued)

Standardized Beta Coefficients from Regressing Mean Satisfaction with Fathers' ISQ Responses on Measures of Marital Quality and Conflict

Predictors	Model 7	Model 8	Model 9	Model 10	Model 11
Race	.135	.089	.037	.148	.111
Father's education	.115	.056	.028	.064	.039
Income	.213*	.192	.206	.217*	.247*
Attachment Close	.091	.034	.022	.022	.022
Attachment Merge	.148	.088	.069	.067	.058
Attachment Abandon	-.020	.031	.031	.028	.039
Attachment Depend	-.119	-.168	-.154	-.137	-.128
Marital conflict		-.160	-.143	-.155	-.164
Marital violence		-.067	-.049	-.012	.022
Marital quality-pos.		.246	.279*	.182	.209
Marital quality-neg.		-.026	-.072	-.064	-.100
Parental divorce			-.135		-.132
Conflict with father as a youth	-.320***			-.274**	-.261**
Adjusted R squared	.166	.193	.169	.278	.245

Note: Sample size is 125. Models 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10 and 11 all represent significant increases in variance over Model 1.

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

Table 11

Standardized Beta Coefficients from Regressing Mean Satisfaction with Romantic Partners' ISQ Responses on Measures of Marital Quality and Conflict

Predictors	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Income	.174*	.133	.145	.174*	.180*
Attachment: Close	.155*	.097	.143	.153*	.161*
Attachment: Merge	.308***	.266**	.268**	.309***	.312***
Attachment: Abandon	.061	.047	.050	.052	.052
Attachment: Depend	-.090	-.064	-.096	-.089	-.089
Marital conflict		-.089			
Marital violence			-.107		
Marital quality-pos.				.008	
Marital quality-neg.					-.025
Conflict with mother during youth					
Conflict with father during youth					
Parental divorce					
Adjusted R squared	.141	.097	.135	.136	.136

Note: Sample size is 108. Models 6, 8, and 10 represent significant increases in variance over Model 1.

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

(continued)

Table 11

(continued)

Standardized Beta Coefficients from Regressing Mean Satisfaction with Romantic Partners' ISQ Responses on Measures of Marital Quality and Conflict

Predictors	Model 6	Model 7	Model 8	Model 9	Model 10
Income	.179*	.124	.233**	.138	.207*
Attachment: Close	.126	.151	.206**	.092	.113
Attachment: Merge	.302***	.296***	.311***	.255**	.258**
Attachment: Abandon	.038	.049	.068	.007	.025
Attachment: Depend	-.095	-.091	-.125	-.087	-.104
Marital conflict				-.073	-.132
Marital violence				-.113	-.074
Marital quality-pos.				.124	.124
Marital quality-neg.				.197	.170
Conflict with mother during youth	-.152*			-.141	-.142
Conflict with father during youth		-.050		.015	-.044
Parental divorce			.133		.099
Adjusted R squared	.158	.113	.181	.118	.169

Note: Sample size is 108. Models 6, 8, and 10 represent significant increases in variance over Model 1.

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

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

Summary of Findings

Using self-report data, this study assessed the relationship between parental divorce during childhood and subsequent relationships with parents and romantic partners. Multiple regression analyses powerfully showed that the specific aspects of parents' relationships -- the extent of conflict, the presence of violence, and the positive and negative qualities of the marital relationship -- are better predictors of subsequent feelings about parents than the presence or absence of divorce. Quite importantly, the regressions also showed that the conflict variables in this study had more predictive validity for relationships with parents than either attachment or parental divorce. These findings support the idea that the ongoing parent-parent and parent-child interactions during early years are better predictors of subsequent relationships than marital status (Booth & Amato, 1994; Brennan & Shaver, 1993).

Because divorce is a concrete event which is easy to quantify, research outcomes may get linked to divorce rather than to related underlying factors such as marital relationship quality (Booth & Amato, 1994), socioeconomic status (Barber & Eccles, 1992) or parental conflict (Emery, 1982). For these same reasons, those who experience divorce may be more likely to blame various difficulties or problems

on their parents' divorce than on more complicated factors such as quality of relationships.

The picture is more complex however, because divorce lessens income, increases parental conflict and relates to poor marital quality (Wallerstein & Blakeslee, 1989; Weitzman, 1985), which makes causative statements problematic. This study found that the patterns of family conflict and problematic attachments which often precede divorce are more strongly correlated with relationship schemas than divorce per se. Thus the effects of parental divorce on adult relationships are present, but may be indirect rather than direct (Brennan & Shaver, 1993).

Using attachment as a variable allowed for consideration of relationship schemas, and showed that attachment and parental divorce impact on somewhat different domains. For instance, parental divorce was not related to subsequent descriptions of relationships with mothers, whereas attachment style was. Similarly, for romantic relationships there were several significant differences for attachment, yet divorce had few findings.

For women currently in a romantic relationship, both attachment and parental divorce helped to explain some variability. The other variables about parents' marriage, however, were not strongly related to satisfaction with romantic partners. Because of this, the degree of variance explained for romantic relationships was low. These

findings suggest that the variables in this study were more relevant for parent-child relationships, and that romantic relationships are more multi-determined than the research often indicates.

Several findings of this study replicated previous research. For this sample, as with other studies (Brennan & Shaver, 1993; Hazan & Shaver, 1987) parental divorce did not have a statistically significant relationship with adult attachment style, although a higher percentage of subjects with divorced parents in this study indicated that they were avoidantly attached.

Parental divorce was significantly related to more criticism of fathers and less satisfaction with current father-daughter relationships. Divorce did not have a strong impact on reported mother-daughter relationships during adulthood, nor was it related to descriptions of or satisfaction with current romantic relationships. Women with divorced parents reported significantly fewer positive qualities, more negative qualities, and greater amounts of conflict and violence in their parents' pre-divorce relationship than women whose parents were still married.

For several variables, attachment style had a significant relationship where divorce had not. As expected, subjects who indicated that they were securely attached were the most likely to use positive descriptors and the least likely to use negative descriptors when

describing each of their parents, whether divorced or not. Secure women reported the lowest current level of conflict with each of their parents, and the greatest satisfaction with their parents' expected responses on the ISQ. Avoidant women were usually the opposite of the secure women, with the exception that anxious-ambivalent women were the most negative about their mothers.

Secure women were also the most positive about their romantic partners, while anxious-ambivalent women were the most negative. On the mental model statements, securely attached women expressed fewer self-doubts and believed that others are unlikely to misunderstand them, while anxious-ambivalently attached women indicated the opposite. Women with anxious-ambivalent attachment were the most likely to indicate that they are willing and able to make a commitment to a long-term relationship, whereas avoidant women most often disagreed with that statement.

When describing their parents' relationship (prior to the divorce for those with divorced parents), secure women used the most positive and the fewest negative adjectives, and reported lower levels of conflict and violence. Avoidant women had the reverse pattern, and these results were true whether the marriage eventually ended in divorce or not. Insecure attachment was related to more negative relationships with parents and with romantic partners, whether or not parental divorce occurred. Additionally,

those with secure attachment and divorced parents managed to maintain their positive relationship schemas despite experiencing divorce, supporting the idea that divorce and attachment style have somewhat independent effects on adult relationships.

Divorced Parents and Adult Attachment Style

In this study, there was a strong, though not significant, relationship between experiencing parental divorce during childhood and adult attachment style. Most of those who indicated that they were securely attached had grown up with both of their biological parents, whereas almost half of those who were avoidantly attached had experienced parental divorce, and hence separation from a non-custodial parent. For those from intact families, the most common attachment style was secure, then avoidant and then anxious-ambivalent. For women with divorced parents, however, the avoidant attachment pattern was most frequent. The second most common attachment style was secure and the third was anxious-ambivalent.

Interpretation of this finding is complex. It may be that for some people, parental divorce disrupts the attachment process, even when it occurs during latency and adolescence. While some researchers believe that attachment styles are relatively inflexible after early childhood (Ainsworth, Blehar, Waters & Wall, 1978; Bowlby, 1969) it has also been hypothesized that attachment can change due to

a trauma such as parental rejection, abandonment, or death (Bowlby, 1973, 1980), or conversely, because of therapy, a supportive marriage, or other reparative relationships (Egeland, Jacobovitz & Sroufe, 1988; Hazan & Shaver, 1987). If divorce is experienced by a child as a rejection or as the loss of a parent, it seems possible that attachment style could be altered. This would help to explain the CCDS finding (Wallerstein & Blakeslee, 1989) that some children with divorced parents feel rejected, abandoned and unloved by their fathers, despite regular contact with them. The meaning that a child makes about the divorce situation may not be the same as that of the adults involved, and yet that cognitive schema may become the basis for subsequent interpersonal interaction (Safran, 1990).

Another possibility is that because insecurely attached people are more likely to be divorced (Hazan & Shaver, 1987) and are also more likely to have insecurely attached children (Zeanah & Zeanah, 1989), that the causative factor may be a parent(s) with an insecure attachment style rather than divorce per se. This would reflect the research findings that indicate that the relationship between the custodial parent and child may be more important than the experience of divorce in determining long-term adjustment. The fact that attachment style was more significantly related to many of the measures in this study than to parental marital status suggests the merit of this idea.

A third hypothesis is that marriages which end in divorce are more likely to have been conflictual and problematic. Growing up with these experiences, rather than divorce itself, may be causally related to insecure attachment. Those with divorced parents in this study were significantly more likely than those with married parents to indicate that their parents' marriage had been conflictual during their childhood. However, for subjects who have divorced parents, it also seems possible that in order to understand why the divorce occurred, they might say that their parents' marriage was problematic. It is for these reasons that retrospective memory becomes a problem.

These findings on divorce experience and attachment also suggest that fathers may play a bigger part in adult women's attachment style than is usually supposed. Their absence seems to be a severely interruptive factor, since the primary differences in relationships between those with divorced parents and those with married parents were with fathers, not mothers.

Findings for Divorce

Parental Divorce and Relationships with Parents

Subjects' relationships with their parents were measured by adjective endorsement and the ISQ. There were also questions about past and current conflict with each parent. For relationships with mothers, there were no significant differences between those with divorced parents

and those from intact families. As with other research in this area (Aquilino, 1994; Booth & Amato, 1994; Fine et al., 1983; Furstenberg et al., 1983; Wallerstein & Blakeslee, 1989) there were quite strong findings regarding relationships with fathers, however.

Women with married parents were significantly more positive about their fathers on the ISQ and in their choice of adjective descriptors. Women with divorced parents, on the other hand, were significantly more likely to choose negative adjectives. The questions about conflict with parents found that women with divorced parents were somewhat more likely to have current conflict with their fathers. There were not differences for age of divorce on these variables.

These results are consistent with other research about the relationship between parental divorce and father-child relationships (Booth & Amato, 1994; Furstenberg et al., 1983; Hetherington, 1972; Hetherington, Cox & Cox, 1985; Kalter, 1987; Southworth & Schwarz, 1987; Wallerstein & Blakeslee, 1989). What remains unclear is whether these daughters would be as likely to describe their fathers in negative terms if there had not been a divorce. The correlation is evident, but the causative factors are not. It may be that the experience of divorce, with its attendant increase in conflict and violence, exposes children to parental behavior which they would not see if the marriage

continued (Long, 1986; Wallerstein & Blakeslee, 1989). Additionally, many fathers lessen their contact with children after divorce (Allison & Furstenberg, 1989; Wallerstein & Blakeslee, 1989), which can also lead to more negative perceptions. However, it may be that men who are less responsible, caring, likable and loving, to name some of the specific descriptive differences found in this study, are more likely to become divorced. These descriptions may have been true regardless of whether a divorce occurred or not. The robust findings in this study for differences by attachment and conflict level, regardless of parental marital status, suggest that several factors, not just divorce per se, are associated with negative descriptions of fathers.

Parental Divorce and Romantic Relationships

In this study, the two measures used to gather information about subjects' current romantic relationships were an adjective list and an interpersonal schema questionnaire (ISQ) (Safran & Hill, 1988). Seventy-one percent of the subjects were currently in romantic relationships, and that subgroup was used for statistical comparisons. Twenty-three percent of the women in romantic relationships had a female partner, which is a higher percentage than is found in the population at large. However, when compared, the differences between those with a female partner and those with a male partner were not

significant on any variable, so the sex of romantic partner was not considered a mediating factor in this study.

Much research has found that experiencing parental divorce has an impact on women's experience of and ideas about romantic relationships (Franklin, et al., 1990; Glen & Kramer, 1987; Kalter et al., 1985; Livingston & Kordinak, 1990; Wallerstein & Blakeslee, 1989). However, in this study, as in Brennan and Shaver (1993), which also assessed the relationship between divorce and attachment, there were no significant differences between women with divorced parents and those with married parents for the likelihood of currently being in a romantic relationship, for length of relationship, for sex of partner, for satisfaction with imagined partner responses on the ISQ, or for overall endorsement of positive or negative adjectives describing the partner. Additionally, there were no significant differences between the two groups when endorsement of the individual adjectives was compared.

The difference between these findings and some of the other divorce research may be due to the fact that the women in this sample were college-aged, and thus may have been less likely to be considering a long-term commitment with their romantic partner. Questions about subjects' beliefs about commitment or marriage, which might have evoked different answers than these questions about current romantic relationships, were not asked.

Overall, whether their parents had been divorced or not, most women in this study expressed greater overall satisfaction with their romantic partner's imagined responses on the ISQ than with either of their parents. This seems developmentally appropriate, given the emotional shift from parents to peers which occurs during early adulthood. Additionally, the romantic relationships were much shorter than parental ones, and thus may have had fewer opportunities for disappointment or frustration.

Parental Divorce and Mental Models about Relationships

In addition to the relationship schemas elicited by the ISQ, eight mental model statements developed by Hazan and Shaver (1987) were also used to gain information about cognitive schemas. Subjects with divorced parents were significantly more likely to agree that people usually like them. There are no relevant explanations for this finding in the divorce literature.

Women with divorced parents were also less likely to agree that people are generally well-intentioned, although the significance did not reach the level required with Bonferroni corrections. For the other six statements, there was little difference between the two groups, and results showed no clear pattern of endorsement.

The mental models were developed for attachment research, so the lack of relationship between divorce and the mental models lends credence to the hypothesis that

divorce and attachment have differing impacts on adult women's relationships.

Parental Divorce and Descriptions of Parental Relationships During Childhood

Adjectives describing what subjects remembered about their parents' marital relationship when they were children (prior to the divorce, if that had occurred) and questions about marital conflict and violence were the measures of parental relationships during childhood. As expected, those with divorced parents were considerably more likely to describe that relationship in negative terms such as unhappy and angry and much less apt to use positive adjectives such as affectionate and respectful. These differences were significant when the overall totals for both negative and positive adjectives were compared, as well as on most of the specific adjectives.

The findings for conflict were some of the strongest in this study. Women with divorced parents indicated that while they were growing up their parents fought more in general than those with married parents, and they had more conflict about several specific topics such as drinking, money, and children. Parents who eventually divorced were more likely to have had physical fights and were more likely to have hurt each other. The differences were significant for general conflict, for the overall mean of conflict about the thirteen specific topics, and for violence.

These results give credence to the hypothesis that some of the negative consequences of divorce are due to related factors such as violence and conflict, both of which increase in families during the divorce process (Forehand et al., 1988; Wallerstein & Blakeslee, 1989). As with other variables in this study, however, it is important to question whether correlation equals causation. While divorce causes an increase in conflict, it is also likely that marriages which are more conflictual and physically violent have a greater likelihood of ending in divorce. The conflict may be either cause or effect.

In summary, this study found that experiencing parental divorce has a significant effect on subsequent relationships women have with their fathers, on positive and negative descriptions of parental relationships during childhood, and on the likelihood of witnessing conflict and violence between parents as a child. It did not find effects for relationships with mothers or with romantic partners, and it found only a few effects for general mental models about relationships in general.

Findings for Attachment Style

Attachment Style and Relationships with Parents

In contrast to the divorce findings, there were significant differences in adjective endorsement about mothers for attachment style. For both parents, women who described themselves as securely attached were more likely

to use positive adjectives, were less likely to use negative adjectives, and had more positive mental schemas for their expected interactions with their parents. Women who were avoidantly attached were the least likely to describe either of their parents in positive ways, and were the most likely to use negative descriptions for their fathers. The avoidant group had the least positive schemas for their parents, as determined by the ISQ. Women who were anxious-ambivalently attached were usually more positive than the avoidant group but less positive than those who are secure, although they were the most likely to describe their mothers in negative ways. On the ISQ, the anxious-ambivalent group was between the avoidant and secure groups, although for some individual scenarios for fathers they were the most positive of the three groups.

These findings clearly support general attachment research that those with secure attachment have more positive feelings about people and are the most pleased with their relationships, and that those with insecure attachments have more difficult experiences and often feel less satisfied with their relationships. The overall findings were strong for both mothers and fathers, although the specific adjectives and ISQ scenarios which were significantly different were unique to each relationship. Some theorists have proposed that fathers have less influence than mothers on children's attachment styles (Main

et al., 1985), while others have suggested that much attachment research has underestimated the role of fathers (Sroufe & Fleeson, 1989). This study supports the latter stance. The similar patterns of findings for mothers and fathers could be due to the fact that early attachment patterns become more stable, and are then generalized to other relationships (Bowlby, 1969). People may also be somewhat likely to marry partners with similar attachment patterns (Brennan & Shaver, 1991). Another possibility is that family patterns of relating develop which are more or less conflictual, loving, and supportive.

Attachment Style and Romantic Relationships

Of the three attachment styles, those who were securely attached were the most likely to currently be in romantic relationships. They were the most likely to endorse positive adjectives when describing their romantic partners, and they were the least likely to use negative adjectives. Avoidant women were the least likely to currently be in a romantic relationship, and were the least likely to use positive adjectives to describe their romantic partners. Anxious-ambivalent women were the most likely of the three attachment groups to use negative adjectives to describe their romantic partners. Securely attached women also had higher overall mean levels of satisfaction with their romantic partners on the ISQ. The anxious-ambivalent group was the least satisfied.

Although avoidantly attached women were the most negative about their parents, anxious-ambivalently attached women were generally the most negative about their romantic partners. These findings corroborate other adult attachment research findings about attachment style and romantic relationships (Brennan & Shaver, 1991; Hazan & Shaver, 1987; Pistole, 1989; Simpson, 1990).

Attachment Style and Mental Models of Relationships

Women who were anxious-ambivalently or avoidantly attached were much more likely than securely attached women to agree that they have more self-doubts than most people. Anxious-ambivalent women were the most likely to agree that few people are as willing or able to commit themselves to long-term relationships. And both anxious-ambivalent and avoidant women were more likely than secure women to indicate that they felt that other people misunderstand and fail to appreciate them.

In addition, the avoidant women were much more likely than the anxious-ambivalent women to indicate that they are more independent and self-sufficient than most people, although this difference did not meet significance with Bonferroni corrections for the number of tests run.

These findings fit the theoretical model of attachment, and are also similar to Hazan and Shaver's (1987) original outcomes. Three of the six statements that showed significant differences for that study were significant for

this sample as well. This continued relevance also corroborates the relationship between attachment style and working models of relationships.

Attachment Style and Descriptions of Parental Relationships

When describing their parents' relationship during their childhood, women who had a secure attachment style were more likely to use positive adjectives, less likely to use negative adjectives, and reported less conflict than women who had an avoidant or anxious-ambivalent attachment style. These differences were all significant, and Scheffe tests found significant differences between the secure and avoidant groups for each of those variables as well. When the individual adjectives were compared, securely attached women, whether their parents had divorced or not, were the most likely to endorse every positive description.

For the subsample who had divorced parents, when attachment was used as a dependent variable, women who were anxious-ambivalently attached were the most likely to describe their parents' pre-divorce relationship as loving. Women who were avoidantly attached, on the other hand, were the most likely to describe parents' pre-divorce relationship as angry, and least likely to say that it was loving, both to a significant degree. Similarly, avoidant women with divorced parents reported the highest levels of predivorce conflict, and the most likely to indicate that their parents' fighting had been violent.

These findings suggest that the quality of the parental relationship and the amount of parental conflict, as much as parental divorce, are related to subsequent adult attachment style. To further explore these relationships, additional statistics were run.

The Role of Conflict

Multiple regression analyses were run to compare the relative predictive validity of the primary variables in this study. Internal working models of relationships with mothers, fathers, and romantic partners, as measured by the ISQ, were used as the dependent variables. Parental income, parental education, race, and four attachment variables derived from a factor analysis of the 22 attachment statements were used as the control variables for the regression analyses on parental relationships. Income and the attachment factors were the control variables used for romantic relationships.

The variables which measured aspects of parental marital quality -- overall conflict levels, the presence of violence, the overall use of positive and of negative adjectives to describe the marriage, and divorce -- were all added into the regression equation individually and in sum. The measure of conflict with mother during childhood was added to the regression on mothers, and likewise with fathers. For romantic partners, conflict with mother and with father during childhood were both used as variables.

Several important findings emerged. Attachment, marital conflict, marital violence, positive descriptions of parents' marital relationships, and conflict with mother during childhood were all significant predictive factors for relationships with mothers. Parental divorce was not a significant variable, either by itself or when added to the regression equations. Conflict with mother during childhood and marital conflict were the two strongest variables.

For fathers, income, marital conflict, positive and negative descriptions of parents' marital relationships and conflict with father as a child were the significantly predictive factors. Again, parental divorce was not a significant variable. Positive descriptions of parents' marriage and conflict with father during childhood had the highest predictive validity.

For women in this sample, current relationships with parents were more related to variables such as parent-daughter conflict during childhood, conflict between parents, violence, income, and marital quality, than to parental divorce per se.

Results were somewhat different for the regression analyses on relationships with romantic partners. Attachment factors, parental income, and conflict with mothers during youth were the factors which were significant. When added into the regression equation, even

though it was not significant by itself, the variable of parental divorce was able to increase the adjusted R^2 by a significant amount over the initial equation using the control variables. It was the only one of the variables which had this effect by itself. In addition, when divorce was added as a factor to the equation which included all the independent variables, it was again able to increase the adjusted R^2 by a significant amount.

The women in romantic relationships were a subsample of the entire sample, and more secure and anxious-ambivalent women than avoidant women were in romantic relationships. Thus these findings must be interpreted with care.

Parental conflict had less of an impact on romantic relationships, and attachment and parental divorce were more important factors. These regression analyses clearly demonstrate that research about divorce must include several related variables before drawing conclusions about possible long-term effects of divorce.

Strengths of the Study

This study addressed the complex task of determining the relationships between parental divorce, attachment style, family conflict during childhood, and young adult women's relationships. Few studies about divorce have taken into consideration the vast number of mediating factors which impact on the areas being explored. While not able to examine every factor, this research included conflict,

parental remarriage, socioeconomic status, age and sex of subjects. Demographic variables such as race and education of parents and of self were also considered. Additionally, the sample was large enough to allow comparisons between several subsamples.

Many divorce researchers have made the error of making causative assumptions about correlative data. This study examined only the relationships between the variables, while questioning causative interpretations. The use of regression analyses allowed for the relative strengths of association to be examined, as well.

Limitations of the Study

This study relied on retrospective data about relationships for measures about marital quality and conflict. Studies of memory suggest that people do not accurately recall parenting experiences from childhood, and that current relationship factors significantly color what gets remembered (Halverson, 1988). The experience of divorce may affect the memory process as much as actual relationships, because people reconstruct their pasts in order to understand or explain current situations (Cooney, 1994). In addition, measures were taken at one point in time, which further impedes any assumptions of causality (Brennan & Shaver, 1993).

An assumption of this study was that the ISQ is a measure of working models of relationships. To date, there

are not enough reliability or validity studies of this measure, and it may not be measuring what it purports to be. Satisfaction with relationships theoretically is related to how positive the interaction is, but relationships are complex and multifaceted.

This study used college aged subjects, which limits the generalizability of the results. This is a general weakness of much of the attachment research, and the sample is not representative of those with divorced parents. This sample was not representative of the population in general geographically, racially, or educationally. In addition, students who completed the instrument were self-selected from students in social sciences courses, and thus are not a representative sample of the college and university.

Implications for Future Research

A longitudinal study exploring the factors considered in this study would be of tremendous use. To date, it has not been possible to design a study about the effects of divorce which takes into consideration all of the possible mediating factors described in the literature review. Yet, as the field becomes more sophisticated, more variables must continue to be integrated into the research.

To follow up on this research, additional studies which take into consideration additional variables are needed. In particular, only a small amount of variance for romantic relationships was predicted by these variables, suggesting

that other factors are also at play. Understanding what those might be and how they are and are not related to parental divorce and attachment would enrich this research.

A study which gathered information about relationships and childhood experiences from parents as well as from grown children would be one way to test how reliable retrospective data is for this kind of research. It would also create an opportunity to look at similarities and differences between parent and child descriptions of relationships.

This study suggests that further integration of divorce and attachment research may be useful, and that the role of conflict is a crucial consideration in any divorce research. With greater understanding of the ways that divorce does and does not impact on people's lives, clinicians will be more able to help those who have experienced divorce understand the possible implications for their lives. Clearly, experiencing parental divorce does not mean that certain consequences will or will not happen later in life, for there are too many intervening variables between experiences in childhood and adult life. The more that psychological research honors the complexities of the human experience and interaction, the richer the field becomes.

APPENDIX A
QUESTIONNAIRE

LETTER OF INFORMED CONSENT

I, _____ am agreeing to participate in the "Long-Term Effects of Childhood Relationships" project. I understand this project is studying how our past relationships affect our current relationships. I will receive 5 pts. extra credit on my final exam for completing this questionnaire, and there will not be any effect on my grade if I choose not to complete it. I understand that there are no known hazards of participating in this project, and that I can withdraw from participating at any point. I also understand that the data will be used only for this project, and will be kept confidential.

Signature _____

LETTER OF INFORMED CONSENT

I, _____ am agreeing to participate in the "Long-Term Effects of Childhood Relationships" project. I understand this project is studying how our past relationships affect our current relationships. I will receive \$2.00 for completing this questionnaire. I understand that there are no known hazards of participating in this project, and that I can withdraw from participating at any point. I also understand that the data will be used only for this project, and will be kept confidential.

Signature _____

The following questions are about your relationships. Some questions are specific, some are open-ended. Some are about when you were a child, and others are about your adult relationships. Some are descriptive, and some call for you to imagine yourself in various situations with your mother, your father, and your romantic partner. If you do not have a mother or father, or cannot remember your mother or father, please substitute someone who is a mother or father figure for you -- an aunt/uncle, grandparent, step-parent, etc. Please note if you have substituted in this way.

For the romantic partner, we would like you to answer the questions regarding your current relationship: if you're married, use your spouse; if not, use your fiance(e), lover, or steady dating partner; if you are not currently in a romantic relationship, use your closest friend -- whomever you have your closest relationship with. Please indicate below the relationship and gender of your romantic partner/ friend.

_____ Male _____ Female

_____ Spouse/Partner _____ Fiance(e)/Lover/Steady Date _____ Good Friend

How long have you been in this relationship? _____

I. Using the following list of adjectives, please put an "M" next to any adjectives which apply to your mother, an "F" next to any which apply to your father, and an "R" next to any which apply to your romantic partner/friend.

loving	affectionate	critical
demanding	understanding	caring
unhappy	respectful	strong
responsive	fair	respecting
humorous	insecure	cold
intrusive	confident	warm
accepting	responsible	likable
sympathetic	disinterested	rejecting
good-natured	unresponsive	unfair
overburdened	pleasant	angry

Please write any other adjectives you think apply and code them the same way:

II. From the following list of adjectives, please circle any which apply to what you remember about your parents' marital relationship when you were a CHILD (not as an adult). If your parents divorced or separated while you were a child, also place a star (*) next to adjectives which describe your parents' relationship with each other after the divorce/separation.

affectionate	unhappy	caring
uncomfortable	good-humored	distant
friendly	difficult to understand	warm
conflictual	problematic	angry
respectful	critical	loving

Please write any other adjectives you think apply and code them the same way:

III. The following questions are designed to assess the types of responses people receive when they act in certain ways. We would like you to imagine how the person you are with would respond. At the top of each page is a list of possible responses; for each situation please circle the letter of the response that SEEMS CLOSEST to how you think the person in question would react. (Each response contains two or more descriptors; it is not necessary that the person fit ALL the descriptors -- for instance, if the person would be "disappointed" but not "resentful" or "critical," you would still choose response B.)

Then, on the scale, indicate the desirability of this response -- if it would make you feel good, circle a number towards the desirable end of the scale, and if it would make you feel unhappy, or uncomfortable, or is something you would prefer to avoid, circle a number towards the undesirable end of the scale. If you feel completely neutral about the response, circle number 4.

RESPONSES:

- A Would take charge, or try to influence me.
- B Would be disappointed, resentful, or critical.
- C Would be impatient, or quarrelsome.
- D Would be distant, or unresponsive.
- E Would go along with me, or act unsure.
- F Would respect me, or trust me.
- G Would be warm, or friendly.
- H Would show interest, let me know what s/he thinks.

1. Imagine that you and your mother are collaborating on something. You have more knowledge and expertise in this area than she does, so you take the lead in making decisions.

How do you think your MOTHER would respond to this? A B C D E F G H

This response would be: 1----2----3----4----5----6----7
undesirable . desirable

2. Imagine yourself feeling angry and argumentative towards your mother.

How do you think your MOTHER would respond to this? A B C D E F G H

This response would be: 1----2----3----4----5----6----7
undesirable desirable

3. Imagine yourself feeling weak and passive and wanting your mother.

How do you think your MOTHER would respond to this? A B C D E F G H

This response would be: 1----2----3----4----5----6----7
undesirable desirable

4. Imagine yourself being friendly and helpful with your mother.

How do you think your MOTHER would respond to this? A B C D E F G H

This response would be: 1----2----3----4----5----6----7
undesirable desirable

RESPONSES:

- A Would take charge, or try to influence me.
- B Would be disappointed, resentful, or critical.
- C Would be impatient, or quarrelsome.
- D Would be distant, or unresponsive.
- E Would go along with me, or act unsure.
- F Would respect me, or trust me.
- G Would be warm, or friendly.
- H Would show interest, let me know what s/he thinks.

5. Imagine yourself in a game (tennis, scrabble, etc.) with your mother.
You act very competitive, and work hard to win the game.
How do you think your MOTHER would respond to this? A B C D E F G H

This response would be: 1----2----3----4----5----6----7
undesirable desirable

6. Imagine yourself being preoccupied with your own thoughts, and
detached with your mother.
How do you think your MOTHER would respond to this? A B C D E F G H

This response would be: 1----2----3----4----5----6----7
undesirable desirable

7. Imagine yourself in an unmotivated or lazy mood, where you feel like
just going along with whatever your mother is doing.
How do you think your MOTHER would respond to this? A B C D E F G H

This response would be: 1----2----3----4----5----6----7
undesirable desirable

8. Imagine yourself expressing genuine interest and concern for your
mother.
How do you think your MOTHER would respond to this? A B C D E F G H

This response would be: 1----2----3----4----5----6----7
undesirable desirable

9. Imagine a situation where you feel your mother has disappointed you.
How do you think your MOTHER would respond to this? A B C D E F G H

This response would be: 1----2----3----4----5----6----7
undesirable desirable

10. Imagine yourself in a serious mood, where you are reserved and not
sociable with your mother.
How do you think your MOTHER would respond to this? A B C D E F G H

This response would be: 1----2----3----4----5----6----7
undesirable desirable

11. Imagine yourself confiding in your mother about something that is
important to you.
How do you think your MOTHER would respond to this? A B C D E F G H

This response would be: 1----2----3----4----5----6----7
undesirable desirable

- RESPONSES:
- A Would take charge, or try to influence me.
 - B Would be disappointed, resentful, or critical.
 - C Would be impatient, or quarrelsome.
 - D Would be distant, or unresponsive.
 - E Would go along with me, or act unsure.
 - F Would respect me, or trust me.
 - G Would be warm, or friendly.
 - H Would show interest, let me know what s/he thinks.

12. Imagine feeling uninhibited and spontaneous with your mother.
How do you think your MOTHER would respond to this? A B C D E F G H

This response would be: 1----2----3----4----5----6----7
undesirable desirable

13. Imagine that you have had a terrible day and are feeling angry and frustrated with the whole world. You are definitely not feeling affectionate or cordial toward anyone.

How do you think your MOTHER would respond to this? A B C D E F G H

This response would be: 1----2----3----4----5----6----7
undesirable desirable

14. Imagine feeling not very confident or sure of yourself, and feeling dependent on your mother.

How do you think your MOTHER would respond to this? A B C D E F G H

This response would be: 1----2----3----4----5----6----7
undesirable desirable

15. Imagine yourself feeling warm and affectionate towards your mother.

How do you think your MOTHER would respond to this? A B C D E F G H

This response would be: 1----2----3----4----5----6----7
undesirable desirable

16. Imagine yourself acting independently and confidently about something you have never done before, and not feeling that you need assistance from your mother.

How do you think your MOTHER would respond to this? A B C D E F G H

This response would be: 1----2----3----4----5----6----7
undesirable desirable

1. Imagine that you and your father are collaborating on something. You have more knowledge and expertise in this area than he does, so you take the lead in making decisions.

How do you think your FATHER would respond to this? A B C D E F G H

This response would be: 1----2----3----4----5----6----7
undesirable desirable

RESPONSES:

- A Would take charge, or try to influence me.
- B Would be disappointed, resentful, or critical.
- C Would be impatient, or quarrelsome.
- D Would be distant, or unresponsive.
- E Would go along with me, or act unsure.
- F Would respect me, or trust me.
- G Would be warm, or friendly.
- H Would show interest, let me know what s/he thinks.

2. Imagine yourself feeling angry and argumentative towards your father.

How do you think your FATHER would respond to this? A B C D E F G H

This response would be: 1----2----3----4----5----6----7
undesirable desirable

3. Imagine yourself feeling weak and passive and wanting your father.

How do you think your FATHER would respond to this? A B C D E F G H

This response would be: 1----2----3----4----5----6----7
undesirable desirable

4. Imagine yourself being friendly and helpful with your father.

How do you think your FATHER would respond to this? A B C D E F G H

This response would be: 1----2----3----4----5----6----7
undesirable desirable

5. Imagine yourself in a game (tennis, Scrabble, etc.) with your father. You act very competitive, and work hard to win the game.

How do you think your FATHER would respond to this? A B C D E F G H

This response would be: 1----2----3----4----5----6----7
undesirable desirable

6. Imagine yourself being preoccupied with your own thoughts, and detached with your father.

How do you think your FATHER would respond to this? A B C D E F G H

This response would be: 1----2----3----4----5----6----7
undesirable desirable

7. Imagine yourself in an unmotivated or lazy mood, where you feel like just going along with whatever your father is doing.

How do you think your FATHER would respond to this? A B C D E F G H

This response would be: 1----2----3----4----5----6----7
undesirable desirable

8. Imagine yourself expressing genuine interest and concern for your father.

How do you think your FATHER would respond to this? A B C D E F G H

This response would be: 1----2----3----4----5----6----7
undesirable desirable

- RESPONSES:
- A Would take charge, or try to influence me.
 - B Would be disappointed, resentful, or critical.
 - C Would be impatient, or quarrelsome.
 - D Would be distant, or unresponsive.
 - E Would go along with me, or act unsure.
 - F Would respect me, or trust me.
 - G Would be warm, or friendly.
 - H Would show interest, let me know what s/he thinks.

9. Imagine a situation where you feel your father has disappointed you.
How do you think your FATHER would respond to this? A B C D E F G H

This response would be: 1----2----3----4----5----6----7
undesirable desirable

10. Imagine yourself in a serious mood, where you are reserved and not sociable with your father.

How do you think your FATHER would respond to this? A B C D E F G H

This response would be: 1----2----3----4----5----6----7
undesirable desirable

11. Imagine yourself confiding in your father about something that is important to you.

How do you think your FATHER would respond to this? A B C D E F G H

This response would be: 1----2----3----4----5----6----7
undesirable desirable

12. Imagine feeling uninhibited and spontaneous with your father.

How do you think your FATHER would respond to this? A B C D E F G H

This response would be: 1----2----3----4----5----6----7
undesirable desirable

13. Imagine that you have had a terrible day and are feeling angry and frustrated with the whole world. You are definitely not feeling affectionate or cordial toward anyone.

How do you think your FATHER would respond to this? A B C D E F G H

This response would be: 1----2----3----4----5----6----7
undesirable desirable

14. Imagine feeling not very confident or sure of yourself, and feeling dependent on your father.

How do you think your FATHER would respond to this? A B C D E F G H

This response would be: 1----2----3----4----5----6----7
undesirable desirable

15. Imagine yourself feeling warm and affectionate towards your father.

How do you think your FATHER would respond to this? A B C D E F G H

This response would be: 1----2----3----4----5----6----7
undesirable desirable

RESPONSES:

- A Would take charge, or try to influence me.
- B Would be disappointed, resentful, or critical.
- C Would be impatient, or quarrelsome.
- D Would be distant, or unresponsive.
- E Would go along with me, or act unsure.
- F Would respect me, or trust me.
- G Would be warm, or friendly.
- H Would show interest, let me know what s/he thinks.

16. Imagine yourself acting independently and confidently about something you have never done before, and not feeling that you need assistance from your father.

How do you think your FATHER would respond to this? A B C D E F G H

This response would be: 1----2----3----4----5----6----7
undesirable desirable

1. Imagine that you and your romantic partner/friend are collaborating on something. You have more knowledge and expertise in this area than s/he does, so you take the lead in making decisions.

How do you think your PARTNER would respond to this? A B C D E F G H

This response would be: 1----2----3----4----5----6----7
undesirable desirable

2. Imagine yourself feeling angry and argumentative towards your romantic partner/friend.

How do you think your PARTNER would respond to this? A B C D E F G H

This response would be: 1----2----3----4----5----6----7
undesirable desirable

3. Imagine yourself feeling weak and passive and wanting your romantic partner/friend.

How do you think your PARTNER would respond to this? A B C D E F G H

This response would be: 1----2----3----4----5----6----7
undesirable desirable

4. Imagine yourself being friendly and helpful with your partner.

How do you think your PARTNER would respond to this? A B C D E F G H

This response would be: 1----2----3----4----5----6----7
undesirable desirable

5. Imagine yourself in a game (tennis, Scrabble, etc.) with your romantic partner/friend. You act very competitive, and work hard to win the game.

How do you think your PARTNER would respond to this? A B C D E F G H

This response would be: 1----2----3----4----5----6----7
undesirable desirable

RESPONSES:

- A Would take charge, or try to influence me.
- B Would be disappointed, resentful, or critical.
- C Would be impatient, or quarrelsome.
- D Would be distant, or unresponsive.
- E Would go along with me, or act unsure.
- F Would respect me, or trust me.
- G Would be warm, or friendly.
- H Would show interest, let me know what s/he thinks.

6. Imagine yourself being preoccupied with your own thoughts, and detached with your romantic partner/friend.

How do you think your PARTNER would respond to this? A B C D E F G H

This response would be: 1----2----3----4----5----6----7
undesirable desirable

7. Imagine yourself in an unmotivated or lazy mood, where you feel like just going along with whatever your partner is doing.

How do you think your PARTNER would respond to this? A B C D E F G H

This response would be: 1----2----3----4----5----6----7
undesirable desirable

8. Imagine yourself expressing genuine interest and concern for your romantic partner/friend.

How do you think your PARTNER would respond to this? A B C D E F G H

This response would be: 1----2----3----4----5----6----7
undesirable desirable

9. Imagine a situation where you feel your romantic partner/friend has disappointed you.

How do you think your PARTNER would respond to this? A B C D E F G H

This response would be: 1----2----3----4----5----6----7
undesirable desirable

10. Imagine yourself in a serious mood, where you are reserved and not sociable with your romantic partner/friend.

How do you think your PARTNER would respond to this? A B C D E F G H

This response would be: 1----2----3----4----5----6----7
undesirable desirable

11. Imagine yourself confiding in your romantic partner/friend about something that is important to you.

How do you think your PARTNER would respond to this? A B C D E F G H

This response would be: 1----2----3----4----5----6----7
undesirable desirable

RESPONSES:

- A Would take charge, or try to influence me.
- B Would be disappointed, resentful, or critical.
- C Would be impatient, or quarrelsome.
- D Would be distant, or unresponsive.
- E Would go along with me, or act unsure.
- F Would respect me, or trust me.
- G Would be warm, or friendly.
- H Would show interest, let me know what s/he thinks.

12. Imagine feeling uninhibited and spontaneous with your partner.

How do you think your PARTNER would respond to this? A B C D E F G H

This response would be: 1----2----3----4----5----6----7
undesirable desirable

13. Imagine that you have had a terrible day and are feeling angry and frustrated with the whole world. You are definitely not feeling affectionate or cordial toward anyone.

How do you think your PARTNER would respond to this? A B C D E F G H

This response would be: 1----2----3----4----5----6----7
undesirable desirable

14. Imagine feeling not very confident or sure of yourself, and feeling dependent on your romantic partner/friend.

How do you think your PARTNER would respond to this? A B C D E F G H

This response would be: 1----2----3----4----5----6----7
undesirable desirable

15. Imagine yourself feeling warm and affectionate towards your romantic partner/friend.

How do you think your PARTNER would respond to this? A B C D E F G H

This response would be: 1----2----3----4----5----6----7
undesirable desirable

16. Imagine yourself acting independently and confidently about something you have never done before, and not feeling that you need assistance from your romantic partner/friend.

How do you think your PARTNER would respond to this? A B C D E F G H

This response would be: 1----2----3----4----5----6----7
undesirable desirable

IV. The following questions are concerned with your experiences in romantic love relationships. Take a moment to think about all of the most import romantic relationships you've been involved in. For each relationship, think about: How happy or unhappy you were, and how your moods fluctuated. How much you trusted or distrusted each other. Whether you felt you were too close emotionally or not close enough. The amount of jealousy you felt. How much time you spent thinking about your partner. How attracted you were to the person. How the relationship might have been better. How it ended. (Thinking about these good and bad memories of various relationships will help you answer the following questions accurately.)

Read the self-descriptions and then rate how much you agree or disagree that each one describes the way you generally are in relationships. Write the letters of your response next to each question. (Note: The terms "close" and "intimate" refer to emotional closeness, not necessarily to sexual intimacy.)

AS = Agree Strongly
D = Disagree

A = Agree

N = Mixed, not sure

DS = Disagree Strongly

- _____ 1) I find it difficult to allow myself to depend on others.
- _____ 2) I do not often worry about being abandoned.
- _____ 3) I find it relatively easy to get close to others.
- _____ 4) I am comfortable without close emotional relationships.
- _____ 5) I am somewhat uncomfortable being close to others.
- _____ 6) I often worry that my partner does not really love me.
- _____ 7) I do not often worry about someone getting too close to me.
- _____ 8) I am comfortable depending on others.
- _____ 9) I find others are reluctant to get as close as I would like.
- _____ 10) I prefer not to have others depend on me.
- _____ 11) It is very important to me to feel independent and self-sufficient.
- _____ 12) I know that others will be there when I need them.
- _____ 13) I often worry my partner will not want to stay with me.
- _____ 14) I am nervous when anyone gets too close.
- _____ 15) I find it difficult to trust others completely.
- _____ 16) People are never there when you need them.
- _____ 17) Sometimes I want to merge completely with another person.
- _____ 18) I am comfortable having others depend on me.
- _____ 19) I am not sure that I can always depend on others to be there when I need them.
- _____ 20) My desire to merge sometimes scares people away.
- _____ 21) Often, love partners want me to be more intimate than I feel comfortable being.
- _____ 22) I tend to put more energy into school and career than close relationships.
- _____ 23) I am easier to get to know than most people.
- _____ 24) I have more self-doubts than most people.
- _____ 25) People almost always like me.
- _____ 26) People often misunderstand me or fail to appreciate me.
- _____ 27) Few people are as willing and able as I am to commit themselves to a long-term relationship.
- _____ 28) People are generally well-intentioned and good-hearted.
- _____ 29) You have to watch out in dealing with most people; they will hurt, ignore or reject you if it suits their purposes.
- _____ 30) I am more independent and self-sufficient than most people; I can get along quite well by myself.

V. Below, some of the statements from the previous section are printed again. Please indicate the single alternative that best describes how you feel in romantic love relationships by circling either a, b, or c.

a) I find that others are reluctant to get as close as I would like. I often worry that my partner doesn't really love me or won't want to stay with me. I want to get very close to my partner, and this sometimes scares people away.

b) I am somewhat uncomfortable being close to others; I find it difficult to trust them completely, difficult to allow myself to depend on them. I am nervous when anyone gets too close, and often, love partners want me to be more intimate than I feel comfortable being.

c) I find it relatively easy to get close to others and am comfortable depending on them. I don't often worry about being abandoned or about someone getting too close to me.

VI. We're interested in how much conflict you experienced as a child.

1. In general, how often do you recall your parent's arguing or fighting while you were growing up? Circle which one applies.

never hardly ever sometimes often don't know/ don't remember

2. Please indicate how often you recall your parents having arguments about the following:

N = Never

H = Hardly ever

S = Sometimes

O = Often

DK = Don't know/ don't remember

- _____ a. chores and responsibilities
- _____ b. their friends
- _____ c. showing affection to each other
- _____ d. money
- _____ e. religion
- _____ f. leisure time
- _____ g. drinking or drug use (theirs)
- _____ h. in-laws
- _____ i. other men/women
- _____ j. sex
- _____ k. work
- _____ l. the child(ren)
- _____ m. other (please describe) _____

3. How often did these arguments become physical?

never hardly ever sometimes often don't know/ don't remember

4. Were either one of your parents ever badly hurt as a result of a physical fight with each other?

never hardly ever sometimes often don't know/ don't remember

5. How conflictual was your relationship with your mother when you were young?

not at all somewhat moderately very extremely

6. How conflictual do you consider your relationship with your mother to be now?

not at all somewhat moderately very extremely

7. How conflictual was your relationship with your father when you were young?

not at all somewhat moderately very extremely

8. How conflictual do you consider your relationship with your father to be now?

not at all somewhat moderately very extremely

DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

1) Birthdate _____ 2) Sex _____ 3) Race _____

4) How many children are there in your family, counting yourself? _____

5) Education	Self	Mother	Father
high school or less	_____	_____	_____
some college/professional training	_____	_____	_____
college graduate	_____	_____	_____
graduate degree	_____	_____	_____

6) Indicate which, if any, of the following events or situations occurred before you turned 18:

	Mother	Father
a) parental death	_____	_____
If yes, what age were you? _____		
b) parental drug or alcohol addiction	_____	_____
If yes, what age(s) were you? _____		
c) parental institutionalization due to mental illness	_____	_____
If yes, what age(s) were you? _____		
d) prolonged separation from a parent during childhood	_____	_____
If yes, what age(s) were you? _____		

7) Are your parents: married separated divorced widowed

If your parents are divorced, separated, or widowed:

a) Did your mother remarry or establish another long-term relationship? _____
 If yes, how old were you? _____

b) Did your father remarry or establish another long-term relationship? _____
 If yes, how old were you? _____

c) How close do you feel to your mother's partner/step-father (if you have one)?

not at all somewhat moderately very extremely

d) How close do you feel to your father's partner/step-mother (if you have one)?

not at all somewhat moderately very extremely

e) Do you have step-siblings or half-siblings? _____ If yes, how old are they, and did they grow up in the same household as you?

If your parents are divorced/separated:

a) Who had custody after the divorce/separation? _____

b) How old were you when the divorce/separation occurred? _____

c) How often now do you think about your parents getting back together?

never occasionally fairly often often all the time

d) How often now do you wish your parents had a closer relationship?

never occasionally fairly often often all the time

8) Parental income (if you lived with only one parent, report only the income of that parent):

less than \$12,000 _____	\$12,000 - \$19,999 _____
\$20,000 - \$29,999 _____	\$30,000 - \$39,000 _____
\$40,000 - \$59,999 _____	more than \$60,000 _____

OPTIONAL QUESTIONS

If you'd like to, please answer the following questions on this page, or on a separate page(s).

1) How do you think your parents' relationship has affected you?

2) If your parents are still married, what do you think/feel about their relationship?

OR If your parents are divorced or separated, what do you remember thinking/feeling about their relationship when they were married? What is their relationship now, and how do you think/feel about it?

APPENDIX B
FACTOR ANALYSES OF
ATTACHMENT ITEMS

Attachment Statements and Related Attachment Styles
(Positive/Negative endorsement)

- Q1 I find it difficult to allow myself to depend on others.
(Fearful-Avoidant/Anxious)
- Q2 I do not often worry about being abandoned.
(Secure/Anxious)
- Q3 I find it relatively easy to get close to others.
(Secure/Avoidant)
- Q4 I am comfortable without close emotional relationships.
(Dismissing-Avoidant/Anxious)
- Q5 I am somewhat uncomfortable being close to others.
(Fearful-Avoidant)
- Q6 I often worry that my partner does not really love me.
(Anxious)
- Q7 I do not often worry about someone getting too close to me. (Secure/Avoidant)
- Q8 I am comfortable depending on others.
(Secure/Avoidant)
- Q9 I find others are reluctant to get as close as I would like. (Anxious)
- Q10 I prefer not to have others depend on me.
(Dismissing-Avoidant)
- Q11 It is very important to me to feel independent and self-sufficient. (Dismissing-Avoidant)
- Q12 I know that others will be there when I need them.
(Secure)
- Q13 I often worry my partner will not want to stay with me.
(Anxious)
- Q14 I am nervous when anyone gets too close.
(Fearful-Avoidant)
- Q15 I find it difficult to trust others completely.
(Fearful-Avoidant)
- Q16 People are never there when you need them.
(Avoidant/Secure)

- Q17 Sometimes I want to merge completely with another person. (Anxious)
- Q18 I am comfortable having others depend on me. (Secure/Avoidant)
- Q19 I am not sure that I can always depend on others to be there when I need them. (Anxious/Secure)
- Q20 My desire to merge sometimes scares people away. (Anxious)
- Q21 Often, love partners want me to be more intimate than I feel comfortable being. (Avoidant/Anxious)
- Q22 I tend to put more energy into school and career than close relationships. (Avoidant/Anxious)

Attachment Statements and Initial Statistics

Statement	Eigenvalue	Pct. of Var.	Cum. Pct.
Q1	4.723	21.5	21.5
Q2	3.186	17.3	38.8
Q3	1.522	6.9	45.7
Q4	1.276	5.8	51.5
Q5	1.156	5.3	56.8
Q6	1.072	4.9	61.7
Q7	1.008	4.6	66.2
Q8	.936	4.3	70.5
Q9	.843	3.8	74.3
Q10	.702	3.2	77.5
Q11	.679	3.1	80.6
Q12	.581	2.6	83.3
Q13	.561	2.6	85.8
Q14	.520	2.4	88.2
Q15	.496	2.3	90.4
Q16	.451	2.0	92.5
Q17	.362	1.6	94.1
Q18	.339	1.5	95.7
Q19	.311	1.4	97.1
Q20	.244	1.1	98.2
Q21	.216	1.0	99.2
Q22	.184	.8	100.0

Structure Matrix for Four Attachment Factors

Variable	F1	F2	F3	F4
CLOSE				
Q5 Uncomfortable being close to others. (Fearful-Avoidant)*	.72			
Q14 Nervous when anyone gets too close. (Fearful-Avoidant)	.70			
Q3 Relatively easy to get close to others. (Secure/Avoidant)	-.64			
Q1 Difficult to depend on others. (Fearful-Avoidant /Anxious)	.55			
Q21 Others want me to be more intimate. (Avoidant/Anxious)	.54			
Q15 Difficult to trust others completely. (Fearful-Avoidant)	.53			
Q8 Comfortable depending on others. (Secure/Avoidant)	-.50			-.57
MERGE				
Q9 Others don't get as close as I would like. (Anxious)		.75		
Q12 I know others will be there. (Secure)		-.72		
Q16 People aren't there when you need them. (Avoidant/Secure)		.68		

Structure Matrix for Four Attachment Factors

Variable	F1	F2	F3	F4
MERGE (con.)				
Q20 My desire to merge scares people away. (Anxious)		.64		
Q19 Not sure others will be there when I need them. (Anxious/Secure)		.62		
ABANDON				
Q6 Worry that partner does not love me. (Anxious)			.69	
Q13 Worry my partner will not stay with me. (Anxious)			.65	
Q2 I do not worry about being abandoned. (Secure/Anxious)			-.63	
Q4 Comfortable without close relationships. (Dismissing-Avoidant/ Anxious)			-.60	
Q17 Want to merge completely with another person. (Anxious)			.52	
DEPEND				
Q18 Comfortable having others depend on me. (Secure/Avoidant)				-.89
Q10 Prefer not to have others depend on me. (Dismissing-Avoidant)				.83

Final Statistics

Statement	Communality	Eigenvalue	Pct. of Var.	Cum. Pct.
Q1	.514	4.723	21.5	21.5
Q2	.489	3.186	17.3	38.8
Q3	.413	1.522	6.9	45.7
Q4	.399	1.276	5.8	51.5
Q5	.555			
Q6	.670			
Q7	.233			
Q8	.594			
Q9	.609			
Q10	.729			
Q11	.326			
Q12	.650			
Q13	.615			
Q14	.519			
Q15	.433			
Q16	.535			
Q17	.315			
Q18	.798			
Q19	.569			
Q20	.563			
Q21	.369			
Q22	.441			

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