

The Use of Audiotaped Dialogues to Enhance Feelings Expression for Children
of Divorce

by

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ABSTRACT

Audiocassettes with divorce themes were used as a therapeutic adjunct to a group intervention for children of divorce. It was hypothesized that children in a group using these tapes would show significant increases in locus of control, self-esteem, and expression of divorce-related feelings. Comparison groups involved a parallel intervention without tapes and wait-listed controls. Posttest differences between groups were not found on locus of control or self-esteem.

Posttest differences were found among all three groups on expression of divorce-related feelings. The Children's Feeling Expression Inventory (CFEI, Children's and Parent's Forms) was designed by the author for assessing feelings expression in this study. Responses on the CFEI by parents also showed significant differences, with the Treatment Group's parents out-scoring those of controls, and the Audio Treatment Group's parents scoring the highest.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Divorce is a traumatizing event, ranked second to death of spouse, as one of life's greatest stressors (Holmes & Rahe, 1967). It is a process which can be lengthy and multifaceted, potentially impacting on all family members. As Hetherington (1979) states, "There is no such thing as a victimless divorce" (p. 118). Since the majority of divorcing couples have children who presently are minors, there are realistic concerns as to the developmental well-being of the future generation (Hosferth, 1985). Estimates are that, if current trends continue, 64% of Canadian children presently under the age of 18 years will spend some time in a single parent-headed household (Ambert, 1980).

Canadian children involved in divorce actions in 1985 numbered 31,908 (Statistics Canada, 1988). Currently in British Columbia, over one in three marriages end in divorce and, according to Statistics Canada, 40% of today's marriages are expected to end in divorce (Statistics Canada, 1988). In 1987 the British Columbia Supreme Court processed 11,540 divorce petitions and there were 3,836 applications for custody, access, or maintenance in Family Court (British Columbia Supreme Court Proceedings, 1987). Following the liberalizing of Canada's divorce laws in 1985 the divorce rate in British Columbia rose for two years, peaking at 1,475 divorces per 100,000 legally married women. After rising in 1987, the divorce rate subsided slightly, the national average being 1,100 divorces per 100,000 legally married women. Divorce rates rose 0.3 per cent in 1992 to 1,114 divorces per 100,000 legally married women, representing the first increase in five years (Statistics Canada, 1994).

Coping with divorce is readily acknowledged as a highly stressful event for adults (Bloom, Asher, & White, 1978), but, until recently, little attention was paid to its stressful impact on children. Divorced parents frequently find themselves on an emotional "roller-coaster." Embroiled in resolving their own conflicts, parents can become emotionally unavailable to and/or dependent upon their children. A role-reversal can result where the child becomes confidante, arbitrator, a source of surrogate spousal support and surrogate parental support for younger siblings, and a co-conspirator in collusion against the other parent. Regrettably, this transitory process can leave children in these families emotionally insecure. Additionally, children are left to resolve a broad range of problems by themselves (Kaslow & Schwartz, 1978). A potentially harmful scenario exists given that divorce, "...Is one of the most complex and serious mental health crises faced by children today" (Solnit, 1984, p. 107).

The specific effects of divorce on children reported in recent literature are detailed in the review presented in Chapter Two. In general, this research describes a broad spectrum of psychological problems as being associated with separation and divorce. These range from higher rates of delinquency and antisocial behaviours to more neurotic symptoms, depression, conduct disorders, and habit formations (e.g., sleep disturbances) among children of divorce than among children from intact homes (Brady, Bray, & Zeeb, 1986; Kalter, 1977; McDermott, 1970; Morrison, 1978; Schaettle & Cantwell, 1980). Family change also has been linked to 64% of suicide attempts among young people (Golombek, Martin, & Korenblum, 1984). Studies of children from divorced families in non-clinical settings have described these children as exhibiting greater feelings of

anxiety, helplessness, and lower self-esteem than children from intact homes (Hetherington & Cox, 1982; Wallerstein & Kelly, 1979; Weiss, 1979).

In an effort to document children's reactions to separation and divorce across various ages, Wallerstein and Kelly (1976) studied 57 children (ages 7 to 10 years) from divorced families. The authors classified those youngsters aged 9 to 12 as "older latency." In another paper, children 7 to 8 years old were categorized as "early latency" and studied as a separate group from 5 to 6 year olds and preschoolers (Kelly & Wallerstein, 1976). It is the older latency children who are the targets of the present investigation.

Children in late latency whose parents divorce have been described by researchers as exhibiting intense anger, shock, a shaken sense of identity, fear of being alone or rejected, heightened activity levels, and mixed loyalties regarding their parents (Bonkowski, Bequette, & Boomhower, 1985; Cantor, 1979; Freeman, 1985; Robson, 1987; Wallerstein & Kelly, 1976, 1980). A comprehensive meta-analysis investigating parental divorce and children's well-being found that a variety of adjustment measures were significantly associated with the age of the child; specifically, that those children transitioning from elementary to secondary school seemed to experience the most severe effects (Amato & Keith, 1991).

Based upon the need identified in the literature and a similar need observed by the author in several community settings, a program has been designed for this at-risk group of latency-aged children. Confronted with numerous physiological challenges as children grow through early childhood into budding pubescence, children must also adjust to psychological, social, and cognitive maturational demands. Ideally, children are able to benefit from the stability and security of a home environment, where they learn to make responsible choices

through healthy modelling in their familial experience. Unfortunately, the process of separation and divorce during this already demanding juncture in their lives may represent a nearly insurmountable hurdle as children strive toward autonomy.

Children in this age group generally perceive the realities of their family's disruption and their parent's turbulence with eye-opening candor. However, their means of coping with their profound feelings of loss and rejection, helplessness, and loneliness may take the form of "psychological layering," which involves simultaneous denial and distress. As Bonkowski et al. (1985) note, whether children want to become more knowledgeable about adult relationships but have difficulty expressing divorce-related feelings, or whether they fear their parents' emotional instability, the results are the same: unexpressed feelings are unresolved feelings. It has been my experience in working with this population of children that, given the two most significant adults have turned their world topsy-turvy, trust of adult counsellors is not readily forthcoming.

The purpose of the present study was to design, implement, and evaluate a group intervention structured to address the needs of children of parental divorce, aged 9 to 12. Consideration was given to the exploration and expression of feelings of latency-aged children as they relate to their parent's divorce. Children participating in the program were equipped weekly with audio cassette tapes. The tapes are a series of developmentally-appropriate divorce-related scripts. Children were given a new tape to listen to each week, which set the stage for the next week's group discussion. The focus of the vignettes contained on each tape was to aid the child in understanding the complexities of adult relationships, identifying and legitimizing divorce-related feelings, and learning

comfortable ways of expressing these feelings. (Scripts for the eight audiotapes appear in Appendix A.)

The effectiveness of this intervention was assessed through comparisons of pre- and posttests on a number of relevant variables, and through comparison of this treatment with a no-tape group intervention and a wait-list control group. Specifically, outcomes of the program were assessed in terms of feelings, both experienced and expressed, related to parental divorce, and in terms of locus of control and self-concept.

The literature review in Chapter Two includes discussion of the effects of divorce on latency-aged children, treatment approaches, and programs for this population, and the variables to be studied in this investigation. Chapter Three contains a detailed description of the methods and procedures used for data collection. The results of the study are presented in Chapter Four, followed by a discussion of these results in Chapter Five.

CHAPTER TWO: REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

This review contains a survey of selected literature pertaining to the psychological effects of divorce on children. More specifically, this chapter describes the current state of the research in several areas relating to divorce which are pertinent to the present investigation. First, a general review of the major studies of the effects of divorce on children is presented. Second, since this study involves late-latency aged children of divorce, a section is included specifically reviewing effects of parental divorce on the child in later latency. Third, research concerning the impact of divorce on children's locus of control is reviewed. A fourth section reviews studies examining the way in which children's self-concept may be affected by divorce. The fifth section covers selected literature on group interventions designed to meet the needs of children of divorce. Literature examining the therapeutic benefits for children of divorce of articulating and expressing their feelings related to the family break-up is reviewed in a sixth section. The final section describes research suggesting that audiocassette tapes may prove beneficial in counselling, and therefore may serve as a therapeutic adjunct to a cognitive/behavioural group intervention for children of divorce.

Overview of Research on Children of Divorce

Parental divorce is a process which can endure over time and touch on every aspect of the lives of those involved. Since the majority of divorcing couples have children who are presently minors, there are realistic concerns as to the developmental well-being of the future generation (Hosferth, 1985).

With the diminution of the nuclear family, what do such potential consequences portend for the future? A voluminous body of recent literature has explored the potentially deleterious impact of parental divorce upon children. This research has been focused primarily on cognitive functioning, personal adjustment, self-esteem, interpersonal relationships, antisocial behaviour, and self-control (Edwards, 1987).

Although numerous studies have found children of divorce to experience lowered levels of personal adjustment, others have not. Four major review articles examining the effects of divorce on children illustrate the prevailing and disparate perspectives. For example, one reviewer promotes the notion that most children of divorce escape the process of marital dissolution relatively unscathed (Edwards, 1987). Discrepant conclusions are reached by another reviewer, who concludes that parental divorce does place children in jeopardy (Krantz, 1988). A third viewpoint submits that, although the literature consistently alludes to children of divorce as experiencing lowered levels of well-being, children from non-intact families are not legion among children presenting serious problems (Emery, 1988). Yet another perspective suggests that, although the literature consistently links children of divorce with an at-risk latency, these links have not been firmly established, partly due to methodological limitations (Demo & Acock, 1988).

A comprehensive Meta-analysis: Amato and Keith (1991). In an attempt to establish some order among these inconsistencies, Amato and Keith conducted a meta-analysis of 92 studies comparing children of divorce with children from continuously intact familial experiences. They investigated

three predominant theoretical approaches which have been offered as possible explanations as to why divorce may impact negatively on children. First, a parental absence perspective suggests that children's healthy psychosocial development is contingent upon residing with both parents. Another perspective suggests that economic disadvantages may derail children of divorce from an even developmental course. Finally, the parental conflict perspective hypothesizes that the effects of exposure to parental rifts, both pre- and post-separation may negatively impact children of divorce.

In addition to investigating these three theoretical perspectives, consideration was given by these authors to children's age and gender and to the number of years since separation. Results of this meta-analysis, which involved studies incorporating data from over 13,000 children of divorce, found an overall decrease in adjustment across a myriad of measures of psychopathology compared to their counterparts from intact households. However, in terms of mean effect size, there was only one quarter of a standard deviation between intact and divorced groups for conduct disorders and father-child relations. In addition, only one tenth of a standard deviation distinguished divorced from intact groups on measures of psychological well-being, self-concept, and social adjustment. In terms of gender composition of samples, when comparing large numbers of studies, previously cited differences in terms of the impact of divorce on boys vs. girls were not evident. One exception was that boys whose parents divorce seemed to have greater difficulty adjusting socially than did their female counterparts.

Another variable often discussed in the literature pertaining to parental divorce and the well-being of children is age of the child. When large

numbers of studies were compared, children's age was significantly associated with adjustment, both socially and psychologically, and with children's relationships with their parents (Amato & Keith, 1991). Of particular importance to the present study is that, among age groups, effect sizes were strongest for children of late latency.

The parental absence theory is predicated on the assumption that children's psychological adjustment may be impaired when loss of a parent detracts from children's developmental dependency needs being met. Studies reviewed by Amato and Keith (1991) compared children from intact families with those children who experienced parental loss either through divorce or death. Across a series of measures of well-being, children from intact homes scored highest, followed by children with a deceased parent, whereas children with the poorest outcomes were those from the divorced group. The median effect size among these outcomes was .14 standard deviations. The authors concluded that parental loss experienced through divorce appears more detrimental to children's well-being than parental loss through death.

A second collateral hypothesis investigated suggested that, if divorced parents were to remarry, this in part should compensate for adjustment difficulties incurred through parental loss. On measures of conduct, psychological adjustment, social relations, and academic achievement, the meta-analysis revealed that, in general, children from intact families appeared the best adjusted, followed by children in single parent-headed households, and faring the worst were children from stepfamilies. However, findings seemed to indicate that introduction of a step-parent into the family dynamic impacted differentially upon children depending on their gender.

Specifically, studies in the sample showed presence of a step-father improved boys' adjustment compared to boys in single-parent families. On the other hand, girls living with a step-father experienced a diminished sense of well-being compared to girls from mother-headed households. Thus, contrary to previous speculations, living in a stepfamily does not necessarily ameliorate problems for children of divorce, albeit for some boys it may prove life-enhancing (Amato & Keith, 1991).

The third hypothesis related to the parental absence theory suggests a positive correlation between quality of visitation by non-custodial parent and enhanced well-being of their children. Results of the meta-analysis did not offer strong corroborative support for this premise.

The economic disadvantage perspective suggests that major upheavals in lifestyle incurred through financial shortcomings may negatively impact children of divorce. Mothers often become the custodial parent, yet still traditionally earn less than men. Making ends meet may necessitate single-parent mothers taking additional upgrading or training, which translates into more time spent away from their children. In addition, newly truncated finances may dictate a forfeiture of the family residence. Children of divorce may also suffer academically, because their single mothers, unlike their counterparts in intact families, cannot afford encyclopaedias, computers, or other educational enhancements. Generally, the meta-analysis provided some support for the economic disadvantage theory. However, in studies where income was controlled, children of divorce still displayed lower adjustment scores compared to children in intact homes, suggesting that other variables must also be considered.

An offshoot hypothesis of the economic disadvantage perspective implies that children in father-custody arrangements should fare better than children residing with their mothers. Six studies in the meta-analysis compared father- versus mother-custody families (Dunlop & Burns, 1988; Gibson, 1969; Gregory, 1965a; Peterson & Zill, 1986; Steinhausen, von Aster, & Goebel, 1987; Stephens & Day, 1979). Across all outcome variables, children in father-custody situations fared slightly better than children living with their mothers (Peterson & Zill, 1986). However, some studies found that this improvement appeared in part to be dependent upon the gender of the child (Steinhausen, von Aster, & Goebel, 1987). For both boys and girls, living with the opposite sex parent seemed less beneficial than when in the custody of a same sex parent. Amato and Keith (1991) suggest that for such a pattern to emerge, "...Would support a perspective based on parental absence socialization rather than economic hardship" (p. 38).

The family conflict perspective operates on the notion that parental conflict leading up to and during the process of separation and divorce may impact negatively on children (Smiley, Chamberlain, & Dagleish, 1987). A collateral issue examined is whether parallel problems are experienced by children living in intact families with similar levels of parental conflict. The meta-analysis revealed that children from high-conflict intact families scored .32 standard deviations below children from low-conflict intact families, and .12 standard deviations below children from divorced families. A second related hypothesis assumes that if there is a rise in adjustment difficulties for children concomitant with parental conflict, then a subsequent decrease in these problems for children should coincide with the ending of their parent's

marriage. Consistent with this hypothesis is the theory that the overall well-being of children of divorce improves with the passage of time (Jacobs, Guidubaldi, & Nastasi, 1986). Several longitudinal studies reviewed in this meta-analysis provided support for an improvement over time theory (Rickel & Langner, 1985; Kurdek, Blisk, & Siesky, 1981; Parish & Wigle, 1985). However, other studies reviewed provided no support linking length of time with adjustment outcomes (Booth, Brinkerhoff, & White, 1984; Chapman, 1977; Gibson, 1969). Generally, results from long-term studies indicate children readjust, however, the majority of studies reviewed failed to find a temporally definitive link with children's well-being. A tertiary theory suggests that declining postdivorce parental conflict should negatively correlate with children's adjustment. Four studies found that a decrease in post-divorce parental conflict and greater parental cooperation led to an improvement in children's behaviours and a reduction of problems between siblings (Jacobson, 1978b; Johnston, Kline, & Tschann, 1989; Kurdek & Berg, 1983; Luepnitz, 1982).

In summary, Amato and Keith (1991) found some support for the hypothesis that continued contact with the non-custodial parent may enhance children's recovery from the divorce process. However, evidence for this was limited and indicated that additional factors may be important. The economic disadvantage perspective was minimally supported. Obfuscating clear support for this theory were studies which, while showing improvement in children's adjustment when father is the custodial parent, show that it is gender-specific, dependent upon both the sex of the parent and the child. Generally, of the three theoretical perspectives, strongest support

was found for the parental-conflict perspective. Also, although numerous studies have highlighted the differential impact of divorce due to gender of the child, results of this meta-analysis suggest that these sex differences are not as significant as may have been thought. Previous support for differential effects on children of various ages was confirmed in Amato and Keith's (1991) review, with the greatest effect sizes being evidenced among children between primary and secondary-school age. Overall, results of this meta analysis suggest that the impact of parental divorce may not be as devastating as proposed previously by some researchers (e.g., Emery, 1988).

Amato and Keith (1991) suggest that methodological weaknesses may account for failure to draw a strong associative link between parental divorce and a deleterious impact on children. The authors blame this largely on inadequate data arising from non-randomized samples, over-reliance on self-report measures, and failure to implement control groups. Another problem cited is that many studies include a large number of outcome variables, which weakens overall effect sizes observed in meta-analyses.

A third factor identified by Amato and Keith (1991) as leading to possible shortcomings in numerous divorce studies is a myopic focus by researchers. Often researchers investigating parental divorce and potential concomitant problems have focused on populations of young children. Amato and Keith (1991) advocate using more longitudinal studies to better understand the impact of parental divorce on children. Their reasoning is that long-term consequences of parental divorce for adult attainment and quality of life may prove to be more serious than the short-term emotional and social problems in children that are more frequently studied. They note that sociological

studies have demonstrated that long-term effects of parental divorce manifest in lower academic performance, less earning potential, greater likelihood of being on subsidized incomes, increased likelihood of pregnancy outside of marriage, and a greater likelihood of ending their own marriages compared with children growing up in continuously intact families.

Amato and Keith (1991) detailed four criteria for selecting studies to be reviewed in their meta-analysis: (1) a comparison of children from divorced families with cohorts from intact homes; (2) a standardized psychometric measure of well-being; (3) data that could be assessed from the perspective of at least one effect size; and (4) studies had to involve children. As a result of the first of these criteria, all of the research conducted by Wallerstein and her colleagues was omitted. Although this may be a methodological weakness of Wallerstein's studies, her work is nonetheless considered among the most important in this field. Her research is particularly noteworthy for its focus on the long term effects of parental divorce.

While acknowledging that parental divorce appears to impact on children across a series of measures of psychological, social, and emotional adjustment, Amato and Keith's (1991) article seems to promote the family conflict perspective as the chief theoretical explanation. However, as Wallerstein (1985) has gone to great lengths to document, children experiencing the process of divorce may be overburdened in a variety of ways. Even children fortunate enough to escape parental conflict before and after divorce may experience ongoing expectations and situations that are not typically endured by their counterparts residing in intact households.

The Long-Term Effects: A review by Judith Wallerstein (1991). In her own review of the literature, Wallerstein examined recent findings pertaining to long term effects of divorce on children. She prefaced her review by acknowledging of the enormity of attempting to trace adequately the long term outcomes of divorce. Identified in this paper as a major theoretical issue needing clarification was an appreciation of the uniqueness with which each individual experiences what may seem to be identical stressful situations. Additionally, Wallerstein notes that psychological measures which capture salient encumbrances to early developmental milestones may only serve to obfuscate important dysfunctional behaviours in later developmental stages.

Wallerstein (1991) contends that poorly delineated theory has led to inconsistent and incongruent findings by different researchers. Central to this problem are the limitations of studying psychopathological parent-child relationships from the perspective of a continuously intact, dual biological parent-headed household, as a sole paradigm. Over-reliance on this two-parent model as representative of normalcy has led to distortions in research methodology, often resulting in, "...Group-aggregated comparisons between divorced and intact cohorts of dubious validity" (p. 351). Also important to an accurate evaluation of how parental divorce may impact on different groups in different ways is understanding changes in societal awareness and response to divorce. Concomitant with an increase in divorce rates in recent years has been a growing level of societal concern with both spousal and parental relationships. It seems that researchers and society more generally have begun to recognize that not all intact families are well-adjusted ones.

Wallerstein (1991) investigated the research from nine comprehensive reviews examining the possible long term effects of parental divorce on children. For example, one set of reviews (Block, Block, & Gjerde, 1986, 1988) characterized young boys in the throes of their parents' divorce as often being impetuous and aggressive, and these behaviours seemed to endure postdivorce. Based on this evidence, Wallerstein (1991) questions the accuracy of perceiving boys' response to divorce as a temporary event elicited by the stress of parental separation, when in fact it may have been formulated long before the actual event took place.

Also noteworthy in these findings are apparent discrepant parental responses to sons and daughters, which appear to escalate with the passage of time. For boys, inconsistencies in discipline, visitation, and fatherly nurturing may continue postdivorce, as does potential virulence expressed by both parents toward their sons. In contrast, relationships between daughters and their parents appear to stabilize after marital dissolution. Resounding evidence was found by Block et al. (cited in Wallerstein, 1991) that marital strife consistently undermines the foundation of marriage, and that central to many arguments are differences in child-rearing practices.

Second, Wallerstein (1991) examined a compilation of research studies conducted by Hetherington and her colleagues (1978, 1984, 1988, 1989). A follow-up study conducted six years after her initial study found consistently strained mother-child relationships, a downward spiraling in amount of time and attention spent with children, increasingly disorganized households, and irregular or absent disciplinary practices. In families where mothers did not remarry, mother-son relationships continued to deteriorate, whereas single

mothers maintained close relationships with their daughters. When divorced parents remarried, problems again arose in parent-child relationships. However, after a re-adjustment period, boys appeared to respond favourably to the new familial situation of being a member of a stepfamily, with generalized rebellion subsiding to levels comparable to boys in intact families. Stepfathers typically reported a more positive affinity toward their stepsons than stepdaughters.

Hetherington and her co-researchers grouped children from divorced and remarried families into three categories. One group identified as maladaptive and characterized as anxious, edgy, and who isolated themselves socially was divided into three sub-groups: boys living in continuously single-parent households, boys residing in recently remarried families, and girls in remarried families. The second group, labeled "opportunistic and competent," while appearing out-going and self-sufficient, lacked an ability to establish enduring relationships. These children gravitated toward adults and peers perceived as powerful; in large part their behaviours seemed calculated and fueled by their egos. These children typically came from high conflict homes and, apparently as a survival skill, allied themselves with whichever parent could best meet their needs. The third major group, identified as "caring and competent," were described as well adjusted, compassionate, caring people, capable of having healthy relationships with self, adults, and age-mates. Significantly, just slightly more than 25% of those in this third constellation were boys.

Wallerstein (1991) also reviewed her own California study of children of divorce, conducted initially with Joan Kelly, and her follow-up studies with

other colleagues (1980, 1983, 1984, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1989). Begun in 1971, additional assessments were conducted 5, 10, and 15 years later. Evaluations of the impact of parental divorce on children were based upon interviews by clinicians, and upon reports by parents, teachers, and the children themselves. Five years after the study was initiated, gender and age at onset of marital discord were no longer major predictive factors of children's adjustment. Replacing these variables were quality of familial relationships postdivorce and the extent to which newly formulated families met children's developmental dependency needs. Over 30% of the original sample continued to experience varying degrees of depression five years postdivorce.

A decade after the first (1971) study began, some preschoolers were now teenagers functioning reasonably well both at home and school. However, substantial numbers of them were still distressed by the emotional and financial hardships divorce had visited upon them. Many of these adolescents envied their peers from intact families; fantasies of their parents getting back together still prevailed for over half of them. Children who constituted the older group (i.e., 9 to 19 years old) at the onset of the study, were now adults, ten years later. The majority of these young adults regarded their parents' divorce as paramount in retarding their personal growth and development. Predominant as these young adults reviewed their postdivorce lives was sadness and a sense of being deprived a capricious childhood. When re-assessed ten years later, many of these young people appeared unmotivated and without direction. The vast majority wrestled with fears of

intimacy (lest history repeat itself), concerned that someone else they loved would walk out of their lives.

Fifteen years after the 1971 study began, many young men and women were still trying to resolve intimacy issues. For some young women this entailed resolving abandonment fears and realistically appraising their fathers in order to build a healthy, committed relationship with a man. Those children who sought out psychotherapy, in addition to benefiting from supportive networks of families and friends, metamorphosed into caring and self-fulfilled individuals. In contrast, the remaining half were characterized as unmotivated, negative, and sometimes virulent young people. Thus, 15 years after the first California Children of Divorce study began, the research indicated that divorce is a multidimensional process that continually burdens the psychological adjustment of children. It appears that, beginning with initial rifts in marital harmony, through actual separation, and on throughout years of transitory familial instability, divorce is a process continually revisiting children as they are faced with meeting life's demanding developmental milestones. While these conclusions are both interesting and important to our understanding of the effects of parental divorce, it should be remembered that they were drawn from studies conducted without the benefit of control groups from in-tact families.

In reviewing the research of Johnson and colleagues (1985, 1988, 1989), Wallerstein (1991) discussed children's responses to being unwittingly drawn into ongoing divorce disputes. Johnson et al. found that, throughout the post-separation phase, almost three quarters (71%) of parents participated in physically and emotionally abusive wars with the other parent. Children

witnessing this constantly denigrating display became increasingly anxious and withdrawn. Younger children appeared paralyzed by overt aggression, whereas older children often were drawn into the fray between parents. Constantly re-adjusting to shuttling between separate domiciles of parents left many children in disempowered, traumatized states. While physically unable to leave, some children "checked-out" emotionally as a self-preservation measure. Ironically, these same children insisted on regularly scheduled and maintained visitation at both parental homes. Efforts to take on the role of go-between sometimes assumed Philistinian magnitudes, as children saw themselves as invincible Davids challenging Goliaths.

When these children were re-assessed two and a half years later, their psychological distress appeared even more pronounced. Many of these children, particularly boys, became highly coercive and adept at engineering familial situations so as to be in a less vulnerable position emotionally. Other children were identified as "mergers," fine-tuning their obsequiousness in order to be as unobtrusive as possible. They were described as displaying flat emotional affect. A third group of children were characterized as "diffusers". These children teeter-tottered between suicidal ideation and violent aggression as acts of subterfuge pitted against their parents' ongoing fracas.

Four and a half years post-separation, children in court-mandated shared access evidenced significantly more depression and withdrawal compared to counterparts in sole custody arrangements, regardless of whether primary custodian was mother or father. Disintegration of parent-child relationships became more apparent, particularly those between mothers and daughters. Gender differences surfaced in joint access situations, girls reacting with

greater difficulty than boys. Shared custody arrangements fraught with continuing conflict found girls differentially interacting with parents, clinging to fathers while distancing themselves from mothers. On the other hand, boys in similar straits appeared equally engaged in parental battles. From the studies she reviewed, Wallerstein (1991) noted that, "Recommending or ordering joint custody or frequent visitation in these cases is contraindicated" (p. 355).

In the fifth study reviewed by Wallerstein (1991), telephone interviews with 522 youth (10 to 18 years old) were conducted four and a half years after their parents separated (Buchanan, Macoby, & Dornbusch, 1991). Those children reporting mixed allegiances with parents experienced feelings of heightened depression, tended to worry more, and displayed more acting-out behaviours. Feeling caught in the middle seemed to have a more negative impact on girls than boys. Forty percent of these youngsters who experienced high levels of parental conflict were able to distance themselves from their parents turmoil. However, similar numbers of youngsters felt caught up in the fray, even with lower levels of parental conflict. Attenuating feelings of being caught in the middle for some teenagers was closeness to parents, particularly mothers.

The researchers speculate that being "caught in the middle" represents a multi-layered, multidimensional process. This process is exacerbated by a sense of being abandoned by both parents. Furthermore, findings seemed to indicate that being front-and-centre amidst parental conflict may leave children feeling vulnerable, with no place to turn, while at the same time taking on the onus for their parents' well-being. Buchanan, Maccoby, &

Dornbusch (1991) conclude that youngsters exposed to continued situations of vulnerability, while sensing exploitation by their parents, could readily experience, "Specific problems with self-esteem, with a skewed view of relationships and a pervasive sense of deprivation and anger" (p. 355).

The sixth set of studies reviewed by Wallerstein (1991) were based on a national survey of children by Furstenburg and colleagues (1983, 1985, 1986, 1987). A total of 2,279 children, 7 to 11 years old and their parents (usually the mother) were interviewed in 48 states. Five years later this survey was conducted again, this time geared specifically to investigate long-term effects of parental divorce. Findings characterized children of parental divorce as significantly worse off across several dimensions of psychological well-being compared to children in intact families. These differences were still evident after controlling for age and gender of children and educational level of mother. No gender differences surfaced to support the suggestion that divorce impacts on boys and girls differentially. Age of child did seem to augur into the equation, with younger children having a greater likelihood of severe reaction. Also at higher risk were children who had transitioned through a variety of familial situations. Findings at the 5-year follow-up indicated that 23% of fathers had had minimal contact with their children since the study commenced, and 20% had had no contact whatsoever within the last year. Father-child relationships deteriorated from a parental to a friendship role. Primary parental responsibility appeared to fall squarely on the custodial parent's shoulders, so that, "Co-parenting appeared to be more a myth than a reality" (p.356). Results similarly failed to support the notion of fatherly involvement as necessarily beneficial in children's lives. Those

children who had not interacted with their fathers in five years fared better academically and behaviourally compared to those children who had some paternal contact. Maternal contact, on the other hand, appeared paramount to children's overall adjustment.

The seventh study reviewed by Wallerstein (1991), a national survey conducted by Guidubaldi and colleagues (Guidubaldi & Cleminshaw, 1985, 1987a & b, 1988), investigated the effects of divorce on elementary school aged children of divorce. Follow-ups were conducted 2 and 3 years after the initial survey. Children from divorced families performed more poorly at school, had more difficulties in relationships, and displayed deficits in psychological well-being compared to children from intact families. Gender differences were apparent; boys from non-intact homes appearing strikingly different compared to those whose parents remained continuously married. On the other hand, girls from split families were essentially indistinguishable from their counterparts whose parents were still together. A more detailed discussion of Guidubaldi and Perry's studies is presented in a later section of this chapter, under "Personal Adjustment."

The eighth set of studies reviewed by Wallerstein (1991) examined adult populations in which men and women from divorced families were compared with those who grew up in continuously intact families. Glenn and co-researchers (1983, 1985, 1987) found that, across a variety of mental health indices, striking differences arose, the former group consistently having more negative ratings than the later. Contrary to some research, findings from this study suggest that the process of divorce impacts negatively over time. In addition, the long-term effects of divorce appear more

significant for men than women. Additional corroboration for the theory of intergenerational transmission of marital instability was evidenced in these findings, with 60% more of the women growing up in non-intact families ending their own marriages, compared to their counterparts from intact families.

The final study examined by Wallerstein (1991) looked at results from a number of studies investigating attitudes of college students who experienced their parents' divorce, compared to those students whose parents remained together (Billingham, Sauer, & Pillon, 1989). Consistent among their findings were differences in paternal relationships and trust issues between the sexes, in terms of how adult children of divorce regarded intimacy and sexuality compared to their cohorts from intact families. A survey of 432 women and 222 men showed that both men and women who grew up in divorced families readily engaged sexually, while fearing emotional investment. Both men and women from divorce families were more likely to have had sexual relations, and with more people than young adults who grew up in families in which marital dissolution did not occur. Paradoxically, while sexually active yet fearful of commitment, these adult children of divorce still valued the institutions of marriage and fidelity.

To begin her conclusion, Wallerstein (1991) identifies two bifurcated approaches to divorce research. One, a "stress-coping-vulnerability" model, utilized by Hetherington and others, regards the myriad of stresses foisted upon children of divorce and the armamentarium of resources that may bolster well-being to be the most salient research variables. Based on this conceptual framework, those children not resilient enough to rebound from

the initial impact of divorce or those unable to endure repeated or prolonged familial fractures are regarded as, "...More vulnerable and/or less protected than those children who demonstrate successful coping and mastery" (p. 357).

The other conceptual perspective employed by the author is predicated on the assumption that, to best understand the enduring negative impact of the process of divorce, one must focus on impediments to children's attainment of particular developmental achievements. This perspective is shared by another noted researcher in the area of the effects of divorce on children (Kalter, 1987; Kalter et al., 1989). The developmental tasks these authors identified are: "(1) The capacity to modulate aggressive impulses; (2) the ability to achieve emotional separation from primary caregivers; and (3) the development of a valued sense of gender identity" (Kalter, 1987, p. 589).

Based on object relations theory, Wallerstein believes that children learn about intimacy and commitment to a relationship primarily on the stage of familial experience. How children ultimately work through and resolve developmental challenges is therefore based in large part upon what is modelled for them in life's drama by its chief actors -- their parents.

According to Wallerstein (1991), this failure of husband and wife to resolve major relational issues creates a major predicament as a developmental mind-set. Thus, Wallerstein advocates abandoning previous models of divorce which regard its impact as a short-term crisis and, instead, promotes a view of the impact of divorce as a "multistage process".

In summary, Wallerstein (1991) acknowledges the importance of parental conflict and agrees with Amato and Keith (1991) that it plays a major role in both parent-child relationships and overall adjustment of children of divorce.

However, it seems that Wallerstein (1991) does not see the parental conflict perspective as standing alone as a theoretical perspective for understanding the spectrum of adjustment problems experienced by children of divorce. Also, findings with respect to gender differences are not consistent in Wallerstein's (1991) review of the long term effects of divorce on children and Amato and Keith's (1991) review. The majority of studies Wallerstein reviewed pointed to distinctions in responses of boys and girls to parental divorce. It appears that, although some studies failed to indicate significant differences in the short-term, follow-up investigations of these studies showed gender differences manifesting in "sleeper effects". Amato and Keith (1991) suggested that to gain a greater understanding of the complexities of parental divorce and its impact on children necessitates more sophisticated quantitative methodologies. In contrast, Wallerstein (1991) suggests that valuable and pertinent information salient to the inner world of the child experiencing parental divorce may be forfeited if restricted to, "...Too single-minded a research paradigm, such as much of the current preoccupation with quantitative methods, carefully controlled samples, designated control groups using group-aggregated data, and statistical determination of significance" (p. 35).

The Child's Perspective: A Third Review. Hetherington, Stanley-Hagan and Anderson (1989) reviewed marital changes from the child's point of view. Often, when single parents remarry, their children are faced with an ongoing series of new life-style changes. At first glance, it is easy to link behavioural problems in children from remarried families with difficulties in adapting to the remarriage. However, Hetherington et al. examined research

supporting an interpretation of these behaviours as stemming from unresolved issues related to living in a single-parent household.

Notwithstanding, remarriage represents a whole series of challenges for children to address. The reality of a new marriage dictates forfeiture of fantasies that mom and dad may reconcile; it means adjusting to a step-parent as a disciplinary figure in their lives; and it may also threaten newly formulated bonds between custodial parent and child.

Hetherington et al. (1989) identified three constellations of responses as children transition through the process of divorce and remarriage. One group of children appear to rise to the challenge of familial reorganization, and the overall experience appears to promote growth. Another group of children appear to suffer developmental setbacks. A third group, while initially appearing to be safeguarded from parentally-imposed vicissitudes, experience a "sleeper effect". During adolescence, they engage in anger outbursts and become disobedient and rebellious, with academic and relationship problems.

Consistent in the research are findings demonstrating that being raised in a home where parents remain married, but are continuously battling, is a greater risk than being raised in supportive, single-parent households. Another constant finding is that, although removal from a stress-ridden household is beneficial, coupling this with the nurturing of a supportive step-parent proves even more nurturing. In considering research on long-term effects of divorce, Hetherington et al. (1989) suggest that, when examining marital transitions from a child's perspective, the salient variables to be considered are: (1) The uniqueness of the child, (2) positive restructuring of

the child's new home environment, and (3) ready accessibility of supportive networks. Children of divorce are often bombarded by constant changes; their parents' divorce necessitates accommodating to the physical loss of one parent and, at times, the emotional loss of the other. Financial dictates may require moving from the family home, thus potentially obligating a change in schools and a loss of friends. These changes may also bind children in added household responsibilities. All of this can add up to cumulative stress.

Research reviewed by Hetherington et al. (1989) indicates that, for some children of divorce, dealing with moderate levels of stress appears growth enhancing. However, other children appear to weather this multi-transitional life through divorce and/or remarriage severely taxed in their adaptability and ability to cope. Each child's own cognitive capabilities, maturity, degree of personal autonomy, and ability to adjust to life demands seem predictive of his or her vulnerability to the divorce/remarriage process. Therefore, temperamentally difficult children appear more susceptible to problems in conflict-ridden intact households than easy-going and well-adjusted children living in single-parent or reconstituted familial situations. In addition, difficult children are more likely to receive displaced resentments, angers, and fears from parents and step-parents, and may strain marital harmony.

A few studies reviewed by Hetherington et al. (1989) indicate that the younger the child, the greater the adjustment difficulties to parental divorce. Other studies however, do not find support for this age/adaptability correlation. Hetherington et al. (1989) suggest that, rather than focusing on developmental status, more accurate information may be realized by

examining coping skills and cognitive/behavioural attributes of children at differing ages. Limited cognitive abilities are likely to restrict some children's ability to appraise realistically the ramifications of the divorce, whereas cognitive astuteness may mediate other children's responses.

At the same time, there do appear to be developmental differences in how divorce is experienced. Self-incriminating behaviour, feeling responsible for their parent's emotional needs, and wanting to put back together what they think they have torn asunder commonly characterize younger children of divorce. A decade after their parent's divorce, earlier resentments associated with divorce-related conflict become fading memories. However, those children who were adolescents when their parents divorced still appear troubled even ten years later. Older children can more accurately assess their parent's divorce, ascribing onus where it belongs and absolving themselves of guilt, while more easily extricating themselves from loyalty demands. Also, older children can access extra-familial support more readily than their younger counterparts. Detachment from family problems while engaging in non-delinquent age-mate activities, academic achievements, and building interpersonal connections can lead to healthy adjustment. Nonetheless, some teenagers whose parents divorce affiliate with delinquent peers and lack adequate supervision, often meeting with dire consequences.

Frequently, when a parent remarries, children's previous difficulties may be re-experienced. Younger children appear more malleable to the demands of new parents than do their older counterparts who are also wrestling with added developmental tasks. Further exacerbating adolescent parent-child

relations is the emerging sexuality of these young people, who become affronted by their parent's renewed sexual activity. Younger children, on the other hand, are less likely to be recipients of unwanted sexual advances by their step-parents. Age of child may also be a distinguishing feature in children's reactions to stepparents; older children seeing them as less disruptive, knowing that nest-leaving will be forth-coming.

Another factor reviewed by Hetherington et al. (1989) and often investigated is gender of the custodial parent. Some research suggests children adjust better when raised in the custody of a same-sex parent. Father-raised young boys display greater maturity, engage more readily in relationships with family and peers, are more autonomous, and surpass their female counterparts in terms of level of self-esteem. Girls in father-headed households display more acting out behaviours compared to girls from mother-headed households. When custodial parents remarry, both boys and girls display adverse effects. For boys, greater adjustment problems compared to their female counterparts are experienced in the phase directly following divorce. On the other hand, girls seem to show more adjustment problems than boys following the remarriage of the custodial parent. Some studies reviewed suggest the introduction of a stepfather may buffer strained relationships between mothers and sons. For daughters, stepfathers may be perceived as detractors to newly-formulated mother-daughter bonds.

Hetherington et al. (1989) also examined the impact of interpersonal relationships as children go through post divorce/remarriage transitions. When matrimony turns to acrimony, many marital partners, especially men, have difficulty adjusting to the changes that divorce brings to their lives. For

some men, continued and lingering conflict is preferable to replacing this with acknowledgment of total disengagement and loss. Unfortunately, many children with divided loyalties find themselves exposed to a barrage of deprecating commentary between their parents. With continued conflict, the relationship between children and the non-custodial parent continues to disintegrate. This diminishes even further if the non-custodial parent remarries. For those children displaying fewer emotional and social problems, a healthier co-parenting relationship devoid of continued conflict is likely.

Changes in family relationships and the stressful demands it places on all family members may manifest in a variety of ways. Substance misuse, despondency, illnesses with psychological antecedents, and carelessness are all more commonly associated with divorced than non-divorced persons (Hetherington et al., 1989). Tragically, the upheaval of divorce can leave children feeling particularly dependent upon their parents at a time when these two adults may be resource-poor emotionally, psychologically, and financially. Diminished parenting may become particularly problematic between mothers and sons as postdivorce and remarriage demands continue to distance them. Girls may initially experience similar postdivorce problems. However, within a couple of years most difficulties subside; mothers and daughters are then able to re-establish a co-operative and fruitful relationship.

Custodial fathers are less likely to report ongoing parent-child problems two years postdivorce when compared to custodial mothers (Hetherington et al., 1989). This more satisfactory father-child relationship may be attributable

to better financial circumstances, coupled with the fact that fathers are generally awarded the custody of older children and teenagers. Regardless of the gender of the custodial parent, young children benefit from a stable, secure nurturing home life based on authoritative parenting styles. In contrast, parents that make unrealistic demands upon their children are likely to inculcate feelings of insecurity, and therefore increase the likelihood of their children harboring resentments toward them.

Remarriage can present new parental challenges to custodial mothers. Often newlywed, remarried, custodial mothers are more rigid, autocratic, and punitive compared with single mothers or those from intact households. A renewed sense of added parental responsibilities may stem in part from minimal parental commitment on the part of stepfathers. A similarly inert parental role is often assumed by new stepmothers. Two years after remarriage, disengaging from a parental role seems to be the most common step-parental stance.

Gender differences surface in terms of step-parent/child relationships (Hetherington et al., 1989). Stepfathers who are warm and nurturing and who resist taking a directive parenting role may eventually be regarded positively by their stepsons. Stepdaughters, on the other hand, do not readily accept their stepfathers, regardless of his behaviour. Gender differences also surface in terms of the parent's effects on children's overall adjustment to new familial demands. Children whose custodial father remarries experience poorer adjustment compared to children whose custodial mothers introduce a step-father into the family dynamic.

The most challenging event to a reconstituted family occurs when both parents bring their own children into the new family. Remarriage of the custodial parent may also alter the existing relationship between children and their non-custodial parent. Children whose fathers remarry may experience a restored involvement with their non-custodial mothers. When non-custodial fathers maintain a non-conflicting, supportive, co-parental role, their children -- particularly their sons -- benefit in terms of accelerated adjustment. However, continual involvement by non-custodial mothers seems to rekindle previous conflicts and renew alliance difficulties between children and their mothers.

Although they examined marital transitions mainly from a child's perspective, Hetherington et al. (1989), also reviewed research on support systems for children of divorce. For example, children whose sense of stability has been shattered may find security provided in the structure of a day-care or school environment. Similarly, a consistent, predictable teacher may provide a welcome counter-balance to irregular parenting. For divorcing parents, support provided by family and friends can re-instill hope and help parents to resume a more optimistic outlook. Parents receiving this unconditional support are also more likely to have a more positive stance in terms of their parenting responsibilities. Between 1/4 and 1/3 of recently divorced mothers will spend some period of time post-divorce residing with their parents. This extended family situation also appears to benefit the sons of single-parent moms, with boys' behaviour improving correspondingly with time spent with grandfathers. Often, support for children of divorce takes the form of sibling aid. Female siblings may take on more nurturing

roles, counteracting parental deficits. On the other hand, male siblings living in mother-headed households tend to aggress more and capitulate to collusive behaviours more often than their counterparts from intact families.

Hetherington et al. (1989) conclude that, given that the majority of parents remarry, it seems fitting to regard the postdivorce period with a single parent as a "...Transitional period between life with non-divorced, often conflict-ridden, parents and life in a stepfamily" (p. 310). Summarizing Hetherington et al.'s (1989) review, it appears that, based on short-term studies, preliminary results are in accord with Amato and Keith's (1991) meta-analysis. That is, although children of divorce are potentially negatively impacted by parental divorce, generally, effect sizes are not great. In accord with Wallerstein (1991), Hetherington et al. (1989) seem to regard parental divorce as a multistage life process -- a process often imposing developmental delays and disruptions as children transition through major family reorganizations. Readjusting to these demands may not fully surface short-term, remaining dormant. However, their results seem to indicate these difficulties are percolating until adolescence or early adulthood, resurfacing as "sleeper effects." The researchers also note that long-term effects of marital transitions have little to do with divorce or remarriage per se, relating more to the individual world of the child's developmental status, temperament, and gender. In addition, paramount to children's adjustment throughout marital rearrangements appears to be how well they and their parents avail themselves of resources and support systems.

Summary. These three major reviews seem to promote somewhat different perspectives. Amato and Keith's (1991) meta-analysis explores what

the authors suggest are the three major theoretical models of why divorce may negatively impact on children. Limited support from studies yielding marginally significant effect sizes was found for theories highlighting parental absence and economic disadvantages. Consistently, results of their meta-analysis supported a family conflict perspective. In terms of children's ages, it appears that age is significantly associated with children's adjustment across a variety of indices, and the effects appear strongest for children in the middle age group. In terms of gender, when large numbers of studies are considered, contrary to previous theories, large differences are not as prevalent as previously suggested. Overall, results of their meta-analysis indicates that although parental divorce appears to lower the well-being of children, estimates of the effects seem weaker than was previously heralded. Amato and Keith (1991) suggest that this could be due to the fact that when children's lives are scrutinized macroscopically, divorce really has only minor effects; conversely they suggest that divorce may indeed have a serious impact, but that the majority of studies have lacked the methodological sophistication to tease out salient factors.

Wallerstein (1990) takes a somewhat different approach to reviewing the literature. Although readily acknowledging the importance of examining the parent-parent and parent-child conflict perspectives, Wallerstein seems to consistently resonate thematically around the multifaceted ways in which children of divorce may become overburdened due to parental divorce. She also looks at divorce as a process which is potentially dynamic, and therefore places a great deal of emphasis in her review upon the long term effects of divorce. Although Amato and Keith's (1991) meta-analysis indicated that

parental divorce appears to have rather weak effects on children's well-being, Wallerstein (1990) suggests that long-term effects seem substantial.

In the third major review, by Hetherington et al. (1989), the researchers discuss " sleeper effects " where, in the short-term, the impact of divorce on well-being may appear weak, but may resurface significantly when studied over longer periods. The researchers also talk about divorce as a process rather than a time-limited event, and go to lengths to address the fact that the majority of divorced parents remarry, and that many of them will similarly separate and divorce. Based on these factors, the researchers suggest that children of divorce could potentially experience years of familial upheaval and changes.

In the introduction to this chapter it was stated that these three major papers would be reviewed in an effort to try to sort out the apparent conundrum existing in the research literature pertaining to the effects of parental divorce on children. Based on a review of these three papers, it appears that none agree with Edwards (1987) that children escape the process of divorce relatively unscathed. Amato and Keith's (1991) meta-analysis found parental divorce to impact deleteriously on children across a variety of adjustment indices. However, effect sizes were generally small, which the authors suggest may be partially attributable to methodological deficiencies, as argued by Demo and Acock (1988).

Although they were seen as less significant than previously suggested in Amato and Keith's (1991) meta-analysis, gender differences still loomed large in Wallerstein's (1991) paper and appeared to be a significant variable when reviewed long-term in Hetherington et al's (1989) study. Both Wallerstein

(1991) and Hetherington et al. (1989) seem to agree with Amato and Keith (1991) that, "The long-term consequences of parental divorce for adult attainment and quality of life may prove to be more serious than the short-term emotional and social problems in children that are more frequently studied" (p. 40).

One still may ask: are the effects of parental divorce additive, or multiplicative? If parental divorce is regarded as a multistage process rather than a time-limited crisis, it appears these three review papers would suggest the latter. In order to better appreciate the numerous potentially multiplicative ways in which divorce impacts on children, the following selected review will focus on cognitive functioning, personal adjustment, interpersonal relationships, antisocial behaviour, and self-esteem.

School Adjustment

There is considerable evidence indicating negative ramifications of divorce on cognitive and other variables related to school performance. These variables include academic achievement (e.g., Atkinson, Forehand, & Rickard, 1982; Brown, 1980; Guidubaldi, Cleminshaw, Perry, & McLoughlin, 1983; Hammond, 1979; Kinard & Reinherz, 1986; Kurdek, 1981; Watt, Moorehead-Slaughter, Japzon, & Keller, 1990), self-reported competencies in cognitive abilities (Forehand, McComb, & Long, 1988; Hett, 1983; Wyman, Cowen, Hightower, & Pedro-Carroll, 1985), intelligence and aptitude tests (Guidubaldi et al., 1983; Hett, 1985), and disruptions in peer relations (Clements, 1991). For example, Hammond (1979) found that boys from divorced families were lower in arithmetic achievement and exhibited more distractible and acting-out behaviour than boys from intact families. A school

survey sponsored by the U.S. National Association of Elementary Principals showed that children from single-parent families were lower in achievement, presented more school discipline problems, and were absent from school more often than their two-parent peers (Atkinson, Forehand, & Rickard, 1982). Similar results are reported by Brown (1980), who compared the school achievement, tardiness, absenteeism, discipline problems, suspensions, and drop-outs of one-parent and two-parent children.

Mulholland et al. (1991) investigated academic performance as a critical indicator of children's adjustment to divorce. Sixty children from divorced homes and 36 from intact families participated in this study. Children ranged in age from 10 years, 4 months to 14 years, 11 months. Assessments were based upon ratings by teachers, interviews with parents, and questionnaires administered to children. Results indicated that children from non-intact homes evidenced significantly weaker academic performance as reflected in their grade point averages (GPAs) and lower scholastic motivation as seen in their overall comportment, compared to their counterparts from intact families. A steady decline over time was discernible in GPAs of children of divorce, and this disparate pattern of achievement was observed among high, medium, and low achievers. With high achievers, both children from intact and non-intact homes were about on par in their performance during the early years of elementary school. However, between the third and eighth grades, children from non-intact homes displayed a steady decline academically, whereas their peers from intact homes continued to excel. For average achievers, children from non-intact homes initially displayed lower academic performance, catching up to their counterparts from intact homes

by middle elementary grades, but then falling behind them again in the upper elementary grades. For low achievers, children from intact homes showed a tendency toward modest improvement over the years, whereas children from non-intact homes faltered until middle school, where their grades dropped precipitously. According to Mulholland et al. (1991), differences between the two groups in terms of social class and intellectual ability were controlled for and therefore did not influence the outcomes of their study. In contrast to previous studies indicating that children of divorce recover academically within a couple of years, these researchers suggest that at least some children of divorce, "...Experience residual effects insidiously over many years" (p. 280).

In support of these U.S. studies, Hett (1983, 1985) found evidence suggesting that family separation and divorce is a factor for children in such areas as academic achievement, emotional adjustment, and such school-related problem behaviours such as acting out. In the second study, Hett (1985) asked teachers to rate their students from single-parent families and intact families along several dimensions. Results of this study suggest that significantly more children from single parent families evidence problem behaviours than children from intact families. These behavioural problems include poor concentration skills, lower academic achievement, a greater need for learning assistance instruction, problem behaviours resulting in disciplinary action, and a greater number of school absences. Similarly, Guidubaldi and Perry (1984) found negative effects of divorce on both the academic competencies and the social skills of children from divorced homes. A decline in social interactions, appropriate classroom behaviours, initiative,

cooperation, and peer support were observed as children adjusted to their parent's divorce. Impairment of overall school performance necessitating educational intervention for children of divorce has been reported by DiSibio (1981). Another researcher has gone so far as to stipulate that, generally, children of divorce are academically at risk (Zakariya, 1982).

In summary, it appears that, potentially, divorce can impact negatively on children's education. Studies have shown that children of divorce experience a decline in grades, attendance, and peer interaction. In addition, children of divorce represent a greater disciplinary challenge with more acting out and distracting behaviours, and greater likelihood of dropping out than their counterparts from intact homes.

Personal Adjustment

As clearly indicated in the major review studies discussed earlier, children of divorce suffer a variety of adjustment problems. Some of the outcome variables associated with family dissolution include adjustment difficulties which may manifest in developmental arrest (Anthony, 1974; Guidubaldi & Perry, 1985; Hodges, London, & Colwell, 1990; Nagera, 1970; Wallerstein, 1985), lowered self-control and greater impulsivity (Hetherington, Cox, & Cox, 1978), prolonged periods of feeling hurt and rejected leading to feeling insecure and being unpopular with peers (Wallerstein & Kelly, 1980), aggressive behaviour (Goldstein, Solnit, & Freund, 1973), use of illicit substances (Doherty & Needles, 1991), and increased risk of suicide attempts (Elkind, 1984; McGuire & Ely, 1984; Nelson & Crawford, 1990). In terms of preparedness for later intimacy, studies have also found children of divorce to experience more difficulties relating to

gender role enactment than their counterparts from intact families (Chetnik & Kalter, 1980; Hetherington, 1972; Rieman, Brickman, & Chen, 1985), and to embark on their adulthood ill-equipped for healthy interactions with adult cohorts from intact families of origin (Weiss, 1979).

In a nationwide study, Guidubaldi and Perry (1984) assessed children's adjustment to parental divorce using a number of social, academic, and health criteria. With a sample of 341 children of divorce in grades 1, 3, and 5 and 358 age-matched subjects from intact families, these researchers investigated the role of selected familial environmental factors facilitating children's postdivorce adjustment. Two years later a follow-up study was conducted involving 44 and 77 children, respectively, from the original samples. Tests employed to evaluate mental health and the social/behavioural domain included the Hahneman Elementary School Behavior Rating Scale, the Achenbach Teacher Rating Scale, the Sells and Ruff Peer Acceptance-Rejection Rating, a locus of control measure derived from the Harvard Project on Family Stress, an optimism-pessimism scale, and the Vineland Teacher Questionnaire. Additional evaluations entailed child and parent interviews and data collected from school records, including grades attendance, and special services provided to the child.

Findings from this study indicated that children from divorced families performed less well than their age-mates from intact families on 9 of 30 mental health measures. Results from the Hahneman Teacher Rating portrayed subjects from non-intact families as showing higher frequencies of dependency, more irrelevant talk, greater inattention, withdrawal, and a tendency to blame others for their problems. Decreased work effort, higher

frequencies of inappropriate behaviour, unhappiness, and maladaptive symptoms were evidenced for children from non-intact homes on the Achenbach Teacher Rating Scale. Gender differences surfaced in the findings, with boys from divorced homes performing less well than boys from intact homes on 6 of 30 mental health measures. However, these differences were not apparent with girls. Based on child interviews, boys with divorced parents had more external locus of control scores than boys whose parents were still married, despite the fact that the former group of boys maintained greater weekly contact with their friends than did the latter group. With socio-economic status of parents controlled, boys from divorced homes continued to perform at a lower level on four mental health measures (work effort, appropriateness of behaviour, happiness, and relations with parents) when compared with boys from intact homes. Girls from divorced homes only differed from age-mates in terms of having higher external locus of control scores. With IQ controlled, boys from non-intact homes showed a higher number of behaviour problems, a lower internal locus of control, and lower ratings of work effort, appropriate behaviour, and happiness. Their female counterparts had higher ratings on intellectual dependency, irrelevant talk, and inattention. Guidubaldi and Perry (1984) concluded that, given the wide array of both concurrent and longitudinal relationships illustrating interdependence among divorce, physical and mental health condition, stress indices, and academic and social competence, appropriate school based services need to be provided.

In her seminal article entitled, "The Overburdened Child: Some Long-Term Consequences of Divorce," Judith Wallerstein (1985) examined the

postdivorce family. Although many of her findings were summarized in her review paper on the long term effects of parental divorce (1990), additional mention is made here. It is included here because of the thoroughness with which Wallerstein (1985) highlights persistent psychological and social problems inherent in parental divorce. Her observations were based on a longitudinal study begun in 1971, with follow-up studies conducted five and ten years later. In the initial study, 100 middle class, White, non-intact families with 181 children ranging in age from 3 to 18 participated. Data were obtained from interviews with and self-reports of children and from reports by parents, teachers, and clinicians. Wallerstein (1985) was quick to point out that her findings went against the grain of prevailing views held by other professionals in the mental health field, that most of the problems children experience due to parental divorce are short-term in nature. In emphasizing the importance of long-term effects of divorce on children, she questioned these previous notions of a divorce paradigm as a "time limited crisis" (p. 116). She stated that children of divorce can serve as icons of matrimony gone astray. While readily acknowledging that several researchers extol the potentially positive effects of divorce's aftermath, Wallerstein (1985) maintained that there remains a "darker side." She acknowledged that, for some children of divorce, participation in surrogate parenting, increased communication and strengthened friendships with the custodial parent, and added responsibilities and decision-making can lead to greater independence, maturity, and character-building. However, her article details accounts from both clinical and non-clinical settings attesting to the trials and tribulations of children of divorce. She describes how a diminished parental capacity,

exacerbated by the emotional upheaval created by divorce, can lead to parents overburdening their children. The ontological development of these children may be heavily taxed by the imposition of being responsible for their own care.

Further distorting their developmental course may be the "nomadic existence" that many of these children lead at the hands of multiple caregivers. In one case study highlighted by Wallerstein (1985), a 10 year-old boy refused to live with his father after his mother's departure and subsequently inhabited the family domicile alone. This self-imposed solitary confinement was perhaps a major factor in the child later being observed as, "...Clinically depressed and painfully lonely, and... having increased difficulty in distinguishing reality from his vivid fantasy life" (p. 118).

Children whose parents had divorced were characterized by Wallerstein (1985) as falling into three categories. One group of children was described as being saddled with the responsibility of being their own caregivers. Children in this category related stories of letting themselves into their own homes after school and then performing chores, doing their laundry, and preparing their own meals. For some of the older children of divorce, the responsibility of caring for their younger siblings represented a major imposition.

Wallerstein noted that, "...The potential in the postdivorce family, at all socioeconomic levels, for emotional and physical neglect of previously well-cared for children is a wide-spread phenomenon in our society" (p. 119).

Caring for themselves does not appear to stop with these household responsibilities, as some children talked about looking after their own emotional needs as well. As an example, Wallerstein described a brave 6

year-old boy named Jimmy, who ended each day by, "...Putting himself to sleep with the help of a large misspelled sign that he had carefully constructed at the foot of his bed. Nightly he read aloud the message to himself. It said '...Go to sleep Jimmy, don't be afraid'" (p. 118).

A second category of children, according to Wallerstein (1985), becomes responsible for their parents' welfare. She cautions that this new child-parent relationship should not be construed as a role-reversal. However, for some traumatized parents, their child or adolescent may serve as, "...Arbiter, protector, advisor, parent, sibling, comrade-in-arms against the outer world, confidante, lover, or concubine" (p. 119). These overburdened children often seem to find themselves attempting to soothe and fix the lowered self-concepts of their parents. For example, Wallerstein cites the plight of one 15 year-old girl's relationship with her mother. Ten years after her parent's divorce the girl stated, "I felt it was my responsibility to make sure that Mom was okay, so I would stay home with her instead of playing or going to school. I tried to stay close. When she got mad, I let her take it out on me instead of breaking something in the apartment" (p. 119).

Wallerstein (1985) identified a third category of children as caught in the middle of lengthy litigious wars. Battles waged through the judicial process over the years may take an insurmountable toll on the children, who become unwitting pawns in adversarial courtroom chess games. These children of divorce often seem to teeter-totter back and forth emotionally. Rising with the sense of empowerment they have from their parent's emotional dependency on them, they then plummet into feelings of helplessness when trying to change in any substantial way their own or their parent's immediate

predicament. Another problem confronting these overburdened children is sorting out their fantasies from reality; a task which is often aggravated by their parent's unwillingness or inability to assist them in unraveling this conundrum. Many children of divorce, who feel distinct and different, may react with hostility toward their age-mates from intact families, who are perceived as happy-go-lucky and unfettered by life's problems. Wallerstein concluded that, for overburdened children of divorce, years may pass while these children become weighed down with the heavy responsibility of caring for themselves and their parents. She reiterated that for some children the impact of divorce is not time limited, and she implored concerned members of society to provide appropriate interventions and supportive structure.

Glen and Kramer (1985) investigated the psychological well-being of adult children of divorce. Through multiple regression analyses of data from eight U.S. national surveys, these researchers attempted to reconcile two disparate and ambiguous perspectives which had evolved from previous analyses of U.S. national survey data. One perspective, the constancy viewpoint, regards persons as having their present and future psychological fate predetermined by their experiences while growing up. The other perspective, the change viewpoint, holds that individuals are capable of surmounting any and all of their previous negative experiences. Glen and Kramer's study was aimed at further elucidating on this "constancy-and-change" question.

One previous analysis (Kulka & Weingarten, 1979) found persons whose parents divorced to be statistically lower on several indices of well-being compared to individuals coming from intact families. However, Glen and Kramer (1985) found contradiction in the conclusions drawn by the authors.

On one hand, Kulka and Weingarten state that, "Coming from a non-intact family of origin does indeed have some significance for psychological well-being in adulthood," (p. 210) whereas on the other hand, they claim that, "... the notion that experiencing parental divorce during childhood is an important contributor to later life adjustment derives little support..." (p. 229).

Another previous analysis, by Nock (1982), compared living arrangements of 8,224 sixteen-year-olds. The researcher was interested in examining the enduring effects of marital disruption and subsequent living arrangements on these adolescents. Three sets of dependent variables were measured: (1) trust and confidence, (2) estrangement and anomie, and (3) general satisfaction and happiness. Comparisons between children of divorce and children from intact homes failed to reveal any long-term negative effects based on measures of trust and confidence. Contrary to predictions, children from intact families appeared higher on estrangement and anomie than children from divorced families. Nock found children of divorce were not distinguishable from children from intact homes in terms of suffering any long-term negative effects. In fact, Nock believes that children from "broken" homes may have a more positive outlook than children from intact homes.

In a previous study conducted by Glen and Skelton (1983), questions arose as to the, "...Appropriateness of using explained variance as a criterion for the importance of any effects of parental divorce on happiness and satisfaction" (p. 48). Therefore, in this study (Glen & Skelton, 1985), they focused on size of adjusted differences in measures of well-being, rather than relying on explained variance.

Also, noting that in Nock's (1982) pooled sample only 6.5 % were children of divorce, Glen and Kramer (1985) opted for larger numbers of children of divorce in their sample. They analyzed data from pooled samples collected between 1973 and 1982 through General Social Surveys. Effects of parental divorce were assessed by regressing, separately for males and females, each of eight measures of psychological well-being on family situation at age 16. Control variables used included: (a) age of respondent, (b) job status of father, (c) educational history of father, (d) educational history of mother, (e) community size, (f) number of brothers and sisters, (g) faith by birth, and (h) mother employed/not employed prior to respondent's sixth birthday.

In the second stage of the analyses, two additional variables were individually entered into the regression equation: number of years of school completed and whether or not the respondent married. Both of these intervening variables were included to account for situations potentially affecting the psychological well-being of individuals at home prior to the age of 16 and presently.

Separate reports on indices of happiness were gathered from two groups: (1) those 18 to 39 years old, (2) and those 40 and older. Results indicated that for both sexes, seven out of eight estimated effects of parental divorce were negative. The one exception was an estimate of happiness for males. Regressions conducted separately for these two age groups indicated slightly higher levels of happiness for younger respondents. Based on these analyses, the researchers stated that, "There is no evidence that any negative effects of parental divorce diminishes with age" (Glen & Kramer, 1985, p. 909).

Kulka and Weingarten's (1979) study provided evidence for negative effects of parental divorce on males. In contrast, Glen and Kramer's (1985) study found greater evidence for negative effects in females. Negative ratings on health and dissatisfaction with community and friendships were greater for females. Other variables distinguishing men from women were years of school completed and marital status. The negative effects of parental divorce were accounted for moderately by these two variables in women, but not men. According to the researchers, their results further substantiate the traditional "constancy" view of human development. Their findings did not corroborate the viewpoint that dealing with earlier negative experiences will leave an individual with adaptability and coping ability. Glen and Kramer found that, regardless of whether parental loss occurred through death or divorce, both groups of children experienced similarities in their living arrangements. However, they argued that children with a deceased parent, "...Do not seem to have experienced the same long-term negative effects on their psychological well-being as those children whose parents divorced" (p. 991).

Three rationales are offered by the researchers as possible explanations for the enduring negative effects of parental divorce. One explanation contends that parental conflict (both prior to the divorce and ongoing) creates a long-term deleterious impact. A second theory contends that it is negative societal reactions to children from non-traditional families that carry far-reaching consequences. A third explanation suggests that enduring negative effects of parental divorce are attributable to being raised by an emotionally traumatized custodial parent.

Amato (1988) investigated the long-term implications of parental divorce on adult self-concept. Two dimensions of self-concept, sense of power and self-esteem, provided the main focus in this study. Respondents were grouped into one of three categories: (1) intact family of origin, (2) non-intact family due to parental divorce, and (3) non-intact family due to parental death. A total of 2,544 interviews were conducted in Australian households, where at least one inhabitant was between 18 and 34 years of age. Two variables controlled for in this study were age and gender. Parental variables controlled for included: educational level, country of origin, and regularity of church-going. No significant relationship was found between disrupted familial experience and enduring loss of self-esteem. However, in terms of sense of power, results indicated that respondents who experienced their parents' divorce scored one fifth of a standard deviation below those respondents whose families remained together.

Another noteworthy finding to emerge from this study was that respondents whose parents divorced averaged one less year of school than either those respondents from intact families or those with a deceased parent. Amato (1988) asserts that a primary mediating factor between parental divorce and its impact on children's sense of power is the educational level achieved by these children. Amato lists a variety of difficulties often associated with lower educational attainment, including: fewer financial resources and greater dependence on income subsidies, joblessness, and generally impoverished opportunities. Based on the link between lower education and poorer status, Amato speculates that, "A lowered sense of power among

children of divorce may appear only later in life, when the consequences of educational disadvantage are felt most strongly" (p. 210).

Hodges, London, and Colwell (1990) investigated cumulative effects of stressful life events on 40 children (aged 10-12 years) in grades 4-6; equal numbers being from divorced and intact families. Assessment of children's adjustment was based on parent's and teacher's responses on the Child Behavior Checklist and fantasy material from an abbreviated version of the Thematic Apperception Test (TAT). Children's TAT results typically contained rejection themes in the fantasies of children of divorce compared to those from intact homes. Results also showed that parents consistently rated children from intact homes as better adjusted compared to their counterparts with divorced parents. Teachers rated children from non-intact homes as significantly more unpopular, and as displaying more externalizing behaviours than children with married parents. Higher teacher ratings of anxiety, social withdrawal, and internalizing symptoms were positively correlated with higher numbers of stressful life events. Overall, Hodges, London, and Colwell found no differences in the amount of stress experienced by children in the groups. In general, parents' stressful life events, rather than children's, were consistently better predictors of children's adjustment.

Hodges, London, and Colwell (1990) suggest that for children of divorce, stress of parents is another facet of the traumatic experience that these youngsters must contend with and that, "The degree of impact is additive and not interactive with other stressors" (p. 77). Results from other studies suggest that boys from broken homes have more difficulty controlling their

impulses and delaying gratification than their counterparts from two-parent headed households (Hetherington, Cox, & Cox, 1978). Additional evidence indicates this may translate into lower achievement motivation and, later on, into less career success (Biller & Davids, 1973).

Separation and divorce leading to the father's abandoning of the family, literally or figuratively, can have long lasting detrimental effects on their children (Goldstein, Solnit, & Freund, 1973). Five years after their parents' divorce, children participating in a study conducted by Wallerstein and Kelly (1980) were still experiencing intense feelings of hurt and rejection.

According to these children their dejected feelings stemmed from the absence or sporadic nature of visitation by their non-custodial parent (usually the father). For children who previously maintained an affectionate, close interaction with their fathers, disruption in this bond led to enduring feelings of betrayal and confusion even five years post-divorce (Wallerstein & Kelly, 1980).

Both psychiatric and non-psychiatric populations of children who have experienced parental divorce are typified by a sense of object loss and separation (Chetnik & Kalter, 1980). According to these researchers, father absence from the home further compounded by the emotional unavailability of the custodial parent (usually the mother) may leave children with an exacerbated sense of rejection. Father absence and residing in a mother-headed household may radically alter normal developmental pathways towards achieving a sense of masculinity and femininity. Children are left to deal with these losses and may have to fend emotionally for themselves in an effort to resolve their "rage, fears of rejection and abandonment, and

narcissistic injury" (p. 282). A more recent study (Aquilano, 1994), however, found no gender differences in terms of children's positive relationship with their custodial parent, but that becoming a non-custodial parent significantly weakened the parent-child relationship for fathers and not for mothers.

Reviewing literature pertaining to the impact of divorce on children, Chetnik and Kalter (1980) suggested that dissolution of the nuclear family may, "...Lead to the formation of enduring and debilitating psychological problems" (p. 282). These researchers believe that all children are faced with "phase appropriate" tasks which, when successfully mastered, promote healthy social and emotional development. Based on their clinical assessments of children, Chetnik and Kalter (1980) considered parental divorce an arresting factor of "phase appropriate tasks" and that divorce may create a "developmental interference" for children. Unavailability of the father, a primary family object, denies children of divorce an opportunity to experiment and process age-appropriate developmental tasks. Chetnik and Kalter (1980) believe this object loss may impair ego functioning and impede self-differentiation.

In an effort to determine the extent of developmental arrest following divorce, Chetnik and Kalter (1980) monitored the psychotherapeutic process of 12 children of divorce. All were White and middle class, ranging in age from 6 to 11 years. Therapists in this study found themselves taking on the role of developmental facilitator and surrogate parent. A case example of a young boy from a non-intact family is highlighted to illustrate the nature of developmental interference. David R. is described as a 6-year-old boy filled with anger, anxious over the lack of control in his life, and suffering chronic

enuresis. His overbearing and aggressive manner had caused his friends to ostracize him. Academically, his teachers had observed a steady decline in his reading abilities, and a noticeable deficit in his attention. During therapy David details a frightening and recurrent dream in which, "Monsters who are dead come from underground. They kill people. They always come into a house where a family is eating dinner. The monster has a special spray -- he seeks out the daddy and sprays it in the daddy's face and the daddy dies" (p. 283). David's aggression is identified by his therapist as stemming from unresolved pre-oedipal issues and empathizes with David's desire to be "...As full-grown as Daddy, and to do all the things that Daddy did" (p. 284). Over a six month period the therapist continued to work with David to help this young boy achieve a sense of object integration "lost" developmentally commensurate with his father's departure. Chetnik and Kalter postulate that these developmental interferences observed in clinical populations are probably evident in non-psychiatric populations of children of divorce.

Fine, Donnelly, and Voydanoff (1987) also investigated children's adjustment in divorced families. Their research examined the relationship among outcome, process, and contextual variables, with children's adjustment at home and school designated as outcome variables. Contextual variables were described as socioeconomic status (SES, including income, education, and occupation), psycho-social factors (i.e., gender role, gender preference, locus of control, and attitude regarding marital status), child characteristics (i.e., age, sex, numbers), and divorce specifics (i.e., months separated, who initiated separation, custody arrangements, and time children spent with non-custodial parent). Process variables were parental negotiation

style (cooperative or competitive) when making decisions, co-parental support, co-parental conflict, agreement between parents about parenting, and satisfaction with parenting and court litigation plans. A total of 51 women with at least one child between the ages of 3 and 15, who had been separated for between 1 and 26 months participated in structured interviews. Findings indicated that many factors were seen as potentially contributing to children's adjustment at home and school (Fine, et al., 1987). More specifically, mothers felt their children's adjustment reflected upon their own sense that outside forces were not dictating their lives; they had improved job profiles and greater co-parental cooperation. These divorced mothers saw the need for paternal involvement in parenting, including greater communication between parents, reciprocal support in co-parenting, mutual decision making regarding the welfare of the children, pride in parenting, and foregoing any additional plans for court actions. Also indicated in the findings were that, for children showing poorer adjustment at home, a direct relationship could be traced to mothers denying fathers their parental role. It appeared that for the majority of children in this study, both parents were still participating in their lives, and the role of the father was very important to them (Fine, et al., 1987).

Doherty and Needle (1991) examined psychological adjustment and substance-abuse behaviour in a sample of adolescents prior to, then after these teens' parents divorced. Two factors distinguished the uniqueness of this study: (1) a prospective design was employed, and (2) a sample who experienced divorce during adolescence was used. Generally this developmental period is neglected by researchers, who focus on divorce's

impact on children in early childhood through late latency. A total of 500 families with children ranging in ages between 11 and 13 participated in this longitudinal study. Over 5 years, six self-report measures of psychological adjustment, parent-child relationships, academic performance, and substance abuse were administered to 320 female and 306 male teen-agers. Thirty first-married couples in the study subsequently divorced and their 48 children constituted the disrupted group. A total of 578 children whose parents remained married made up the control group. Data were available at an average of 1 year pre-separation and 5 months postdivorce. Doherty and Needle found that teens from non-intact homes reported greater problems in psychological adjustment, lowered self-esteem, increased relational problems at home and school, and greater use of licit and illicit substances than teens from intact homes. Prior to their parents' divorce, no differences were evident when comparing adolescents from the disrupted marriage group to the continuously married group. However, postdivorce, young men from the disrupted group evinced significantly greater substance use compared with their counterparts from continuously married families, and compared to young women from the disrupted families group. Prior to parental divorce, girls in the disrupted group scored significantly lower across all six measures of adjustment, compared to their female counterparts from continuously married families.

Doherty and Needle (1991) found this gender difference surfacing in the timing of divorce effects -- boys displaying ill effects postdivorce, but not pre-separation, whereas girls showed a negative reaction pre-separation, but did not display a worsened reaction postdivorce. The authors speculated that this

gender difference may in part be attributable to societal sex-role orientation. According to this explanation, girls are given to greater sensitivity and thus marital disruption prior to separation is more devastating for them. On the other hand, boys can maintain a facade and buffer themselves against parental infighting prior to separation. However, once the reality of divorce sets in, manifesting itself quantitatively and qualitatively in decreases in lifestyle and parental supervision, then boys become more devastated.

Nelson and Crawford (1990) surveyed elementary school counselors about suicidal behaviours and disturbing issues faced by their students. Counselors reported interacting with 187 students who had made suicide attempts during the 1987-1988 school year. When asked to rank order the 10 most significant concerns of elementary school children, counselors selected parental divorce as being the most critical. This may lend greater understanding as to why suicidal and depressive behaviour is more prevalent among children from single-parent households. So potentially devastating may be the results of family change that 64% of suicide attempts among young people have been linked to family upheaval (Golombek et al., 1984). These findings are in accord with other research (Elkind, 1984; McGuire & Ely, 1984) identifying parental loss through divorce as a primary contributor to childhood suicide.

In general, divorce seems to have a more pronounced and enduring effect for young boys than young girls (Hetherington, Cox, & Cox, 1978). However, a "sleeping effect" has evidenced in the psycho-sexual development of adolescent daughters (Hetherington, 1972). Effects of father absence on personality development in adolescent daughters has also been linked to

daughters' development of their sense of femininity and self-esteem. In addition, separation-related conflicts between mothers and daughters may arise (Kalter, Riemer, Brickman, & Chen, 1985).

Resolution of ambivalence toward their primary love objects appears further impeded by the process of divorce. Children may align themselves with the custodial parent and can be deluded into perceiving the absent parent as the perpetrator of all the negative ramifications on the previously happy family (Lohr & Chetnik, 1989). Although children in two-parent families experience both love and hate feelings toward their parents, divorce may split this ambivalence for children from non-intact families. Children living with newly instilled restrictions with their in-house parent may chose this parent as the object of their negative feelings. Meanwhile, with the non-custodial parent, children may experience a carefree existence (Kalter et al., 1985).

Long-term, these fractured parent-child relationships may seriously impair development of intimacy and the commitment to heterosexual relationships (Kalter et al., 1985). Weiss (1979), writing in Going it Alone, Different Children, Different Issues, noted that in some one-parent families, the eldest child may take on a surrogate spousal role while their younger siblings then become treated as though living in a dual-parent household. Weiss pointed out that the closeness fostered by some single parents with their children can become like a dual-edged sword. Although mutual dependency and concern are facets of this reciprocal relationship, so too is the potential for frequent discord; mounting tensions the child is then subjected to can be devastatingly painful.

Another avenue explored by Weiss (1979) was the deficit of an "echelon structure" in the one-parent headed household. An "echelon structure", according to Goffman (1967), is a hierarchical structure of authority in which a mutual understanding implicitly exists so that those in subordinate positions defer to those super ordinate. Two-parent families were perceived by Weiss (1979) as conforming to this echelon structure. However, he claims that, with the departure of one parent, the system can collapse. Children devoid of a parental echelon may find that new obligations and responsibilities are delegated to them. Thus, these youngsters may often find themselves in roles distinctly different from their former familial ones. Weiss (1979) describes succinctly how the absence of this echelon, "...Makes it possible for the parent to redefine family roles and responsibilities; the parent is likely to decide that the children must not only perform a greater share of the family's tasks but must also accept responsibility for seeing to it that the tasks are performed. The parent wants to be able to rely on the children as fully participant in the functioning of the family" (p. 87). According to Weiss (1979), assuming added responsibilities and sharing in the family decision making process is construed by some parents in one-parent headed households as a beneficial experience for their children. Role of quasi-parent to younger siblings is regarded by some parents as a unique opportunity to partake in a communal and democratic structure. Although conceded by some single parents that their children have had to develop at an accelerated rate, they regard their children's early blossoming as admirable.

Detrimental effects that may accrue from this sped-up maturation are not clear-cut. However, Weiss (1979) points out that children of divorce are

sometimes envious of their peers in two-parent families. This jealousy stems from the perception that children in intact families somehow lead more carefree lifestyles; and benefit from greater nourishment of their emotional needs. Inherent in a restructured echelon where a child becomes a surrogate parent is the potential for problems, irrespective of the dubious privilege it may represent (Weiss, 1979). Although this pseudo-adult role may be reinforcing and gratifying for the child, it may imbue the child with tremendous guilt about the prospect of leaving home. According to Weiss (1979), for the child already grappling with guilt about leaving the nest may be the added anxiety of departing from a clearly-defined role.

Summary. Research indicates that the pejorative effects of divorce on a child's personal development depend upon age, sex, and self-concept of the child. Similarly, how traumatic divorce will be for children depends upon their developmental stage and temperament. Another factor auguring into the child's development is psychological health of the parents.

Some researchers suggest that marital dissolution may arrest healthy psychological development for children. Other research suggests that major upheavals brought about through the process of divorce, and none of which children of divorce feel empowered to change, can lead to fewer opportunities for self-differentiation and achieving personal autonomy. Feeling less in control of their lives, children of divorce may express their frustrations through aggressive acts, turn to using drugs, and may contemplate taking their own lives. In addition, research indicates that some of the negative effects of divorce may latterly manifest as children of divorce

developmentally approach their adulthood, feeling ill-equipped for healthy relationships.

Interpersonal Relationships

The severity of reaction to disruption in normal family structure depends on the sex of the child (Guidubaldi & Perry, 1985; Hammond, 1979; Kalter, Riemer, Brickman, & Chen, 1985; Kelly & Wallerstein, 1976). Numerous studies suggest that the father is crucial to the development of appropriate sex-role behaviour, regardless of the gender of the child (Biller, 1973; Hetherington, 1972; Mussen & Rutherford, 1963; Wallerstein & Kelly, 1963). For example, Biller (1981a) found that mothers tend to display femininity in the case of both genders, whereas fathers differentiate between masculine and feminine roles. As role models, fathers represent exemplars for boys and a counterpart for girls, encouraging each to engage in sex appropriate activities.

Biller (1981a) found that boys from father-absent homes have more difficulty in forming peer relationships. They are also more likely to participate in deviant behaviour, and to act alone rather than participate in group activities (Glueck & Glueck, 1968). Several researchers have noted the effects of father-absence on sex-role typing of pre-adolescent boys (Biller & Balm, 1971; Hetherington, 1972; Lynn & Sawiez, 1959; Sears, 1970). Some researchers have suggested that fatherless girls are more dependent upon their mothers (Wallerstein & Kelly, 1980; Hetherington, 1972); other investigators have not found fatherless girls to evidence more dependency, aggression, or less femininity than their counterparts from intact families (Santrock, 1972; Mussen & Rutherford, 1963). However if social learning theorists are to be accredited, then the salience of the father as an integral

component in the sex-role typing of young girls must be acknowledged (Hetherington, 1967; Mussen & Rutherford, 1963).

There is a paucity of studies linking the relationship between absence of the father and subsequent developmental impact on preschool or elementary school-aged girls. Hetherington (1972) suggested that the effects of father absence may surface in pubescent girls when increased frequency of male-female interactions occur. Effects of father absence on personality development in adolescent girls was investigated by Hetherington. She compared girls from separated/divorced single parent families with the daughters of single parent widows. She used behavioural ratings, psychological test protocols, observations, and interviews to obtain data. An increased difficulty in adolescent heterosexual behaviour was the central finding, suggesting that father-absence in the family presents specific developmental sex differences. Unlike daughters whose father loss was due to death, those whose father loss was due to divorce demonstrated more proximity-seeking and smiling during interviews with males. These behaviours were judged as inappropriate by the researchers. Another distinction Hetherington found was that daughters whose mothers were divorced as opposed to widowed indicated, "...Earlier and more dating and earlier onset of sexual intercourse" (p. 324).

As noted in the major review discussed earlier, many children of divorce find themselves fearful of intimacy and long-term commitment (Wallerstein, 1980). Despite these concerns, some female children of divorce find themselves cohabiting in unhappy relationships with older partners (Booth, Brinkerhoff, & White, 1984). Other children of divorce, having marital

dissolution modeled for them as a relational coping strategy, often end their own marriages at an alarming rate (Glenn & Skeleton, 1983; Korbin & Waite, 1984; Pope & Mueller, 1976).

Examining the interpersonal relationships of young adult children of parental divorce, Wallerstein (1985) noted that one-third of the women, whether high-school dropouts or college graduates had cohabited with an older male lover. By their own admission these women sought out surrogate fathers to take care of them, financially and otherwise. Dreading rejection or abandonment, few of these women were prepared to concisely define the nature of love in their relationships. Nor was their fear of commitment limited to their relationships, as it manifested itself in these young women's career aspirations and educational goals. Intense jealousy also characterized many of these young women, whose fear of rejection compounded by low self-esteem often resulted in their sabotaging their capacity to trust their boyfriends. Their despair was poignantly addressed by one 21 year-old who Wallerstein quoted as stating, "How can you expect commitment when anyone can change his mind anytime? Divorce destroyed my fantasy of love and life" (p. 552).

Booth, Brinkerhoff, and White (1984) investigated the impact of parental divorce on courtship. Questionnaires were administered to 2,538 freshman college students under the age of 25 years. Included in this sample were 365 respondents who experienced parental loss through divorce and 228 respondents who experienced death of a parent. Socioeconomic status, religion, and gender have been identified as variables contributing to attitudes about divorce and courtship activity and thus were controlled for.

Findings from Booth et al.'s (1984) study indicated that in terms of conventional courtship activity, children of divorce were just as likely to form relationships, more likely to have dated two weeks prior to completing the questionnaire, and more likely to have engaged in premarital sex and be cohabiting. Cohabitation increased in likelihood with a higher incidence of parental conflict occurring during their parents' marital dissolution.

Conflict during parental divorce also increased the number of people dated by children of divorce compared to children from intact homes and those with a deceased parent (Booth et al., 1984). When postdivorce conflict occurred, participants, especially the men, were more likely to rate their relationships as unhappy. For individuals experiencing a decline in parental relations, difficulties in maintaining a serious relationship was reported, despite a greater likelihood to commit to marriage or cohabitation. Remarriage of a custodial parent seemed to provoke cohabitation and increased premarital sexual activity. Postdivorce conflict also predicted gender differences, with females being more likely than males to be cohabiting (Booth et al., 1984).

Generally, findings indicated parental divorce heightens courtship activity which increases with conflict occurring during separation and postdivorce, disruption of parent-child relations an custodial parent being single. Deterioration of parent-child relations and parental conflict occurring after the divorce appears to predict a decline in children's later satisfaction with their own intimate relationships (Booth et al., 1984). The researchers posited that heightened activity among children of divorce is a matter of children modeling parental behaviour. Further, Booth et al. (1984) suggested

that increased participation in relationships by children of divorce, coupled with their dissatisfaction in these relationships, may stem from a "...Determination not to replicate their parent's divorce" (p. 93).

Korbin and Waite (1984) were interested in investigating the relationship between parental household structure and subsequent marital patterns of children involved. A few researchers (e.g., Glenn & Skeleton, 1983; Pope & Mueller, 1976) have postulated that growing up in a home in which marital dissolution is experienced leads to a greater likelihood of these children ending their own future marriages than those children coming from intact families. Korbin & Waite (1984) concurred with this theory of intergenerational transmission of marital instability and, in addition, speculated that, "Those who experienced less traditional family forms as children are more hesitant about embarking themselves on a traditional family-building schedule" (p. 807). Two questions were asked in this study. One asked if children experiencing family disruption through divorce were influenced by this childhood event when, as young adults, they were making decisions about marriage. The second part of this question addressed whether remarriage and the subsequent re-creation of a nuclear family structure shifts children's perceptions about their own potential marriages.

The second question asked what racial and gender differences, if any, there are in family structure and later matrimonial decisions. In Moynihan's report on the American family (Rainwater & Yancy, 1968), Afro-Americans were characterized as having both a larger proportion of illegitimate children, and more children raised in single parent-headed households resulting from marital instability. Moynihan predicted that this phenomenon would be

cyclical, young Blacks repeating the pattern of their parents. Other studies (Waite & Spitze, 1981; Tuma & Michael, 1984; Spanier & Glick, 1980) have found Blacks to be significantly less likely to marry than Whites and have portrayed Black women as experiencing higher levels of marital instability than White women. Korbin and Waite (1984) argued that Moynihan's predictions of marital instability and marriage avoidance have never been adequately tested. They stated that, "The dynamics of the timing of the process of entry into marriage and its subsequent dissolution require either longitudinal or retrospective data that follow individuals through an extensive segment of their adult lives" (p. 808). Analysis of the data, when controlling for childhood family structure, indicated that, on average, Black men and women are 10% less likely to marry than their White counterparts. Results suggest that, for children raised in a household comprised of both biological parents, there is a greater likelihood that they themselves will marry. It also appears from the results that when parents end their marriages it deters their offspring from marriage, and that the advent of remarriage does not assuage this preliminary sentiment (Korbin & Waite, 1984).

Turning to potential sex-race interactions, data reveal that family instability reduces the likelihood of marriage for Black males, but not for Black females. Comparing White women to White men a similar pattern emerges. Familial experience of marital dissolution slightly lowers the likelihood of marriage for White women, but substantially lowers this likelihood for White males. Overall, although tentative, the results appear to indicate that for both boys and girls of divorce, family break-up may

significantly effect their decisions about marriage, and that this outcome is similar for White and Afro Americans (Korbin & Waite, 1984).

In summary, research suggests that parental divorce may impact differentially upon children's interpersonal relationships depending on the child's gender. Young boys raised in mother-headed households seem to experience greater difficulties relating to peers and significant adult males than do their female counterparts. Studies characterize these young boys as more dependent upon adults, more aggressive with age-mates, and more obsequious with men than young girls. However, research also shows that for young girls of divorce there is a sleeper effect often manifesting during their adolescent psycho-sexual development. This sleeper effect surfaces in earlier expression of sexuality and greater likelihood of promiscuity. In addition, research indicates that when children of divorce embark upon the world of dating, many are fearful of intimacy and commitment. Many young adult women whose parents divorced in their childhood admit to seeking out older partners who represent replacements for their dads. Greater likelihood of cohabitation, more sexual activity, and feelings of unhappiness with relationships characterize both young men and women whose parent's marriages ended in their childhood. Finally, several studies portray adult children of divorce as more likely to end their own marriages than their counterparts from intact families.

Antisocial Behavior

Continued conflict may contribute to many problems in social development, emotional stability, and the acquisition of cognitive skills for children of parental divorce (Kurdek, 1981). However, several studies dealing

with the behaviour of children of divorce failed to find the anticipated relationship linking delinquency with parental absence (Berg & Kelly, 1970; Cooper, Holman, & Braithwaite, 1983; Slater & Haber, 1984). Addressing this issue, Herzog and Sudia (1972) concluded that, "Available figures are too confused to permit a definite answer to the question whether children in fatherless homes are more likely than others to engage in delinquent behaviour" (p. 153). In contrast, in reporting a ten-year follow-up of older children and adolescents of divorce, Wallerstein (1985) noted a staggering 68% of these children had been involved in some form of illegal activity. The convictions of half of these young offenders stemmed from recreational drug use or drinking alcohol before the legal age. Those engaging in more serious illegal acts comprised 30% of this group, their litany of felonious behaviour including robbery, narcotics trafficking, physical violence, and stealing from homes in their neighbourhood. Although both young men and women from this group had equal numbers of lawbreakers, serious crimes and higher rates of recidivism were more evident with males.

In summary, the age-old notion that children from broken homes are more likely to succumb to inappropriate behaviours may not be accurate. However, some research indicates that for some children, whose divorce-related issues remain unresolved and who remain caught in their parents' continuing conflicts, there is a tendency toward nonconformity and acting out.

Self Esteem

Studies have indicated that children of divorce may suffer from diminished self-concepts (Hodges, Tierney, & Buchsbaum, 1984; Long, 1986;

Parish & Wigle, 1985; Rozendal, 1983). This diminished self-concept (which is used synonymously here with *self-esteem*) may stem from self-inflicted guilt and blame experienced by children of divorce. Other factors fueling lowered self-esteem may be their insecurity and fear of abandonment by one or both parents (Wallerstein & Bundy, 1984).

Raschke and Raschke (1979) investigated the relationship between family structure, family conflict, and children's self-concepts. The researchers compared children from intact families with children from single parent and reconstituted families. Findings based on data collected from 289 third, sixth and eighth grade children indicated that regardless of family structure, parent-parent and parent-child conflict was related to low self-esteem. These authors postulated that their findings added credence to the proposition that conflict in the family or unhappiness of a parent adversely affects the child's self-concept.

Amato (1986) investigated sex and age differences and the relation between levels of marital conflict and self-esteem among children from intact and non-intact families. In this study 132 children aged 8 to 9 years, and 142 adolescents aged 15 to 16 years were randomly selected from private and public schools from the state of Victoria, Australia. Assessment took the form of interviews with children and parents. Amato hypothesized that conflict between parents would be negatively associated with children's self-esteem, and that conflict in the marriage would negatively affect self-esteem of boys more than girls, and younger children more than adolescents. Amato also hypothesized that quality of parent-child interaction would be negatively associated with conflict in the marriage. Furthermore, the effects on

children's self-esteem was expected to be more negative where there were poor relationships with both parents than when there was a good relationship with one or both parents.

Although findings indicated that there was a strong negative association between marital strife and children's self-esteem, this appeared primarily limited to young girls and was only weakly apparent among adolescents. For young boys and adolescent girls there was no significant correlation between marital conflict and self-esteem, regardless of the quality of their relations with parents. For adolescent males, a significant relationship existed between self-esteem and marital conflict, but only when a poor relationship with both parents existed.

Noteworthy findings surfaced among primary school girls, for whom when a poor relationship with both parents existed there was a significant, negative correlation between marital conflict and self-esteem. Paradoxically, conflict was also negatively related to self-esteem even when a good relationship with both parents existed. However, when these young girls had a good relationship with only one parent their self-esteem did not correlate with conflict at a significant level (Amato, 1986).

These findings are in direct opposition to Rutter's (1971) supposition that young boys are more susceptible to psychological problems than their female counterparts. Amato (1986) speculated that these discrepancies may be attributable to the fact that his sample was randomly selected from the general population whereas previous studies relied on clinical populations; he also noted that these findings may reflect the fact that self-esteem was the dependent variable. Furthermore, Amato speculated that the atypical result

of marital conflict being negatively associated with self-esteem among young girls might reflect gender differences in the expression of unhappiness. Amato postulates that these findings might reflect boys' ability to externalize through overt acting-out, versus girls' tendency to internalize covert unhappiness.

Parish and Wigle (1985) conducted a three-year longitudinal study to assess the impact of parental divorce on adolescents' evaluations of themselves and their parents. A total of 639 students completed the Personal Attribute Inventory for Children (PAIC), first in 1979 and then again three years later. Three groups of 30 were randomly selected from this initial sample. One group (the intact-intact group) was comprised of members whose families were together at both pre-and posttest assessments. The second group (the divorced-divorced group) was made up of subjects whose fathers were absent from the family due to divorce at posttesting, and whose mothers remained unmarried at posttesting. The third group (intact-divorced) was formed from subjects from intact families at pretesting whose fathers were absent due to divorce at posttesting. A fourth group (intact-intact) which was non-randomly selected was added to the study. Parish and Wigle's findings indicated that youths from intact families positively evaluated both themselves and their parents significantly more so than their counterparts from divorced families.

Posttest results from the divorced-divorced group, although significantly less positive than the intact-intact group, showed a significantly more positive attitude than at pre-test. Posttest measures from the intact-divorced group were significantly more negative than their pre-test measures when

compared to the remaining groups. Based on these results, Parish and Wigle (1985) suggest that children from divorced families evaluate themselves and their parents less positively than their counterparts from intact families.

Regarding the self esteem of children of divorce, Seligman (1982) related clinical experiences working with four patients she describes as "half-alive". Common to all the cases she described were the absence of one parent -- in most instances the father. Seligman characterized the remaining parent of these half-alive children as being, "...Ego-damaging mothers, be they withdrawn, self-absorbed, or efficient but affectionless" (p. 122).

Seligman (1982) postulated that the greater the destructive nature of the mother, the lesser the likelihood of individuation and a healthy sense of self-esteem for her offspring. In agreement with other literature cited above, she stated that father's presence plays a major role in personality development of his children. Typical for her patients was a denial of their father as either a positive or effective figure in their lives. She also proposed that the "absent father" syndrome sets the stage for a collusive, dependent relationship with the mother, which may retard adult heterosexual commitment. Seligman (1982) described the potentially suffocating nature of this mother/child relationship as leaving the child affectively dead as an adult, with a potential resurrection if they dared to feel emotion. Often, these half-alive patients were described as presenting with depressive affect which masked repressed rage, the venting of which toward the "indispensable" mother is seen as too dangerous. Noting the escalation in divorce rates, Seligman (1982) stated that the helping profession needs to be more concerned about the potentially damaging impact of living in single-parent families.

Long (1986) investigated the effects of family structure and parental discord on the self-esteem of 199 college-aged women. The women were predominantly from White, middle-class backgrounds, 150 of whom reported intact familial status, the remaining 49 reporting their parents had separated. All participants rated on a six-point scale happiness of their biological parents (if living in an intact home) or the happiness of their parents' second marriage (if living in a reconstituted home). At the same time, these young women were requested to fill out Rosenberg's Self-Esteem Scale. Results indicated a significant positive relationship between biological parental happiness and daughter's self-esteem. However, no significant relationship was found between these young women's self-esteem and their familial composition, regardless of whether they lived in an intact, single parent-headed or a reconstituted family. These findings seem to support Hetherington et al.'s (1989) notion that children fare better in homes where their parents have divorced and equilibrium has been restabilized, than in intact households fraught with disharmony.

In summary, it appears that insecurity and fear of abandonment may contribute to a lowered sense of self-esteem in children of divorce. Conflict, whether between or with parents, seems related to lowered self-esteem in children. A custodial parent's improved self-image appears to contribute to children's better adjustment at home and school. Also, a positive co-parenting relationship seems to be reflected in children's increased self-esteem (Seligman, 1982). Marital conflict may have stronger effects on the self-esteem of elementary school girls than on boys. Even when a good relationship exists with both parents, girls still appear to experience low self-

esteem. Living in a stable, supportive, single parent-headed household seems a more likely environment in which children can regain their self-esteem compared to an intact home with ongoing conflict.

Effects of Divorce on Late Latency-Aged Children

In contrast to very young children of divorce, whose disturbances typically involve regressive behaviour, children in late latency whose parents divorce have been described as exhibiting intense anger, shock, a shaken sense of identity, fear of being alone or rejected, heightened activity, and mixed loyalties regarding parents (Bonkowski, Bequette & Boomhower, 1985; Cantor, 1979; Freeman, 1985; Robson, 1987; Wallerstein & Kelly, 1976, 1980).

For example, Freeman (1985) found that 9 to 12 year-old children in her study typically felt shock, incredulity, and anger. Younger children experienced guilt, assuming their parents' breakup resulted from something they had done to their parents. In contrast, Freeman observed late latency children responding to what they perceived parents had done to them. The non-custodial parent was regarded as the instigator of the divorce and therefore became the recipient of their scorn. However, since late latency-aged children usually are concerned about the emotional well-being of their parents (Bonkowski, Bequette, & Boomhower, 1984), they experienced divided loyalties between their parents. Many of these late latency children who allied themselves with one parent experienced loneliness and fear of rejection from the other parent (Barne & Brassard, 1982).

The most comprehensive reviews of late-latency children were conducted by Wallerstein and Kelly (1976, 1980), who began the first large-

scale study of the potentially deleterious impact on children experiencing their parents' marital dissolution. Their study began in 1970 and is the most extensive longitudinal study to date, with follow-ups conducted 1, 5, and 10 years subsequent to the initial investigation. The most prevalent observation distinguishing early from late latency-aged children was that the later group were quite capable of cognitively appraising the ramifications and reality of family break-up. The outstanding characteristics noted amongst these children were conflicting feelings and fears and intense efforts made to achieve and ensure stability in their lives. Children in later latency coped with their underlying feelings of loneliness, loss, rejection, and helplessness through denial, avoidance, and withdrawal. The authors' term for this defense strategy was "psychological layering," which they defined as the ability of the child to cope intellectually at one level while suffering emotionally at another. This finding is in accord with the research of Kurdek, Blisk and Siesky (1981). Common among this age group were concerns about their parents' behaviour (Wallerstein & Kelly, 1976). For these youngsters, their newly disrupted families often precipitated feelings of shame with underlying implications of concern about parental rejection. Frequently, falsehoods became compensatory responses. These youngsters also became engrossed in creative and intriguing diversions which the authors viewed as attempts to reconstitute the disrupted family.

Wallerstein and Kelly (1976) observed that, "...The single feeling that most clearly distinguished the later latency group from all the younger children was anger" (p. 260). The authors described anger in this group of youngsters as quite distinct from the anger experienced by younger children,

being both, "...Well organized and clearly object-directed" (p. 260). This clearly articulated anger was usually directed at the parent they perceived as the divorce perpetrator. Anger became so intense for these youngsters that sometimes it could obfuscate all other emotions. Coupled with this intense anger were outrage and moral indignation directed at admonishing the parent whose current conduct they disapproved. The various forms of expression of anger ranged from temper outbursts to nuisance behaviours and attitude shifts. Purposefully calculated activities were intended to inculcate these youngster's disdain for their parents. In households where fathers had maintained a hard disciplinary posture, their absence provided for the unbridled expression of various impulses. This was not seen in all children; some children responded in the opposite manner, becoming overly-compliant and passive.

Sometimes these youngsters experienced fears of abandonment that almost became phobic. Latency-aged children were also described by Wallerstein and Kelly (1976) as having a shaken sense of identity. The authors postulated that since one's sense of identity is linked to family structure and that, developmentally, these youngsters are dependent on parental figures, disruptions might manifest in new delinquent behaviours. The authors also pointed out that late latency-aged children have a need for inclusion in family decisions based on mutuality and reciprocal support. However, as Wallerstein and Kelly (1980) observed, parental departure for late latency aged children can result in feelings of loneliness, mixed loyalties, and a sense of betrayal; feelings that often lead to their avoiding participating in familial democratic council. The authors also detailed somatic symptoms

such as: headaches, stomach aches, and chronic asthma, which reflected these youngsters' emotional turmoil. In the school setting these children's ability to concentrate diminished, as did their overall performance. Interactions with peers also changed, with overt displays of aggression and anger directed at school-mates increasing.

The relationship between parents and their children suffered from the disruption of the divorce. According to Wallerstein (1980), the formation of a strong connection with one parent was formed in 25 percent of the children. She reported that this parent-child bond was encouraged by the grieving and rejected parent. This single parent bonding was suggested as being more common among late latency children, which Wallerstein (1980) interpreted as these youngsters' coping mechanisms to sublimate conflicts and anxieties.

One year after the project began, responses of the late latency group seemed modulated. Intense pain and suffering initially displayed had been replaced by sad resignation. It seemed that finality of the divorce was more apparent to this group at this time. However, reconciliation fantasies were still pervasive, particularly in a third of the boys studied. Continued parental conflict precipitated feelings of anger and of being deceived, often leading to distrust in adults. For these late latency children, particularly boys, a strong allegiance to their fathers persisted. After one year, previous loyalty conflicts appeared abated and for some the ability to distance themselves from loyalty demands fostered an increase in self-esteem.

Of the 26 children in the early latency group, 50% were judged as improving or maintaining their psychological functioning and developmental advances one year after the program began. However, 23%

were assessed to be, "...In significantly worsened or deteriorated psychological condition by the time of follow-up, in comparison to their level of functioning as assessed at the time of initial counseling" (Wallerstein & Kelly, 1980, p. 31). The authors concluded that central to developmental outcomes for these children was perceiving divorce not as an event per se, but as a process which potentially creates sustained disequilibrium.

Ten years after these researchers began their study, 30 of the original 34 children were still willing to participate. They were now aged twelve-and-a-half to sixteen. Few reported conscious memories of having been an intact family, or the conflict leading to the familial dissolution. Many of them talked mournfully about being denied an emotionally and financially stable home environment. Despite the passage of time, 50% of these children still fantasized about their parents reconciling. Relationships with custodial mothers contained mixed emotions for these children. On one hand, some were angered by their mother's emotional or physical unavailability over time; on the other hand, they worried about how she would contend with loneliness when they departed home. Similarly, with fathers, although there was an intense yearning for some form of connection, erratic visitation over the years made many children virulent toward their fathers. For adolescent girls the need to interact with their opposite sex parent began to be of paramount importance.

In general, children who are very young at the time of their parent's divorce seem less emotionally burdened than their older counterparts, who contend with the vicissitudes of their physiological and emotional maturation. With all these changes children of divorce in late latency may

feel as though they have little control over the course of their lives anymore. When latency-aged children also have to contend with parental divorce it may lead to a shaken sense of identity. Further compounding their instability may be fears of abandonment and rejection by one or both parents, decisions over which they may not have exercised any control. Unlike their younger counterparts whose egocentricity limits their perceptions of divorce to being self-inflicted, late latency-aged children respond to marital dissolution with intense rage. Should parental conflict persist, their feelings of anger and distrust for their parents may escalate to generalized distrust of adults.

Children's Locus of Control

Rotter (1966) first defined locus of control as a personality characteristic. He construed this personality characteristic as a generalized expectancy regarding outcomes and reinforcements. Individuals are seen as interpreting events as being either under personal control (internal) or more subject to external forces such as fate, luck or others possessing power (external). Rather than being structured as a typology, the construct represents a dimension of individual difference ranging from extremely internal to extremely external. Since Rotter's (1966) publication of the I-E Scale, research on locus of control has been prolific. There have been several comprehensive reviews in the research literature (Lefcourt, 1976; Phares, 1965; Strickland, 1977). These reviewers agree on four main precepts of generalized internal versus external control expectancies. In particular, compared to externals, internals appear to be less compliant, more adept at accumulating information, more motivated

to achieve, and more likely to report greater personal adaptability and satisfaction with life.

Children confronted with parental divorce can experience an overwhelming sense of powerlessness. Contrary to most children's hopes, wishes, and actions, the likelihood of reconstructing their family unit is doubtful. Typically, parents are readjusting their own behaviours and emotions, over which their children have limited control. Frequently adding to children's sense of vulnerability are lengthy adversarial court battles and custody disputes. In general, the maelstrom of confusion posed by divorce may leave children with the perception that they have little control over what is happening in their lives (Cantrell, 1986). Being immobilized by the inability to make decisions or cope with the current predicaments in their lives may exacerbate their growing sense of powerlessness. Lefcourt (1976) found that children of divorce tend to possess an external locus of control orientation.

The parent-child relationship as a determinant of internality/externality has been reviewed by Gilmore (1978), who examined locus of control mediation of child behaviour. In studies of elementary school children, locus of control was associated with critical, neglectful, and ignoring parents. Those youngsters with internal locus of control had parents who were described as warm, supportive, sharing, and strict, yet egalitarian. Also, for children who scored as internal on locus of control scales, both self-report and observational measures of parent-child interactions were indicative of more positive child-rearing practices (Gilmore, 1978).

Parent-child interaction seems related to locus of control (Stephens & Delys, 1973). Children with relatively high external locus of control scores tended to have mothers who strove for perfection, were "driven," and success-oriented. When parents divorce, their children can experience instability and negative parenting. Therefore, these children may select external items on locus of control scales.

The effects of father-absence on locus of control scores was investigated by Duke and Lancaster (1976). The researchers administered the Norwicki-Strickland Locus of Control Scale (Norwicki-Strickland, 1973) to elementary school-aged children, and the Preschool and Primary form (PPNSIE, Norwicki & Duke, 1974) to 6-and 8-year-olds. Comparisons were made between the locus of control (I-E) scores of 30 males from father-absent homes and the I-E scores of 21 males from two-parent families. Results indicated that boys from father-absent homes tended to score as more external in their locus of control orientation than those from two-parent homes. The authors postulated that children from father-absent homes will have experienced a massive dose of "fate" and "uncontrollable complex forces" (Duke & Lancaster, 1976, p. 335).

Based on studies over a four year period, Kurdek and Siesky (1980) and Kurdek, Blisk, and Siesky (1971) found that positive adjustment to divorce of children ages 8 to 17 years was related to their scores on the Norwicki-Strickland Locus of Control Scale. Specifically, children who scored higher on measures of adjustment showed a more internal locus of control.

Parish and Nunn (1983), investigating locus of control as a function of family type and age at onset of father absence, had 644 undergraduate students complete the Rotter's Internality-Externality Scale and provide information

on their family background. The students were asked whether they came from intact families or had lost a father through death or divorce. The authors were also interested in examining at what age father loss had occurred, which they divided into three age categories: 0 to 6 years, 7 to 13 years, and 14 to 21 years. In a previous study, Parish and Copeland (1980) had found that males who experienced father loss through death exhibited higher (i.e., more internal) scores on Rotter's I-E Scale than males from divorced families or females whose father-losses were either through death or divorce.

Parish and Nunn's (1983) results indicated that youth assigned to the first two age categories, that is 0 to 6 and 7 to 13 years, who had experienced father-loss through divorce were significantly more externally oriented than youth from intact homes. This significant difference in external orientation was not apparent when youth from the third category (14 to 21 years) whose father-loss resulted from divorce were compared with peers from intact homes. The researchers postulated that the lower the level of maturity, the greater the vulnerability to potential disruptions presented by divorce. They speculated that this age-related vulnerability should be reflected in younger youths' locus of control orientation.

Examining recent studies in divorce literature, Doherty (1980) identified two distinct traditions. The first is empirically based and seemingly pessimistic; the other is qualitative, clinically based, and assumes a more optimistic tone. From the empirical perspective, divorce is portrayed as a debilitating experience, placing divorced persons "at risk." Research from this tradition characterizes divorced persons as suffering higher rates of mortality and psychological stress, as well as mental and physical illnesses. Divorce

literature reviewed from the clinical tradition presents a more positive perspective. While acknowledging that concomitant with divorce a certain amount of "stress and social dislocation" is inevitable, researchers from this tradition have reframed the crisis of divorce as potentially growth-enhancing. Doherty (1980) cites researchers who refer to divorce as a creative solution to a problem, which may enhance autonomous adulthood, and who perceive divorce ontologically as a developmental event (Hunt & Hunt, 1977; Johnson & Carter, 1979; Singer, 1975).

In summary, according to Rotter's theory (Rotter, Chance, & Phares, 1972), an individual formulates internal/external expectancies based on wide-ranging life experiences with behaviour-outcome contingencies. Therefore, consistent with this theory, it seems plausible that life events which either encumber or enhance one's sense of control over life events could affect his/her locus of control orientation. As noted earlier, research indicates that children seem to mirror the anxiety experienced by their divorced parents. Anxiety seems to be experienced by children of divorce as feelings of powerlessness. Measures indicating external locus of control orientation reflect the powerlessness many children of divorce experience. Research has suggested that, for divorced adults, mastery of divorce-related issues can be self-empowering, as seen in their increasingly internal locus of control orientations. Other research suggests that children of divorce who participate in counseling interventions designed to enhance their understanding of, and coping with, the divorce process experience similar transformations in their locus of control.

Therapeutic Approaches

Albert Ellis (1962) devised Rational Emotive Therapy (RET) to provide methods and inspiration to individuals desirous of utilizing their fullest reasoning potential in order to avoid pain and garner pleasure. Ellis (1962) contends that errant causal attributions of external events, rather than the events themselves, cause self-defeating emotional /behavioural responses. According to Ellis (1962), people often misidentify the event itself as primarily responsible for disturbances rather than examining their own dissonant reasoning. The major emphasis in RET is on altering false beliefs and erroneous assumptions. Therapeutic strategies in this approach often take a confrontational stance employing logic, humor, and analytical reasoning. Essential to changing behaviours is changing faulty beliefs. During the change period clients actively work on changing feelings and behaviours. In Ellis' (1962) "ABC" model, learned irrational ideation is equated with evaluative cognitions.

The As in this model are elements of the stimulus situation (i.e., external reality). An individual's inference structure (i.e., appraisal, attitudes, ideas, beliefs, postulates, predictions, interpretations, and expectations) constitute the Bs in the model. People's responses to events make up the Cs of the model. Therapeutic objectives are to help the individual become aware of their maladaptive cognitions, realizing that their emotions are products of activating events -- in conjunction with their beliefs about those events. Once an individual gains this awareness, the next step of RET involves changing the person's self-evaluations rather than trying to change the evaluation of events and their consequences. Hanel (1982), adapting Ellis'

RET counselling model, provided a series of lessons aimed at helping students develop a positive self-image. Lessons presented included taking responsibility for one's own feelings, underlying beliefs that lead to debilitating emotions and behaviours, challenging negative attitudes, discovering sources of personal distress, and gaining insight into one's vision of reality. Students learned to incorporate private self statements such as, "I believe in my goals," and public self statements such as, "I must prove my self worth," into fully integrated statements such as, "If I want to achieve a goal, I may have to attend to how I look and what I do. However, doing these things to achieve my goals will not change my values one bit" (p. 14). Students utilizing these lessons displayed a significant increase in self-esteem.

Typifying cognitive behavioural therapy is Meichenbaum's (1977) self-instructional approach, which is a synthesis of cognitive restructuring, decision making, and coping skills. His approach incorporates cognitive tasks, self-report methods and thinking aloud procedures to assist clients in identifying their self-defeating thoughts and feelings through modeling, practice, and reinforcement. During the modeling phase the therapist demonstrates an appropriate, adaptive way of thinking and feeling about a problematic situation for a client. Therapists generally provide real-life or simulated (audio/visual) presentations of a behavioural pattern the client wishes to acquire. Under carefully controlled conditions, sometimes with graduated approximations of the desired behaviour, clients are encouraged to rehearse the model behaviour. Usually, reinforcement takes the form of praise or encouragement from the therapist. After successfully demonstrating these behaviours in a rehearsal setting, clients are guided to

display these newly acquired behaviours in situations where success is highly probable.

Self-instruction training following Meichenbaum's model has been used effectively in assisting homework completion in an elementary special education classroom (Fish & Mendola, 1986). Children with lowest homework completion rates in the class were taught to self-instruct, first overtly then covertly. Results showed that self-instruction procedures used by the children improved their homework completion rates. Meichenbaum and Deffenbacher (1988) utilized a cognitive-behavioural approach in devising a procedure for stress inoculation training. The procedure involves skill acquisition and rehearsal, and application and follow-through. Participants in an experimental group were trained in stress inoculation and then exposed to stressful situations. Results indicated that participants in the experimental group evidenced significantly reduced stress compared to controls.

Another development in the area of cognitive behavioural therapy utilizes a social modeling process. Encouraging clients to use the self as a model has been effective in the reduction of stuttering (Hosford, 1974), reduction of classroom attendance anxiety (Hosford, 1974), fostering appropriate heterosexual behaviour (Hosford, 1975 b), and nurturing greater acceptance of self and promoting skills for effective relationships (Hosford, Moss, & Marrell, 1975). Clients using the self-as-model procedure are trained to modify poor self-concepts or inappropriate self-perceptions through observations of positive instances of their behaviour (Hosford & Brown, 1975). The rationale for this approach is predicated on the assumption that

clients' self-perceptions are critical to the process of counselling. Postulates of this theoretical position extend this premise to encompass poor self-concepts or inappropriate self-perceptions as central to maladaptive thoughts.

Cognitive-behavioural therapies also have been employed to equip clients with coping skills. Mediation strategies detailed in literature on coping skills are fairly wide-ranging in nature. Indicative of this scope is the variety of coping skills options: stress-inoculation training (Meichenbaum, 1977); active relaxation skills (Suinn & Richardson, 1971); stress-reducing cognitive strategies for distraction (Mischel, 1973); and refocusing attention away from self toward a task (Wicklund, 1975).

Inherent in a generalized paradigm of coping skills strategies is a formulated three-stage model. In the first stage, clients are given a conceptual framework to enhance their understanding of their maladaptive thoughts with specific situations. Clients are made aware of the perils of self-focus potentially manifesting itself in negative self-appraisals and internal attributions of external events (Meichenbaum, 1977). In the next stage, clients are taught specific coping skills which they then rehearse. These coping skills may take the form of relaxation training, cognitive reappraisal, self-instructions, or selective attention. Once a client feels proficient with his/her newly acquired coping skills, he/she is given an opportunity to apply them, which is the third stage of the model. The application may take the form of analogues or real life situations. For self-focused clients, low ego-threatening situations may prove an appropriate testing ground.

Braswell and Kendall (1988) describe a variety of cognitive behavioural methods for children. One method discussed is problem-solving training, an

example being the "turtle" technique, designed to help emotionally disturbed children stop responding impulsively in social situations. Problem-solving using the "turtle" technique is comprised of four phases: (1) responding to a threat by pulling in one's limbs and lowering one's head, (2) relaxation training, (3) examining and applying alternative solutions and being prepared for the consequences, and (4) a social reward system for children employing the "turtle" response.

Also detailed by Braswell and Kendall (1988) is verbal self-instructional training which the authors define as, "...Self-directed statements of an internal dialogue that an individual uses to guide him-/herself through a problem-solving procedure" (p. 120). The method of self-instruction consists of: (1) therapist modeling self-instruction, (2) in conjunction with child performing task, therapist verbalizing self-instruction, (3) child then solving problem while self-verbalizing instruction, and (4) child internalizing self-verbalization and completing task. Self-instruction serves to cognitively mediate behaviours. It can also serve as a feedback mechanism of performance. Self-instruction is not merely repetition of rote dialogue, it necessitates an understanding of the concepts behind self-talk.

Attribution retraining is a third cognitive behavioural therapy which investigates children's causal explanations of behaviours. If accurate, attributions of causality can serve to guide children's behaviours in an adaptive way. Attribution retraining attempts to assist the child, "...To take more individual credit for his/her achievements, thus encouraging the child's experience in positive control or self efficacy" (Braswell & Kendall, 1988, p. 191). At the same time, some children find internal causes for

situations or events that are actually outside themselves. For many children, the causes of their parents' divorce are peripheral to their sphere of influence (or so these children initially perceive). Children who are internalizing the attribution will blame themselves for the divorce. It behooves the therapist to then guide the child in seeking a realistic and external attribution of causality. In this approach, the child learns by watching the therapist successfully model a behaviour. Children may also learn by listening to others facing situations similar to their own as they think the problem through, express their feelings, and resolve their issues. Therapists may also include role-playing to teach social behaviours. This form of cognitive behaviour therapy also uses traditional behavioural techniques of rewards, responses and costs, and homework completion as a means of changing behaviours (Braswell & Kendall, 1988).

Group Interventions for Children of Divorce

Group counselling can be regarded as a helping process in which members can identify goals of change. It also provides the setting in which necessary skills can be developed to fulfill those goals, and to practice these skills (Ohlsen, 1988). Although various designations are used, such as support groups, therapy groups, encounter groups, and so forth, Corey and Corey (1977) maintained that all groups are supportive and all groups are therapeutic. Yalom (1970) considered the following forces to be inherent in a group and to be strong curative factors in group interaction: 1) imparting information, 2) instillation of hope, 3) universality, 4) altruism, 5) the corrective recapitulation of the family group, 6) development of socializing

techniques, 7) imitative behaviour, 8) interpersonal learning, 9) group cohesiveness, and 10) catharsis.

Of paramount significance to a group structure for children is the tenet that, "...What children learn is learned in groups and that learning (or unlearning) might therefore best be effected in groups" (Keats, 1974, p. 98). Another researcher (Sonstegaard, 1968) regards group counselling for children as an arena in which the child's learning can be redirected by reexamining misdirected goals. Further substantiating the dynamics of group counselling are the writings of Cohn, Coombs, Gibian and Sniffen (1963). They describe group counselling as a dynamic interpersonal process through which individuals within the normal range of adjustment work within a peer group and with a professionally trained counsellor, exploring problems and feelings. An attempt is made to modify attitudes so that they are better able to deal with developmental problems. Children's need for belonging and affiliation are demonstrated naturally in their peer and family networks. Group participation can provide children with an opportunity to develop, "...Their emotional assertiveness, identity, self-esteem, and coping skills" (Lane, 1991, p. 3).

In a study investigating self-concept, academic achievement, and attitudes of children of divorce, Hammond (1979) found the children were desirous of some counselling intervention. She noted that 86% of the children in her study found it to be helpful when school personnel asked children to talk about their feelings and gave them books to read about divorce. A large percentage of the children (82%) indicated that it would be beneficial for counsellors to speak with their parents. Just being able to talk

about divorce helps to develop a more positive self-image among members of the group.

Some other positive results include sharing feelings, relating common experiences, problem solving, discussing alternate solutions, and learning communication skills (Corey & Corey, 1989). Groups for children and adolescents whose parents have divorced have proven helpful in improving attitudes towards divorce, enhancing classroom behaviours, increasing levels of self-esteem and helping these children to feel more in control of their lives (Cantrell, 1986; Omizo & Omizo, 1988; Anderson, Kinney, & Gerley, 1984). Hammond (1979) advocated that counsellors or psychologists develop counselling groups for children of divorce with the purpose of sharing their feelings, concerns, and support.

Cantor (1977) stated that group counselling for children of separation/divorce with a trained leader can, "...Provide ongoing support and immediate crisis intervention to avert later serious personality disorders" (p. 187). During group sessions, the child can be provided with the opportunity to share experiences and information, express fears, anxieties, and possibly guilt and, above all, to realize that they are not alone with the emotions that they have experienced.

Educators, psychologists, and counsellors all have been concerned with the impact of divorce on children. A group setting may be the most effective arena for eliciting feelings and creating self-understanding. A variety of group intervention programs have been formatted to deal with the growing needs presented by children of divorce (e.g., Bonkowski, Bequette, & Boomhower, 1988; Bowker, 1982; Gwynn & Brantley, 1987; Pedro-Carroll &

Cowan, 1985; Stolberg, Cullen, & Garrison, 1985; Wilkinson & Bleck, 1977). A vast majority of these programs have been school-based (Alpert-Gillis, 1989; Burke & Van-de-Streek, 1989; Camiletti & Quant, 1983; Cantrell, 1986; Crosbie-Burnett, Newcomer, 1989; Freeman & Couchman, 1985; Howard & Scherman, 1990; Kalter, Pickar, & Lesowitz, 1984; Lageose, 1991; Loers & Prentice, 1988; Prokop, 1990; Rosentein-Manner, 1990; Sheridan, 1981; Stone, 1988; Yauman, 1991). Some of these programs have been offered concurrently with programs for the divorced parent (Fernandes, 1991; Stolberg & Cullen, 1983; Stollberg, Cullen & Garrison, 1982; Zeinmelmán, 1987). Other group counselling interventions have been offered in community-based settings (Bonkowski, Bequette, & Boomhower, 1984; Hett & Rose, 1991).

School-based Interventions. A variety of group interventions have been developed and implemented within school contexts. Hozman and Froiland (1977) developed a program incorporating the five stages people go through when dealing with the loss of a loved one as identified by Kubler-Ross (1969). Kessler and Bostwick (1977) designed workshops for children of divorce to address values, communication skills, and assertiveness training. Some groups have been orchestrated as support groups facilitated by a counsellor (Cantor, 1977; Hammond, 1979).

Wilkinson & Bleck (1977) developed one of the first school-based programs for children of parental divorce. A total of eight 45-minute sessions were offered to six elementary grade students. The objectives of this program were: (1) to help the children clarify their own feelings about their parents' divorce and to understand and appreciate that other children had similar feelings; (2) to gain a greater awareness of the process of divorce; and (3) to

become equipped with appropriate coping strategies. To facilitate rapport-building, members participated in get-acquainted exercises, negotiated group rules, and discussed the nature of confidentiality. Members also explored feeling words and were encouraged to share their pleasant and unpleasant feelings about their parents' divorce. Strategies for coping with divorce-related problems were developed while incorporating puppet play and construction of collages, which served as metaphoric, non-threatening means of pursuing issues relevant to divorce.

A poll of 32 children who had participated in the Children's Divorce Group (CDG) indicated that 80% believed they had learned something about other people's feelings, 75% felt participating in the group influenced their readjustment to their newly structured lives and 90% said they would again participate in a similar program. Although these accolades seem impressive, they are potentially biased, being the subjective appraisals of the participants. Further impeding evaluation of the program was the failure to use a control group for comparison.

Another school-based group was developed by Bowker (1982), in which two groups of same-sex fifth graders met weekly for a year to discuss issues and feelings surrounding family break-up. Group members were assigned the task of creating a sound filmstrip about separation/divorce's impact on children. Group participants were responsible for both the scripting and musical accompaniments as well as the technical aspects for the story entitled "Being in Between". Production was intended to serve as a vehicle to empower these children by building on their accomplishments. It was hoped that both the individual and group sense of achievement would bolster these

youngsters' self-esteem. Evaluation of this program was strictly based on the researchers' subjective appraisals. Implementation of standardized psychometric measures and a comparative control group were both lacking in this study.

Henderson (1981), responding to single parents' concerns over societal stereotyping of children from "broken homes" in the schools, designed a school guidance program. In this program, both the parents and children separately attended counselling sessions. Another approach involved having the children write and perform a play for their single parents in which they acted out scenarios currently significant in their lives (Cantor, 1979).

A primary prevention program was developed within the last decade for children of divorce (Stolberg & Cullen, 1983; Stolberg, Cullen & Garrison, 1982). The "Divorce Adjustment Program (DAP)" was comprised of two main groups: (1) the Children's Support Group (CSG) for 7 to 13 year-old children of divorce, which encouraged support, effective communication, anger management, and relaxation strategies, and (2) the Single Parents Support Group (SPSG), which encouraged support and provided a forum for members to participate in discussions on single parenting. Evaluation of the effectiveness of the program was conducted by Stolberg and Garrison (1985). The researchers assigned 82 mother-child pairs, (where the mothers had been separated 33 months or less) to one of four conditions. The four conditions were: (a) the Children's Support Group (CSG) alone, (b) the CSG and the Single Parents' Support Group (SPSG), (c) the SPSG alone, and (d) a no-treatment control group.

Findings based on outcome comparisons at the completion of the program and five months later indicated most improved adjustment for children in the CSG alone condition and for parents in the SPSG alone condition. Comparable improvements were not found for the combined condition. Speculating on the ineffectiveness of the combined intervention group, the researchers suggested this impracticality could be attributable to group demographic characteristics. Mothers in the combined condition (CSG/SPSG) had been separated the longest, had lower status jobs, and indicated their former spouses interacted less often with their children.

Methodologically, this study had two major drawbacks. Although a no-treatment control group was employed and standardized psychometric instruments were incorporated into the assessment, there was a failure to randomly assign subjects to groups and only self-report instruments were used (e.g., Fishel Divorce Adjustment Scale (FDDAS), Fishel, 1987; Life Experience Survey (LES), Sarason, Johnson & Siegel, 1978).

Borrowing from the Divorce Adjustment Program (DAP; Stolberg & Cullen, 1983; Stolberg, Cullen & Garrison, 1982) a modified school-based prevention program was developed (Pedro-Carroll & Cowen, 1985). The children of Divorce Intervention Program (CODIP) revised the Children's Support Group (CSG; Stolberg et al., 1982, 1983) adding two components. First, a forum was established sooner to explore the affective and practical experiences of divorce and, second, the cognitive features of CSG's skill-building were augmented with role-plays, audio-visual material, and talks focusing on emotional experiences linked to divorce. Another change was reducing the sessions designated for anger management from five to three.

Based on the ineffectiveness of DAP's combined intervention (CSG/SPSG), the CODIP only offered a children's group. A total of 75 children from grades 4 to 6, ranging in age from 9 to 12 years were randomly assigned to experimental (41 children) and control groups (34 children). A supportive environment was fostered in the 10-week program to help latency-age children to clarify, communicate, and work through salient feelings about their parents' divorce. Also explored were anger management skills.

Evaluation of CODIP's effectiveness was based on the ratings of teachers, parents, group leaders, and the children. Teachers found children from the experimental group less introverted, more sociable with other students, more co-operative and having fewer learning problems. Parents and group leaders noted the children seemed to decrease in their personal incriminations about divorce and feelings of inadequacy. Although the children reported decreases in post-program anxiety, they did not perceive a significant difference in their competency and self-esteem. The researchers postulated that a 10-week program did not allow adequate time to change the relatively stable dimensions of competency and self-esteem. Limiting the evaluation of the CODIP study were ratings based on judgments of teachers, group leaders, parents, and children who, as the researchers noted, had a direct stake in the program (p. 610). The researchers acknowledged that the "...Program's credibility base can be strengthened by using outcome measures that go beyond the judgments of the people who it touches directly" (p. 610).

An eight week educational support group for late latency children (9-11 years old) was evaluated by Gwynn and Brantley (1987). A pretest/posttest design was employed in which 30 boys and 30 girls were randomly assigned to

experimental or control groups. Children in the experimental group were made aware of concepts associated with divorce, encouraged to express their feelings and were exposed to adaptive skills to resolve conflicts with parents and siblings. The researchers hypothesized that participation in the experimental group would lead to decreased depression, anxiety and negative feelings about divorce and to being more informed regarding divorce. Findings based on measures from pretest-posttest comparisons indicated significant changes had occurred in the experimental group which were consistent with the results of Pedro-Carroll and Cowen's (1985) and Stolberg and Garrison's (1985) studies. Gwynn and Brantley's (1987) study involved the use of two instruments constructed by the researchers specifically for their study (i.e., the Children's Divorce Information Scale and the Children's Divorce Affective Scale). Since these instruments had not been validated with other samples, caution must be used in evaluating their findings. This same methodological concern was common to both Pedro-Carroll and Cowan's (1985) and Stolberg and Garrison's (1985) studies. Another limitation in Gwynn and Brantley's (1987) study was the lack of a control group.

Camiletti and Quant (1983) designed an anticipatory counselling program for adolescents of divorced parents. The authors, both working in a secondary school, one as public health nurse, the other as guidance counselor, recognized that many students with repeated truancy and disciplinary problems came from homes transitioning through the divorce process. Based on this demonstrated need, a group counselling program was offered for teenagers with divorced parents. A total of eight members identified five

chief topics they wanted dialogued in group: (1) discussions focusing on worries and frustrations of other divorced teens, (2) learning effective communication and relational skills with parents and others, (3) self-monitoring adaptive behavioural and cognitive skills and learning new skills to add to their repertoire, (4) examining future plans for dating and how to deal with matrimony and the possibility of divorce, (5) familiarization with resources in the community and identifying systems of support. In the pilot group, members benefited from an opportunity to explore and express common divorce-related fears and frustrations. Several members reported the group provided a forum for airing grievances, allowing members to feel more comfortable in talking with their parents. Employing an Empathetic Assertiveness Technique, group participants were encouraged to articulate present and alternative coping strategies. Members began to acknowledge that much of their coercive and delinquent behaviours stemmed from wanting to punish their parents. Opportunities were also provided for students to "rap" about their concerns over dating and selecting the "right" partner. Assessment of the program was based on self-report evaluations. In general, students felt sessions equipped them with constructive ways to manage their anger, a chance to openly discuss their feelings and benefit from like-minded peers, and gain greater hindsight into their parent's situation. Based on their findings, the researchers advocate that the school setting can provide a structured secure environment to implement anticipatory counselling.

Community-based Group Counselling. In the research literature for counselling children of family separation and divorce, a number of

intervention programs are described (e.g., Cantor, 1977; Green, 1978; Kessler & Bostwick, 1977; Magid, 1977; Scherman, 1979; Sonnshein-Schneider & Baird, 1980; Wilkinson & Bleck, 1977). In many instances, the counselling programs developed are outlined session by session and thus serve as potential models.

Other programs (Gerber, 1982; Green, 1978; Keats, 1974) encourage utilizing multi-model or broad-spectrum divorce groups which involve the children in an exploration of various facets of their lives post-divorce. Green's (1978) multi-modal approach involved a design employing seven modes and their interrelationships. Green designated **HELPING** as an acronym in order to serve as a compass to delineate children's concerns and specific strategies to address these. Green breaks the acronym down into its seven modes starting with: Health and how it may be affected by the children's emotional and perceptual experiences (H), experience of joy of expressing feelings in a nonjudgmental environment (E), become more aware of the learning process (L), understand the process of establishing and maintaining positive interpersonal relationships (P), cultivate mental images helpful in leading positive, happy lives (I), examine fundamental values, attitudes and beliefs (N), develop and practice new behaviours (G) (p. 33-34).

Crosbie-Burnett and Newcombe (1989) revised Green's (1978) multimodal approach, supplementing Green's original model with additions taken from Hammond's (1979) and Wilkinson and Bleck's (1977) programs. Crosbie-Burnett and Newcombe's (1989) program also included a classroom component to educate children about parental divorce and family change. Providing this two-tiered unit acquainted children in the classroom setting with the idea of divorce as family change; this was followed by a focus on the

needs of children coping with parental divorce. Evaluations of the program indicated a significant reduction in depression as measured by the Reynolds Depression Inventory (Reynolds, 1987), improvement in attitudes and beliefs about parental divorce as measured by the Children's Beliefs about Parental Divorce Scale (Kurdek & Berg, 1987), and some aspects of self-concept as measured by the Self-Perception Profile for Children (Harter, 1985).

Bonkowski, Bequette, and Boomhower (1984) developed another community-based group design to help children adjust to their parents' divorce. Eight latency-aged children (7-11 years old) participated in an eight-week program designed to mitigate the effects of divorce. Members met weekly in 90-minute sessions and were assisted by three counsellors. They explored feelings and issues percolating from the divorce process. Each session had a specific theme pertinent to latency-aged children's adjustment to parental divorce. Activities such as painting, decoupage, costumed role-playing, and the use of puppets provided opportunities for member-to-member and member-to-leader interactions while exploring divorce-related issues. Consensus from group leaders, children who participated, and their parents was that the program was beneficial. Group leaders believed participants' self-esteem increased as shown by their, "...Increased optimism about the future and openness in self-expression" (Bonkowski et al., 1984, p. 135). Written evaluations from parents seemed in accord with those of the group leaders. Observed by approximately 80% of the parents was a new openness in their children when it came to discussing divorce-related issues. Although twenty percent of the parents saw no change, none were negative about the program. The authors admitted the method of evaluation in their

study was qualitative, being based on the leaders' observations, assessments of parents, and verbal feedback from the children. As in other studies, another methodological deficit in this study was failure to use a control group.

Group Program Evaluation Results. Findings based on these various programs have been predominantly positive. However, with the exception of one study (Hammond, 1979), the majority have been based upon the subjective appraisal of the children, their parents, and teachers. Even though Hammond employed objective instruments, his study has been criticized by Tedder, Schermann, and Wantz (1987) for failing to incorporate any intervention either individually or for the group. In their own study, the authors evaluated the efficacy of a support group for children of divorced parents, provided in their school setting. Their results were based on the objective ratings of parents and teachers. Parents' ratings were essentially positive, whereas teachers observed no change. The researchers speculated that these findings might reflect that parents have a greater opportunity for observation and interaction than the teachers. They recommended that future research might employ objective assessment through independent observers. Additional drawbacks of this study were the pre-test, posttest, non-randomized design and failure to employ a control group.

Burke and Van-de-Streek (1989) examined effects of using Hammond's (1981) method of aiding children of divorce through group counseling. A total of 39 children from grades four through six participated in the study, 20 being randomly placed in the experimental group, the remaining 19 being placed in the control group. Pre- and posttesting were performed on both experimental and control groups employing the Piers-Harris Self Concept

Scale (Piers & Harris, 1969). Results from this study demonstrated the efficacy of the experimental group over control group in terms of improved self-concept. Burke and Van-de-Streek (1989) suggest that the results of this study support the viability of utilizing a group program to assist in children of divorce's psychological adjustment.

In Canada there is a paucity of literature evaluating the efficacy of group counselling for children from divorce. A notable exception is a research project conducted by the Family Service Association of metro Toronto (Freeman, 1985). This study indicated that the children assigned to the experimental group showed greater gains than those in the control group with respect to the program goals of acceptance and adaptation. Also, these children displayed an ability to function in more areas than their counterparts in the control group. However, concern was expressed regarding a lack of adequate instrumentation (p. 140). The researchers employed standardized measures (e.g., Coopersmith's Self-Esteem Inventory and Norwicki-Strickland Locus of Control Scale for Children) and Freeman judged these psychometric devices as geared toward a psychopathological perspective. One instrument used which was considered an indicator of attitudes toward parental divorce was the Children's Attitude and Self-perception Inventory (CASPI, Berg, 1979). However, this instrument was criticized for being, "...Insensitive to the changes that were identified by the parent, the children, or the social worker" (p. 140). The researchers recommended that, "Instruments are required which take into account life events and potential mediating variables such as social supports, resources, parenting patterns, level of spousal conflict, parental adjustment, and parent/child contact"

(p. 140).

Valid considerations regarding instrumentation are raised in Freeman's (1985) study, yet standardized measures continue to be the yardsticks for evaluating the effectiveness of counselling groups for children of divorce. This trend can be seen in recent studies. For example, Anderson, Kinney and Gerber (1984) used the Classroom Behavior Rating Form (CBRF), Omizo and Omizo (1987) used the Dimensions of Self-Concept (DOSC, Form E) and the Norwicki-Strickland Locus of Control Scale, Pedro-Carrol and Cowen (1982) employed Harter's Perceived Competence Scale and the Strait-Trait Anxiety Inventory for Children (STAIC, 1980), and Stolberg and Garrison (1985) employed the Piers-Harris Self-Concept Scale (PHSCS) and the Child Behaviors Checklist (CBCL) .

Another Canadian paper (Hett & Rose, 1991) reported the results of three controlled studies which examined the efficacy of a group counselling program for children of divorce. These studies were designed to test the hypothesis that the children who participated in the group counselling intervention programs would exhibit less anxiety, greater self-esteem and show improved adjustment to the experience of divorce than would the children in the control groups. In addition, in one of the studies, the experimental subjects were expected to show greater internal orientation than their control group peers and in another one of the studies the experimental subjects were expected to show fewer school-related problems. Tests used to determine the efficacy of the intervention program were administered immediately before and after the completion of each intervention. The STAIC (Speilberger, Gorsuch, & Lushene, 1968) was used to assess the

participants' predisposition to anxiety (A-Trait) and to situational anxiety (A-State). The Coopersmith Self-Esteem Inventory (SEI, Coopersmith, 1967) was employed to measure attitudes towards one's self. The STAI and SEI were used in each of the three studies. The Norwicki-Strickland Locus of Control Scale (Norwicki & Strickland, 1969) was used in one study with children 9 to 12 years of age. The Walker Problem Behavior Identification Checklist (Walker, 1976) was used in one study conducted with children 7 to 12 years of age. The Draw Your Family Test was used in two of the studies. Several researchers advocate this test for assessing children's adjustment to divorce (Hammer, 1958; Hulse, 1952; Isaacs & Levin, 1984; Rezinikoff & Rezinikoff, 1956). It is suggested that drawings can reveal a child's attitude toward family members and his/her role within the family. These drawings were assessed by a psychologist who remained uninformed as to the purpose of the study and membership of the experimental and control groups.

Results revealed no significant differences between groups for any of the three studies as measured by the STAI and SEI. There were significant differences between groups on the Walker Problem Behavior Checklist for children 7 to 12 years of age. Children in the experimental group exhibited fewer school problem behaviours following the completion of the counselling program than did their control group peers. Several problem-solving sessions were devoted to solving school related problems, although this was not a regular part of the program. These sessions were a result of several children identifying problems with their peers and teachers as primary concerns.

There was a significant difference between the two groups of children 9 to 12 years of age on the Norwicki-Strickland Locus of Control Scale. This test was developed to measure interpersonal and motivational factors such as affiliation, achievement, and dependency (Norwicki-Strickland, 1969). This result suggests that a program that provides children with a means to communicate their feelings effectively and to develop relaxation skills, and which provides a forum to discuss and resolve problems, may empower children and increase their ability to act independently of outside influences.

Differences between the experimental and control group were noted on the Draw Your Family Test, though these differences were greater for the 6 to 8-year-olds than for the 9- to 12-year-old group. On the Draw a Family Test, Isaac and Levin (1984) had found that, over time, children of divorce tend to omit their fathers from their drawings or draw their fathers as smaller than their mothers. They suggested that this phenomenon is indicative of the child's perception of his/her family as a single parent one, with the father's power and influence diminishing. Their conclusions are supported by Hett and Rose's (1991) studies. A greater number of control subjects in these studies tended either to omit their fathers from their drawings or draw their fathers as diminished in size than did the experimental subjects. It appears that the counselling program prevented this phenomenon from taking place with members of the experimental group; that is, the experimental subjects continued to view their visiting parent as an influential and prominent member of their family. In both the studies in which children's drawings were analyzed the experimental subjects showed a greater increase in creativity than did their control group peers. This supports Isaac and Levin's

(1984) notion that a well-timed counselling program can benefit children of divorce by increasing their sense of well-being.

The experimental groups in these studies showed no significant changes in anxiety or self-esteem. There are several possible reasons for the program's ineffectiveness at changing these factors. First, each counselling program encouraged an exploration and expression of feelings. This approach to counselling may heighten children's anxiety and lower self-esteem. For example, Wallerstein, MacKinnen, Resnikoff, and Springer (1987) reported that anxiety was heightened in their study with the expression of divorce-related issues. Bowker (1982) suggests that the identification and expression of feelings is difficult for some children who invest a great deal of energy in elaborate defenses against revealing feelings. Also, anxiety and self-esteem may be very stable dimensions which resist change over the short term. Pedro-Carroll and Cowen (1985) found a lack of change in self-esteem in their study and suggest that a short-term intervention may not be sufficiently powerful to change relatively stable dimensions such as competency and self-esteem.

Lee, Picard, and Blain (1994) conducted a methodological review of evaluation studies focused on post-divorce adjustment interventions. Their review is comprised of three sections. First, they critically discuss the methodological soundness of the studies. Second, they examine the psychometric strength of the assessments used. The third section summarizes findings from various studies and establishes criteria for design standards.

Starting with an initial set of 100 studies, Lee et al. (1994) selected 15 studies for detailed review, using as a minimum criteria for inclusion the comparison of a control group and analyses on pre- and postintervention data; posttest only designs were included only if participants had been randomly assigned. In reviewing the 15 studies which met the selection criteria, the authors applied a 29-item checklist to assess the methodological adequacy of the studies. The checklist was comprised of six sub-sections: (1) a demographic section examining age and sex of the children, guardianship arrangements, time elapsed since separation, and extent of ongoing parental conflict; (2) a therapist variable section showing education, experience, gender, and number of group facilitators; (3) a design section identifying type of control group used and whether participants were randomly assigned; (4) a treatment section indicating whether treatment manuals were available and whether attendance and drop-out rates were recorded; (5) and evaluation section indicating whether multivariate analyses were employed; (6) a final section assessing the appropriateness of statistical analyses.

Eight of the 15 studies reviewed were interventions for children; the remaining seven were studies of interventions for adults. All 15 studies reported age of participants and the majority reported gender. Fewer than 25% of the studies examined custody arrangements, and fewer still identified the extent of continuing parental conflict. Information about therapists included background experience in almost 70% of child intervention studies, while less than half reported therapist gender. Most of the studies included a wait-list control group and a third involved a no-treatment or alternate treatment group. Nearly 75% of the studies reported random assignment of

participants to groups and, while most authors reported attrition rates, few addressed attendance in group sessions. In terms of assessment methods, all studies evaluated included a self-report measure and, although most involved multiple assessments, few authors conducted multivariate analyses. Only a third of the articles reviewed addressed pre- to posttest changes. In terms of reliability and validity of assessment measures, only one child intervention study proved psychometrically sound (i.e., Stolberg & Garrison, 1985, cited in Lee et al., 1994).

In terms of program content, children's interventions were structured to address the presenting developmental demands of children within the 6 to 14 year age range. Treatment length varied from 9 to 45 hours, but was not shown to correlate with program effectiveness. Most interventions were designed to lessen children's feelings of loneliness, provide for identification and expression of divorce-related feelings, equip children with problem solving skills related to their parents' divorce, and foster support systems.

None of the studies reviewed reported decreases in divorce related problems experienced by children, nor was there a significant shift in children's locus of control. Some studies found significant decreases in levels of anxiety (e.g., Pedro-Carroll & Cowen, 1985; Pedro-Carroll et al., 1986) and some found significant increases in self-esteem (e.g., Stolberg & Garrison, 1985). However, in comparisons of treatment groups to controls, other studies found no differences in ratings of children's depression (e.g., Roseby & Deutsh, 1985), anxiety (e.g., Bornstein, Bornstein, & Waters, 1988), self-esteem (e.g., Pedro-Carroll & Cowen, 1985), and feelings about divorce (e.g., Bornstein et al., 1988).

To summarize, Lee et al. (1994) found that all 15 intervention studies for families of divorce provided demographic information about the children. However, missing from most studies were data tracking extent of ongoing family conflict. Most studies included a wait-list control group, but a multivariate analytic approach to assessment was lacking in most cases. The authors considered this an important weakness in this set of studies. Overall, limited support was found for the effectiveness of group interventions for children of divorce, even after 85% of the original set of studies were omitted due to methodological weaknesses.

Summary of Group Program Evaluation Research. Numerous group counselling interventions have been devised for children affected by parental divorce. Most span 6 to 10 weeks and are comprised of between six and eight members. Typically incorporated into program format are feelings exploration exercises, anger management, coping skills, effective communication and relaxation training. Reliance upon subjective appraisals of researchers, group leaders, parents, and children participating in the programs is commonly found in assessments. Evaluations are further weakened in several of these programs through failure to include a control group. Some researchers have found children reticent to explore or express their divorce-related feelings in front of a group of strangers, even though the other children in these group counselling interventions are struggling with similar emotions. Further compounding their resistance may be their inability to readily trust another adult figure, even if he/she is a counsellor. Several researchers advocate exploring new and varied approaches to further

encourage the exploration and expression of divorce-related feelings in a group setting.

Therapeutic Effects of Expressing Feelings

For children and adolescents whose parents divorce, the inability to articulate their feelings, whether reflective of an immaturity with respect to emotional expression, or of a desire to protect parents, may lead to maladaptive behaviours. These inappropriate behaviours may include both overt and covert aggressive acts, such as stealing, abusing drugs and alcohol, somatic complaints, truancy, diminished school performance, poor peer interactions, and suicidal ideation (Camiletti & Quaint, 1983; Wallerstein & Kelly, 1980).

A focus on understanding and coping with feelings is generally considered a critical aspect of effective counselling programs for children of divorce (e.g., Freeman, 1985; Tedder, Scherman, & Wantz, 1987; Wallerstein & Kelly, 1975). More specifically, common to effective group interventions designed for children of divorce are the following six criteria: (1) all participants have an opportunity to clarify feelings they have towards their parent's divorce; (2) all group members are assisted in appreciating that others have similar feelings and concerns; (3) participants are assisted in gaining an accurate awareness of the divorce situation; (4) group members are helped to cope with their feelings; (5) members are encouraged to support each other and share their feelings, and (6) group members are helped to feel good about themselves through self-disclosure, peer support, and the group leader's empathic understanding (Stone, 1988).

The importance of allowing children to explore and express their feelings is illustrated in many recent group intervention designs. For example, in the school-based study described above, Camiletti and Quaint (1983) structured a group program for adolescents aimed at helping them to understand their divorce-related feelings and control their anger. Bradford (1982) developed a counsellor's guide for children of separation or divorce that contains group activities entitled, "Things that bother me, and mixed feelings." This group counselling guide stresses the importance of helping children of divorce identify and talk about their divorce-related feelings.

Lane (1991) developed a set of three books, including a leader's guide, and primary and intermediate workbooks designed to help children learn about their feelings. Throughout ten group sessions children are encouraged to identify and share their feelings, be they sad or glad, relieved or frightened, uptight or relaxed; and to acknowledge friendship and develop self-concept. Younger children participate in activities such as talking about the colours they like best, what it feels like when they're worried, and colouring a "mad-ometer." This latter activity is designed to identify degrees of anger, and also new ways to demonstrate friendship. Activities for the older children include sharing their feelings, assertiveness training, and learning about family relationships.

Haasler and Marnocka (1990) designed a bereavement support group for children. Parental loss for these children was not limited to death, but also included loss through divorce. The researchers found the most powerful experience for those in group was having their feelings acknowledged and

validated by others, who were also involved in revealing their feelings to one another.

Gwynn and Brantley's (1987) school-based intervention (described above) also focussed on expressing feelings. Each week the children were familiarized with feelings typically associated with divorce, and were then encouraged to acknowledge whether they had similar feelings. In addition, children were given information about adult relationships and the divorce process. Compared to yoked controls, participants in the experimental group evidenced significant decreases in depression, anxiety, negative feelings about divorce, and a significant increase in divorce information.

In summary, it appears that group interventions designed to provide children with a forum for better understanding, exploring and articulating their divorce-related feelings can be beneficial. In addition, regarding divorce from a process paradigm, rather than a time-limited model, children seem to benefit from being able to make concatenations between not only their own, but also their parents' thoughts, feelings, and behaviours on an ongoing basis.

Audiotapes as an Adjunct to Counselling

Audiocassette tapes (ACTs) have recently found a niche as helpful aids in therapeutic processes. Versatile in the range of topics they might cover, ACTs present opportunities to gain insights into a wide array of personal problems. For example, ACTs have been utilized to disseminate many different kinds of information about psychological and physical health concerns in a crisis intervention centre (Thurman, Baron, & Klein, 1979). ACTs focusing on relaxation techniques have proven beneficial in self-regulated, tension-reducing programs (Brunson, 1983). Patients waitlisted for a mental health

facility evidenced positive gains in their psychological adjustment after listening to ACTs discussing optional coping skills and strategies (Kassinove, Miller & Kallin, 1980).

ACTs have also proven useful when employed as adjuncts to brief psychological counseling (Yaumauchi, 1987). For example, limited staff at Pasadena City College (PCC) necessitated students to actively participate in their own counselling through the assignment of homework targeted at expediting goal realization. As part of their homework, 50 students utilizing the counselling services at PCC were required to listen to counsellor-assigned ACTs. Students were asked to routinely give feedback on the efficacy of the ACTs program. According to counselees, the ACTs aided them in confronting dysfunctional patterns in their lives by reminding them through repetitious messages that they were not alone, and that their problems were often experienced by others. The majority of the students in the program acknowledged the usefulness of the advice discussed on ACTs available in the counselling center's audiocassette library, and were enthusiastic about their successes achieved through applying basic self-monitoring strategies. The students also stated that it was beneficial to hear others describe how they initially felt about issues and then new insights gained and coping techniques they had applied. In addition, by enabling them to process this information at their own pace and leisure, in the sanctity of the own rooms, the ACTs seemed to bridge the gap between counselling sessions in bringing about behavioural and attitudinal changes.

This evidence appears to support the suggestion by Yamauchi (1987), that audiocassette tapes used as an adjunct to counselling can accelerate the

promotion of alternative ways of thinking and behaving, promote continuity of counselling between sessions, and reinforce changes made in counselling.

Rationale for the Present Study

Children who can adapt successfully are typically regarded as successful in our society. Adaptability is demonstrated by personal competency in stressful situations, and by regarding life's problems as challenges rather than insurmountable tasks threatening one's self-confidence (Piaget, 1970).

Piaget's theory encapsulates an epistemological view of constructivism -- the perception that knowledge is actively constructed by the knower.

Constructivist ideology rests on the notion that cognitive-developmental processes are dialectic. This viewpoint encompasses an interactive model between psychological processes and the individual's social and physical environment. However, Piaget's (1970) interactionist conceptualization of the epistemology of cognitive development entails a tertiary interchange. In addition to a reciprocal interaction between the organism and the environment, Piaget theorized that there was a dynamic interpretation of what is known by the individual. This constant assessment and re-evaluation of one's knowledge operates as a third interactive process in the cognitive system. From this perspective, readiness to recognize adults as resources is indicative of adaptive behaviour in children. Children who can learn from adults can develop a sense of independence.

Although it is important for children to be able to learn from adults, realizing their ability to make changes also necessitates that children rely upon their own thoughts as opposed to external events (Erikson, 1959).

According to Erikson, if children learn the tasks requisite for being adult members of society, they will develop a sense of industry. Erikson (1959, 1963) saw these tasks as particularly important for children in the latency stage. Children who see themselves as industrious will feel they have the ability to accomplish goals and make important changes in their lives. On the other hand, if children feel that they have not learned to perform capably the requisite tasks of their society (while feeling that others around them have acquired this ability), they are likely to feel a sense of inferiority.

Winning children need adult recognition in order to nurture their developing sense of mastery of life's skills. By addressing problems, employing present life strategies and evolving new ones, and by interacting with adults and peers, children develop a sense of personal autonomy (Harter, 1983). If relations with others are mostly pleasant, children learn about others and themselves, increasing their self-confidence. According to Lane (1991), a common societal misconception is that children are capable of appreciating the adult world of relationships, whereas in actuality, "...Children are more similar to adults in their feelings than in their understanding" (Lane, 1991, p. 5). For latency-aged children, who lack the cognitive ability to link thoughts with actions, adult relationships can prove confusing and ultimately stressful.

In many instances, children's lives take a downward turn during the period of separation and divorce. Often financial dictates for divorced parents make for differences in lifestyles, sometimes requiring changes in residences and schools, further increasing stress. Often, parents themselves may change, which also may further upset their children. Typically, mothers who become

the custodial parent become overwhelmed with having to run the household and care for the children while worrying about financial concerns and trying to mend their own self-esteem. Many divorced mothers become depressed and withdrawn or, alternately, try to find new jobs or upgrade education and skills, and expand their social network just at a time when their children's needs demand more attention than ever before. Unfortunately, some divorced mothers may become more strict, less playful, and more inconsistent in their discipline (Hetherington, 1982). Children's relationship with their fathers may also undergo changes. This seems particularly true of non-custodial fathers who may become overly indulgent of their child's every wish. Fathers may also change in their overall comportment and appearance. Many fathers may resume dating, and may attempt to regain a more youthful look. Unfortunately, contending with these additional changes may increase children's sense of instability (Hetherington, 1987).

Based on the literature reviewed in this chapter, it seems clear that children of divorce need some form of counselling intervention to assist them to void serious short- and long-term consequences of divorce. If the feelings and potential misinterpretations and misattributions of children around divorce are not dealt with effectively at the time, there is at least some likelihood of developing psychological and behavioural patterns that result in long term impairment.

The primary objective of the program that is the focus of the present study is to assist children to identify, label, understand, and cope with their feelings related to the process of divorce. Duality between mind and heart means the potential exists for two levels of interpretation. On the cognitive

level, we attempt to discern intellectually the meaning of some event. Unfortunately, this process of intellectualization may not help us in understanding our underlying feelings, nor in coping with the emotions evoked by the event. Similarly, having a "gut feeling" of some event may lead to an emotional knee-jerk reaction, devoid of reasoning. Connecting mind and heart are feelings; thinking about antecedents and feeling consequences makes for responsible behaviours.

The program to be studied in this investigation emphasizes the expression and understanding of feelings, in agreement with the literature outlined above. The strong evidence in support of group interventions for children, especially for purposes of dealing with feelings, led to this choice here. Also, this program utilizes an eclectic counselling approach which draws heavily on RET (Ellis, 1962) and CBT (e.g., Michenbaum, 1973). Using these approaches in the context of group counselling is seen as appropriate for children of divorce, in order to help them to learn effective coping strategies and to interpret their feelings in ways that will enhance their sense of control over events in their lives. Moreover, these approaches are seen as useful for latency aged children, in terms of assisting them to link their thoughts with their actions.

The use of ACTs as a therapeutic adjunct to group counselling interventions has received some support in recent literature, but as a relatively recent development in counselling, its value for children of divorce remains in question. However, given indications in previous literature that children of parental divorce may be experiencing disrupted relationships with their parents, it might be hypothesized that expressing

feelings with another adult and a group of unknown peers may be difficult at first. The availability of ACTs designed to help them feel less alone with their feelings, but which they can listen to in private, could be a means of alleviating this difficulty. Thus, in the present investigation, group interventions with and without the use of ACTs will be compared.

Research Questions

The following hypotheses were tested in this study:

- (1) that there would be a significant difference between the two treatment groups, Audio Treatment (AT) and Treatment (T), and the Control group on measures of locus of control. Specifically, that posttest scores of participants in the AT group would shift toward an internal locus of control to a significantly greater extent than scores of participants in the T and Control groups, and that posttest scores of participants in the T group would shift toward an internal locus of control significantly more than scores of the Control group.
- (2) that there would be a significant difference between the two treatment groups and the Control group on a measure of self concept. Specifically, that posttest self-concept scores of participants in the AT group would increase significantly more than those of the T and Control groups, and that posttest scores of participants in the T group would increase significantly more than those in the Control group.
- (3) that there would be a significant difference between the two treatment groups and the Control group on a posttest measure of children's expression of feelings. Specifically, that the posttest CFEI responses of

children in the AT group would show significantly greater increases in frequency of talking about their feelings compared to the responses of children in the T and Control groups, and the posttest responses of children in the T group would show significantly greater increases than those of children in the Control group.

- (4) that there would be a significant difference among the responses of parents of the children in the two treatment groups and the Control group concerning their children's expression of feelings. Specifically, that posttest responses of parents whose children participated in the AT group would show a significantly greater increase in the frequency with which parents responded to their children's feelings than parents in the T and Control groups, and that posttest responses of parents in the T group would show a significantly greater increase than those of parents in the Control group.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODS

Sample

Participants for the study were boys and girls who enrolled in a group intervention known as, "Caught in the Middle" (Achtem & Hett, 1988), which is offered through Divorce Lifeline, a non-profit community agency in a medium-sized Pacific Northwest city. This program is designed specifically to address the concerns of children of divorce. The children were aged 9 to 12 years, with a mean age of 10.6 years. A total of 36 children and their custodial parents were randomly assigned to one of three groups, with six boys and six girls in each group. The three groups were: a wait-list control group (labeled Control), a treatment group experiencing the eight week Caught in the Middle program without audiotapes (labeled Treatment), and a treatment group experiencing the eight week Caught in the Middle program with audiotapes (labeled Audio Treatment).

Assignment of 12 children per group was determined on the basis of what other researchers (e.g., Yalom, 1978; Corey & Corey, 1986) have identified as the maximum number of participants, while still allowing for management of group dynamics. This researcher's experience of the optimum number of participants in children's treatment groups agreed with this assessment.

A demographic survey (see Appendix F), prepared by the author, was used to collect information about parents' and children's background and the context of their present situation of separation and/or divorce. Results of this survey indicated that all children were attending school in grades three through seven. The majority of participants (70%) lived in the city's

metropolitan area. Seventy-five percent reported that the non-custodial parent lived within 110 km (fifty miles) of the custodial parent.

The mean number of siblings reported across the three groups was 1.0. Specifically, the mean number of siblings was 1.0 for the Audio Treatment group (AT); the mean for the Treatment group (T) was 1.1; and the mean for the Control group was .9. In terms of birth order, in the AT group five were eldest, four were youngest, and three were only children; in the T group, four were eldest, three were middle children, three were youngest, and two were only children; and in the Control group, six were eldest, one was a middle child, four were youngest, and one was an only child.

Parents were relatively young, with 68% between the ages of 24 and 36, and the remainder being between 37 and 43. The mean ages by group were: 33.7 for the AT group; 34.1 for the T group; and 33.9 for the Control group. The majority (69.7%) of participants' parents had been married only once, while 22.3% had been married twice. Across all three groups, 8% had been married three times. A breakdown of these proportions across groups appears in Table 1.

Seventy-eight per cent of the parents reported their marriages had lasted between 6 and 18 years, the mean number of years being 10.8 years (see Table 1). The mean number of years since divorce across all three groups was 1.9 years (see Table 1).

In terms of education, across the three groups 67% had completed high school, with the mean number of years of education being 13.7 years; 16.5% had not completed high school; and the remainder had completed college or a professional degree. Seventeen percent of parents reported post-divorce

Table 1

Demographic characteristics by group

Demographic Variable	(TA)	(T)	(C)
% of cust. parents married once	75	67	67
% of cust. parents married twice	17	25	25
Mean years custod. parents married	10.9	11.2	10.4
Mean years since divorce	1.8	1.9	2.0
Range of years since divorce	1-6	1-7	1.0-6.5

income levels below \$10,000; 67% reported incomes between \$10,000 and \$20,000; 8% reported incomes between \$20,000 and \$40,000; and the remaining 8% reported incomes between \$40,000 and \$60,000.

Ninety-two percent of parents reported a period of ongoing conflict leading up to the decision to separate. Seventy-six percent indicated that they were experiencing some form of continuing conflict with their ex-spouses since the granting of their divorces.

Measures

A major focus in this investigation was upon participants' divorce-related feelings and their willingness and ability to talk about these feelings as an outcome of the intervention. As there were no published instruments available targeting this context-specific expression of feelings, the Children of

Divorce Feeling Expression Inventory (CFEI) and its parallel Parent Form were designed as part of the study (see Appendices B & C).

The CFEI-Children's Form contains 20 incomplete statements describing a divorce-related situation and ending with a space in which children are instructed to write the feeling they experience in that situation. For example, the first item states, "When my parents argue (or used to argue), I (would) feel _____. " The instructions given are, "Read each statement. Then, in the space provided, write the FEELING you have about the event described. Use the 'Feelings Chart' to help you chose feeling words." (The Feelings Chart is a tool used regularly as part of the Caught in the Middle program to help children learn a feelings vocabulary.) The purpose of having the children fill in their own feelings in response to each situation was to provide an assessment of children's ability to articulate how they were feeling, at pre- and posttesting.

For each statement, participants are then asked to rate the extent to which they have experienced feelings similar to those suggested in the statement. Also, participants are to indicate whether these feelings have been expressed to anyone or not and, if so, to whom. The response options for the first part of each item are, "always," "sometimes," and "r ver." These responses were assigned scores of 2, 1, or 0, respectively.

The response options for the second part of each item are "mother," "father," "sister/brother," "other relative," "counselor," "friend," "someone else," or "no-one." Thus, participants were able to indicate whether or not they had experienced any of the stated divorce-related feelings, and whether or not they had shared how they felt with anyone.

The CFEI-Parent's Form contains 20 statements about issues related to the impact of parental divorce on children. Parents are asked to respond as to whether the stated issue was discussed with their child/children and, if so, who was present. In response to the question, "Did you discuss this issue with your child/children?", the options were the same as those on the Children's Form and were scored in exactly the same way. The second part of each question asked the parent to identify who was present during discussions with their children. The options for this part were: "by yourself," "with other parent present," "issue was not discussed," and "not applicable."

In designing the two forms of the CFEI, an attempt was made to address divorce-related situations which have been identified in previous research as related to a range of feelings in children of divorce (e.g., Hetherington, Cox, & Cox, 1978; Kaslow & Schwartz, 1984; Wallerstein & Kelly, 1980). Also, questions were structured to assess children's level of understanding of divorce-related feelings and their utilization of a social support network, both previously identified as instrumental in the amelioration of the potentially negative impact of divorce (Hess & Camara, 1979; Freeman & Couchman, 1985). The researcher also relied upon personal experience in structuring the instrument, having facilitated numerous group interventions for children of divorce over several years.

Both forms of the instrument were pilot tested over three consecutive trials with three groups of 12 children and their parents. These children were all enrolled in an 8 week Caught in the Middle program. Children and their parents were informed as to the nature of the pilot project and that their participation was strictly voluntary. In fine-tuning the instruments following

these trials, a great deal of useful feedback and many constructive insights were gained from other counselors, as well as from children enrolled in the three program intakes. The format of the items on the pilot versions of the instrument did not allow for statistical comparisons between them. Since the wording and format of many items were altered in the final versions, reliability estimates on the pilot measures were not meaningful. (The estimates for the final versions appear in Chapter 4.)

Generalized locus of control was assessed using the Norwicki-Strickland Locus of Control Scale (NSLCS, Norwicki & Strickland, 1969; Appendix D). This measure is a paper-and-pencil self-report inventory of 40 questions that are answered "yes" or "no" and that describe, "...Reinforcement situations across interpersonal and motivational areas such as affiliation, achievement, and dependency" (p. 128). The NSLCS was originally developed for use with children between grades 3 and 12. Scores range from 0 to 40, with "Internality" represented by lower scores and "Externality" represented by higher scores. The scale was reported as having reliability coefficients ranging between .68 and .81 (Norwicki & Strickland, 1969). More specifically, internal consistency coefficients were reported as .63 for a grade 3 sample, .66 for a grade 7 sample, and .71 for a grade 10 sample. Test-retest reliability for three grade levels over six weeks were reasonably high (Norwicki & Strickland, 1969). In terms of construct validity, the authors established high correlations between the NSLCS and other measures of locus of control. For example, when the NSLCS and the Rotter I-E Scale were administered, a correlation coefficient of .61 was achieved (Norwicki & Strickland, 1969). In similar studies conducted by the authors comparing this instrument with the Bailer-

Cromwell Scale (Bailer, 1961), coefficients ranging from the .50s to .60s were found.

In an effort to better assess whether the treatment component impacts on how children chose to attribute locus of control through the process of divorce, an additional five divorce-related statements were added to the NSLCS for the purpose of this study.

Self-concept was assessed using the Piers-Harris Self Concept Scale (PHSCS, Piers & Harris, 1969; Appendix E). This instrument is a self-report questionnaire containing 80 dichotomously scored items. It distinguishes among multiple dimensions of self-concept, producing a total score and six subscale scores, including (1) behaviour, (2) intellectual and school status, (3) physical appearance, (4) anxiety, (5) popularity, and (6) happiness. The questionnaire is intended for use with children in grades 4 to 12. The PHSCS is the most frequently cited self-concept measure for pre-adolescents and is the 27th most frequently cited instrument from all areas of measurement (Mitchell, 1985).

The PHSCS was originally designed primarily for research on children's development of "self-attitudes" (Piers & Harris, 1969, p. 2), and to measure a relatively global, unidimensional construct (Piers & Harris, 1964). Revisions were made to the original instrument to reflect the multidimensionality of self-concept, which Piers (1984) described as a hierarchically ordered, multidimensional construct with both specific and global components. Items on the instrument are scored either one or zero, a *yes* response indicating high self-concept, and a *no* response indicating lower self-concept. Test-retest reliabilities for this measure range between .42 and .96. When administered

with other self-concept scales, validity estimates ranged from .32 to .85. Correlations between scores on this instrument and behavioural ratings of teachers and peers ranged from nonsignificant to .64 (Piers, 1984).

Procedures

To initiate the program, a parent's information night was held, at which time parents were fully informed as to the nature of the Caught in the Middle program. They also were informed as to the nature and extent of the research component. Parents were informed that an enhanced version of Caught in the Middle would be offered, which consists of a series of audiotapes designed to help children to recognize and express their feelings. They were also told that the tapes dealt with some of the issues typically faced by children when their parents divorce, discussing them in a non-threatening manner, and offering potential coping skills. Parents were then informed that, in order to evaluate the effectiveness of the tapes, both they and their children would be required to complete a simple questionnaire at the beginning and at the end of the program. They also were informed that their participation as well as their children's would be strictly voluntary. If they decided not to be part of the study, their children would still be accepted into a regular Caught in the Middle program. They were informed that all information would be maintained in strict confidence and that, at the end of the study, results of the study would be shared with any interested parents.

Parents and their children were then invited to an intake interview. At this time a counsellor met with the parent, to review the Caught in the Middle program and details of the research component. During the

interview, demographic information was collected and consent forms were completed (see Appendices F and J). Parents consenting to their children's participation in the program then completed the CFEI-Parent Form.

While their parents completed the above documentation, children met separately with another counsellor. In discussion with this counsellor, children were informed as to the nature and extent of the Caught in the Middle program and the research being conducted along with it. Children expressing an interest in participating in the program and the research then filled out the NSLCS, the PHSCS, and the CFEI-Children's form. Instruments were administered in this specific order to avoid bias in children's responding. Thus, questions moved from general ones on the NSLCS and the PHSCS, to more specific divorce-related questions asked on the CFEI. The counsellor remained available during this time to answer any questions or read any parts of the form that the children had difficulty with.

Upon completion of all the intake interviews, children were randomly assigned to one of the three groups, that is Treatment (T), Audio Treatment (AT), or Control. Parents were informed that a limited number of spaces were available for the program which included the use of tapes. They were instructed that if their children wished to participate in a program including tapes, but were not assigned to the AT group, they would be placed in the next available intake in which tapes would be used. Children assigned to the Control group were placed on a waiting list for the next intake of the program.

Children assigned to the T and AT groups met once a week for a 90-minute session, over an 8 week period. (The two versions of the Caught in the Middle program are described in detail in Appendices G and H).

Children assigned to the Control group were contacted weekly by telephone, over an eight week period, paralleling the time-frame spent by children assigned to the other two groups. Weekly telephone contact was made by the author, with conversations limited to discussions which were unrelated to divorce. Efforts were made to ensure that the discussions did not take on a counselling component, while attempting to ensure that children in this group received weekly attention. The control group was used to mitigate for the possibility of a placebo effect, whereby attention alone might be a factor in outcomes.

At the completion of the first session, children assigned to the AT group were given their first tape. Each tape in the series is narrated by actors selected by the researcher, with either a male or female voice to provide for matching with the gender of the child (see Appendix A). Scripts for the tapes were written by the researcher. The children were informed that the tapes were their own to take home and to keep. They were encouraged to listen to the tapes alone in the safety and security of their own rooms, and were encouraged to play the tapes as often as they wished. The children were informed that they would receive a new tape each week for a total of 8 weeks. They were also informed that each week they would be given a checklist to keep track of how often and on what days of the week they listened to the tapes. Appearing on the same checklist are two questions asking whether the child's family experienced any situations similar to those identified on the

tape, and whether they experienced any of the feelings described on that week's tape (see Appendix I). Children were also told that each tape portrays a child describing a divorce-related scenario, that child's feelings surrounding the problem, how he/she expressed those feelings, and then how he/she learned and used new coping strategies.

Each week, during the group meetings of Caught in the Middle, the central themes, feelings expressed and with whom, and any coping strategies detailed on the previous week's tape were interwoven into a discussion. This process of utilizing the previous week's tape as a springboard for discussion during the present session was repeated throughout all eight sessions (see Appendix H).

CHAPTER FOUR: RESULTS

Reliability of Instruments

This study involved the use of two published instruments, the Norwicki-Strickland Locus of Control Scale (NSLCS) and the Piers-Harris Self Concept Scale (PHSCS). In addition, two measures of feelings expression were developed for the study, the Children's Feelings Expression Inventory (CFEI, Children's Form), and its parallel Parent's Form. Internal consistency estimates using Cronbach's alpha were obtained for pre- and posttest scores on all four of these measures.

Pre- and posttest internal consistency reliabilities for the original 40-item NSLCS were quite low ($\alpha = .35$ and $.45$, respectively). For the PHSCS, internal consistency estimates were higher ($\alpha = .94$ and $.96$ for pre- and posttest, respectively). Both versions of the CFEI showed good internal consistency. These estimates for pre- and posttest scores on the Children's Form were $.93$ and $.97$, respectively; those for the Parent's Form were $.82$ and $.87$, respectively.

Group Effects

This study was designed to test the efficacy of a group intervention with audiotapes as a therapeutic adjunct in comparison to a parallel treatment without audiocassette tapes and to a wait list control. Descriptive statistics for these groups at pre- and posttest appear in Table 2. To test treatment effects statistically, analyses of covariance (ANCOVAs) were performed, using pretest scores as covariates, whenever necessary assumptions were met.

Table 2

Descriptive statistics for all measures at pre- and posttest

Measure/Group	N	M (Pretest)	SD (Pretest)	M (Posttest)	SD (Posttest)
NSLCS					
Control	12	21.17	4.61	21.083	4.209
T	12	20.00	4.05	21.667	3.798
AT	12	20.83	4.30	23.750	3.467
PHSCS					
Control	12	54.83	18.45	54.083	18.579
T	12	50.08	19.11	56.085	18.342
AT	12	54.08	13.08	65.917	8.544
CFEI - Children					
Control	12	19.08	14.14	17.500	16.065
T	12	23.33	17.70	33.917	32.917
AT	12	21.00	18.32	47.250	33.713
CFEI - Parents					
Control	12	14.83	6.10	14.25	8.20
T	12	14.75	7.00	15.67	7.30
TA	12	14.92	5.98	22.42	6.60

Note: T = Treatment, AT = Audio Treatment

Norwicki-Strickland Locus of Control Scale (NSLCS)

Prior to conducting ANCOVAs on either the original or the revised versions of the NSLCS, an analysis of the data indicated that the assumption of homogeneity of the regression slopes was met ($F_{3,32} = 2.79, p < .05$). A subsequent ANCOVA on the original 40-item scale failed to show statistically significant effects across the three groups ($F_{2,32} = 2.96, p > .05$). Results of an

ANCOVA using the 45-item revised scale also failed to reveal statistically significant effects ($F_{2,32} = 2.89, p > .05$). These results are summarized in Table 3.

Table 3

Analysis of covariance on posttest scores for NSLCS, using pretest scores as covariates

Source	SS	Df	MS	F	p
Group	8.39	2	4.19	2.89	0.07
Pretest	1.46	1	1.45	1.00	0.32
Error	46.46	32	1.45		

Piers-Harris Self Concept Scale (PHSCS)

An initial analysis of the PHSCS scores indicated a failure to meet the assumption of homogeneity of regression slopes ($F_{3,32} = 21.41, p < .05$). Subsequently, these data were analyzed using an Analysis of Variance (ANOVA), which failed to reveal statistically significant effects, either at pretest or at posttest (see Table 4).

Children's Feelings Expression Inventory (CFEI)

Statistical Analyses on Children's Form

The assumption of homogeneity of regression slopes was met in the case of the CFEI, Children's Form ($F_{2,30} = .10, p > .05$). A subsequent ANCOVA on these data showed statistically significant effects across the three groups ($F_{2,32} = 5.0, p < .02$).

Table 4

Analysis of variance on pre- and posttest scores for PHSCS

Source		SS	Df	MS	F	p
Pretest	Group	156.50	2	78.25	0.27	0.77
	Error	9645.50	33	292.29		
Posttest	Group	962.89	2	481.44	1.91	0.16
	Error	8300.75	33	251.53		

Follow-up post-hoc comparisons using Fisher's LSD test (Fisher, 1970) showed significant differences on all three comparisons between individual groups. Specifically, the AT group scored higher than the the Control group, showing a t-value of 15.37 (2, 35, $p < .01$). The T group exceeded the Control group, indicated by a t-value of 6.42 (2, 35, $p < .05$), while the T group out-scored the AT group, shown by a t-value of 8.95 (2, 35, $p < .05$).

Feelings Expression on Children's Form

In assessing the variety of words children used to describe their feelings about the 20 situations described in the CFEI, group averages were obtained at pre- and posttest. The number of different feeling words expressed by children over the 20 items was approximately the same across the three groups at pretest. The mean number expressed was 55 words out of a possible 240. The total possible words was calculated by multiplying the number of children in the group (i.e., 12) by the number of items (i.e., 20). At posttest, children in the Control group continued to express approximately the same number of different feelings. In comparison, children who participated in the T group showed an increase in the number of different feeling words

expressed, rising to 82 words in their *posttest* responses. Finally, at *posttest* the children in the AT group responded with a total of 189 different words to describe their feelings.

Gender differences

In terms of differences in readiness to express their feelings, mixed results surfaced related to the gender of children. The number of responses from females were nearly equal across the three groups, while disparate results surfaced for male children. Affective responses from boys and girls in the Control group were approximately equal in number at *pretest* and did not change at *posttest*. Girls' expressions of emotion in the T group outnumbered those of boys, both at *pre-* and *posttest* and, while boys' responses increased marginally between testings, those of female participants more than doubled at *posttest*.

Initial responses of boys in the AT group surpassed those of girls, contrasting to the other two groups. While *posttest* feelings expressions by both sexes in this group outnumbered those of boys and girls from the T and Control groups, final responses from boys far exceeded those of girls (see Table 5).

Affective Vocabulary

In addition to the number of feeling words expressed, there also was a substantial increase in the repertoire of feeling words utilized by the treatment groups. Initially, the most common descriptors of feelings used by all three groups were the words *sad* and *mad*. No noticeable changes were observed in the *posttest* responses of children in the Control group. Children

Table 5
Number of feeling words expressed by gender

Group		Pretest	Posttest
Control	boys	29	29
	girls	25	27
T	boys	18	31
	girls	27	61
AT	boys	49	109
	girls	28	66

who participated in the T group demonstrated a somewhat expanded affective vocabulary, adding 12 more feeling words to their final responses. However, the greatest increase in variety of feeling words was seen in posttest responses of the AT group. Responses of this group transcended the limited "sad/mad" parameters to include 123 different expressive words, including overwhelmed, uncertain, infuriated, puzzled, pained, rejected, and frightened, and so forth (see Appendix I).

Checklist for Listening to Tapes

To ensure that children in the AT condition actually listened to the tapes and to ascertain whether they related to events and feelings described on the tapes, children were requested to fill out a weekly checklist. Children listened to the tapes an average of 3.1 times per week, with Wednesdays and Thursdays being the days when they listened most often. Children replayed the tapes an average of 1.5 times. In response to the question, "Do you or

your family experience the events described on this week's tape?", all 12 children responded in the affirmative for tapes 1 through 6, 10 children responded "yes" for tape 7, and 9 children identified with the event described in tape 8.

The other question on the checklist asked, "Have you felt any of the feelings described on the tape?" To this question, all of children responded in the affirmative for the first 6 tapes, 83% of children identified with feelings described for week 7, and 75% of children checked a "yes" response for week 8.

Parents' Responses

Preliminary analysis indicated that the assumption of homogeneity of regression slopes was met for the parent's form of the CFEI ($F_{2,30} = .005, p > .05$). An ANCOVA performed on these data also revealed statistical significance across the three groups ($F_{2,32} = 6.96, p < .02$). Fisher's LSD test was performed subsequently, indicating that the three groups were all significantly different from one another.

CFEI Parent's Form (Part A)

The first part of the CFEI Parent's Form asked the frequency with which parents talked with their children about their divorce-related feelings; the response options being "always," "sometimes," or "never." These response options were arbitrarily assigned scores of 2, 1, and 0, respectively. Response frequencies were then summed for all 20 items to produce a total score for each parent.

As indicated in Figure 1, at pretest all three groups of parents responded to their children's divorce-related feelings with essentially the same

frequency. It appears that the rate at which parents interacted with their children increased as a result of children's participation in the T group intervention compared to Control group, as seen at posttest. Compared to the other two groups, however, parents whose children participated in the AT group clearly outdistanced the other parents in the number of responses made to their offspring's' emotional expressions.

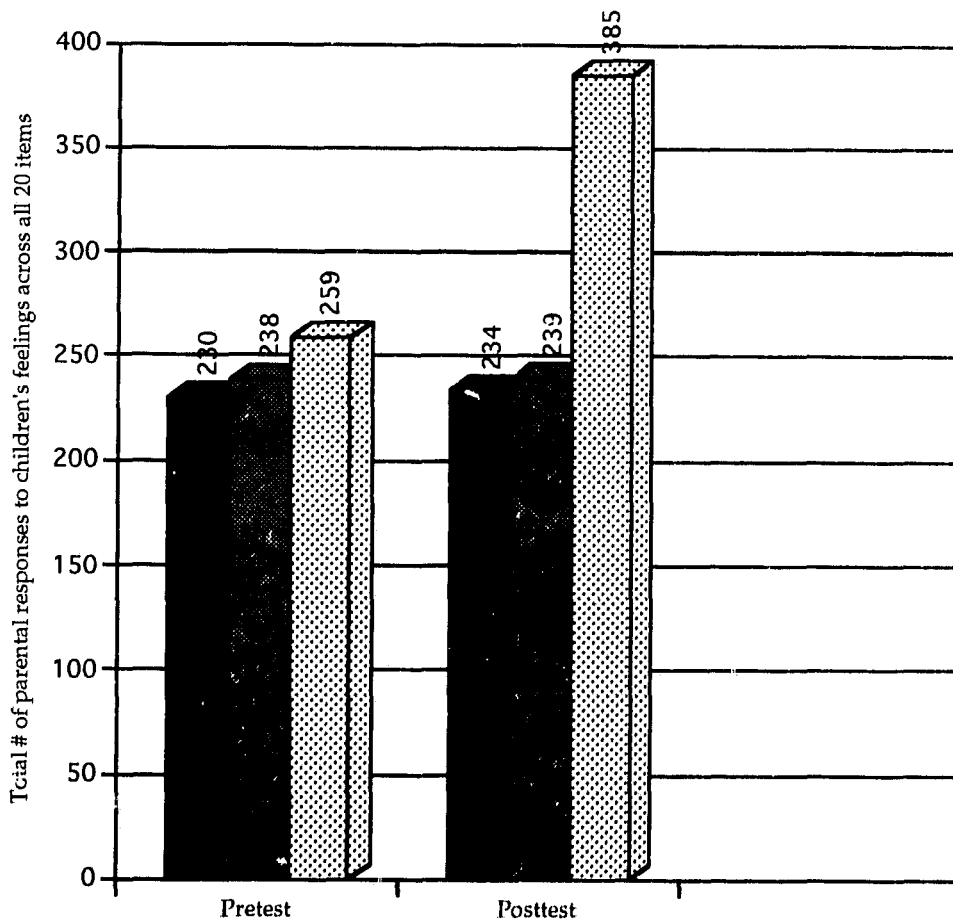


Figure 1. Histogram showing pre and post test responses of parents on CFEI

Anecdotal Feedback from Parents

The following are quotations from parents whose children participated in the group intervention which included audiocassettes. One parent stated, "I found the tapes excellent for both my 9- and 12-year-olds, as we have just been divorced for one year now and a lot of things that have been happening are on these tapes. The children would tend to open up more and talk about incidents that have happened to them after listening to the tapes."

Another parent commented, "The tapes were just terrific! I've been divorced now for close to six years, and I assumed my kids had dealt with or talked about most of their issues. However, since the children have been listening to the tapes they continue to amaze me with all the things they have been opening up about." A third parent remarked, "Since listening to the tapes we've sat down and had some real heart-to-heart conversations. My kids tell me they no longer feel responsible for the divorce; feel they no longer have to choose between myself and their father." Finally, another parent stated: "The tapes have proven really helpful to my kids. We've been talking about the divorce constantly since the children started listening to the tapes. The tapes seem to have clarified their feelings toward the divorce, and have helped me understand better all the feelings they have been experiencing."

Summary of Results

Analyses on both the PHSCS and the NSLCS revealed a lack of treatment effects across the three groups in this study. These measures of self-concept and locus of control are not specifically focused on divorce-related aspects of

functioning, although an attempt was made to adapt the locus of control scale by adding a subset of items relating to divorce issues. Even with the revised version of the NSLCS, statistically significant group effects were not found.

On the other hand, results of statistical analyses on the Children's and Parent's Forms of the CFEI show significant group treatment effects. These measures are indicators of children's ability to express their feelings specifically about divorce-related issues. These statistical findings were clearly corroborated by the more informal observations obtained from preliminary questions on the CFEI.

CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSION

This study examined the effects of a short-term intervention program on children of divorce, focusing upon the implementation of divorce-issues-specific audiocassettes as a therapeutic adjunct to group treatment. The goal of the statistical analyses conducted here was to test the hypothesized effects of variations in treatment on feelings expression (reflected in CFEI scores), locus of control (reflected in the NSLCS), and self-concept (assessed with the PHSCS), after adjusting for pre-existing differences on these measures among Control, Treatment, and Audio Treatment groups. Where necessary assumptions were met, ANCOVAs were employed for this purpose, using pretest scores as covariates.

Locus of Control

Previous research has found that children experiencing parental loss through divorce, particularly during earlier developmental stages (early and late latency) were significantly more externally oriented, compared to children from intact families (Parish & Nunn, 1983). As noted in Chapter 2, the Norwicki-Strickland Locus of Control Scale (NSLCS) has been employed in previous studies to demonstrate the impact of parental divorce as it predicts an external shift in locus of control for children (Norwicki & Duke, 1974) and to track adjustment to parental divorce as measured by a shift in locus of control scores (Kurdek, Blisk, & Siesky, 1981). The scale has also been implemented previously as an assessment instrument tracking a significant

change in locus of control in a counselling intervention group for children of divorce, compared to controls (Omizo & Omizo, 1987).

In the present study, the NSLCS was selected to evaluate whether a shift in locus of control orientation would occur for children of divorce as they were exposed to a group intervention aimed at helping them to express their feelings. In particular, the audiocassette tapes were intended to empower children, equipping them with the ability to more accurately make attributions related to choices and consequences in significant areas of their lives.

The reliability estimates obtained for both the original, 40-item ($\alpha = .35$ and $.45$ at pre- and posttest) and the revised 45-item NSLCS ($\alpha = .41$ and $.41$) were considerably lower than has been reported in previous studies (e.g., $\alpha = .63-.66$). This inconsistency might be explained in terms of differences in samples, although further research is needed to test such an explanation.

As can be seen in the descriptive statistics (Table 2), and a subsequent ANCOVA, support was not found for the hypothesis that group participation incorporating audiocassettes would aid children of divorce in making life adjustments, as reflected in a more internalized locus of control. However, given the low internal consistency estimates found here for this instrument, statistically reliable differences across groups would not be expected.

The failure to produce a statistically significant difference between groups also could be partly due to the fact that locus of control is a fairly stable trait, and therefore a demonstrable shift may not be noticeable over an 8 week duration. Another possibility is that inclusion of five additional divorce-

specific items in the revised scale may have detracted from the instrument's original psychometric properties. Small sample size and random chance are other possible explanations for both the low reliability coefficients and the failure to find significant differences.

Self Concept

Studies have indicated that children of divorce may suffer from diminished self-concepts (Hodges, Tierney, & Buchsbaum, 1984; Parish & Wigle, 1985; Rozendal, 1983). Often children may feel responsible for their parents' divorce. Studies have found that self-blame coupled with insecurity and fear of abandonment may contribute to a less positive self-concept (Amato, 1986; Raschke & Raschke, 1979). The Piers-Harris Self-Concept Scale (PHSCS) has been implemented in the evaluation of group interventions designed to enhance the self-concept of children of divorce and has shown a significant improvement occurring for participants compared to controls (e.g., Burke & Van de Streek, 1989; Stolberg, Cullen, & Garrison, 1985). In addition, and relevant to the present study, the PHSCS has been found to significantly and positively correlate with the NSLCS (Piers, 1984).

Prior to conducting an ANCOVA to assess differences in children's self-concept scores as a result of treatment condition, homogeneity of the regression slope was tested. Failure to meet this requirement dictated that additional statistical analyses be curtailed. The limited analysis failed to demonstrate the efficacy of either experimental treatment groups over the control group in improving self-concept. Pedro-Carroll & Cowen (1985) found a similar lack of positive change among experimental participants in a

counselling intervention program for children of divorce and postulated that, "A 10-week intervention focusing specifically on divorce-related issues is not sufficiently powerful to produce change on relatively stable dimensions such as perceived competency and self-esteem" (p. 609).

Expression of Feelings

This study tested the hypothesis that children who participated in the intervention groups would show a greater ability and willingness to talk about their feelings around divorce than would children who did not participate. As the results seem to indicate, children participating in the two group interventions appeared to experience an increase in both their awareness of, and willingness to talk about, their divorce-related feelings. Experimental subjects in the Audio Treatment group showed significantly more change in feelings awareness and expression than did participants in the other groups (Treatment and Control). In addition to an increase in affective expressiveness, subjects whose group intervention included the use of audiotapes also seemed to expand in their range of verbal descriptions of their emotions compared to children in the other two groups.

Previous research has suggested that divorce impacts differentially on children depending on several factors, including their age at the time when the divorce process begins, or "age at onset" (e.g., Kaslow & Schwartz, 1987; Kalter & Rembar, 1981), children's gender (e.g., Hetherington, 1972; Hetherington, Cox, & Cox, 1979), and their evolving developmental challenges (e.g., Kalter, Reimer, Brickman & Chen, 1985; Wallerstein, 1985).

Age Differences

Addressing the age at onset question, the research of Wallerstein and her colleagues (e.g., Wallerstein & Kelly, 1979) has thoroughly detailed age-specific responses of children to divorce. Relevant to the present study are their findings which characterize latency-aged children as experiencing intense anger as their most prevalent feeling. Other perturbations for these children include a longing for the non-custodial parent; and a disdain for some of their parents' sophomoric behaviours and newly-acquired dating practices. The feelings described by children in this study, as noted in Chapter 4, are consistent with and serve to further buttress Wallerstein and Kelly's findings.

Time-Since-Divorce Differences

Questions in the literature continue to centre around whether the passage of time acts as a mediating factor in children's adjustment to parental divorce. Still remaining to be clarified is whether feelings generated in early stages of parental divorce dissipate over time, remain constant, or change and, perhaps more importantly, under what conditions one or another of these outcomes will be likely. Essential to gaining a better understanding of these questions is knowing, "...How time affects the resolution of the loss of the original family" (Bonkowski et al., 1984).

Although the sample size did not allow for meaningful statistical analyses related to this question, information was collected to identify the specific lengths of time that had elapsed since divorce for parents of children in this study. Approximately 10% of the children had parents who had been divorced less than a year, 76% had parents whose marriage ended between

one and three years ago, and 14% had been transitioning through the process of their parents' divorce for longer than three years. Across all three categories, children most commonly expressed feelings that were thematically centred around loss and anger. These findings are consistent with Bonkowski et al.'s (1984) results suggesting that, "Time does not dissipate the intensity of the feelings toward parental divorce; in fact, if anything the feelings become stronger" (p. 41).

One area that seemed in this study to be abrogated by the passage of time was children's desire for their parents to reunite. Among children whose parents had been divorced more than three years, only 21% expressed an interest in parental reconciliation, whereas 43% of those whose parents were divorced between one and three years wished to see their parents together. In contrast, 68% of children whose parents were most recently divorced expressed a desire for their parent's reunification. Whether or not the intervention used here resulted in any change in children's concerns regarding their parents' reconciliation is not known. However, it might be speculated that, since this issue was one of those discussed on the audiocassettes (see Appendix A), there may have been some benefit in communicating and sharing with peers their feelings around this issue.

Parents' Responses

Concomitant with maintained levels of parental stress are continued high levels of symptomatology for their children, which do not decrease over time (Woody, Colley, Schlegelmilch, Maginn, & Balsanek, 1984). A reciprocal relationship where children's emotional responses and adjustment to

divorce mirrors that of their parents, and vice versa, has been noted (Kurdek, 1983). Several researchers also have found inaccuracies in parents' perceptions of their children's adjustment to divorce (Kurdek & Berg, 1983; Pett, 1982; Young & Bodie, 1984). Stangeland, Pellegrino, and Lundholm (1989) recommended that, in order for parents and counsellors to help children deal with divorce, "Parents may need to realize that they do not accurately perceive their children's feelings andshould encourage children to tell their parents what they feel and ask parents to listen...and respond to their feelings" (p. 171).

The present study took into consideration that both affectively and cognitively, children and their parents' perceptions about divorce may differ. The results of this investigation show that the use of audiocassettes as an adjunct to group interventions for this population may provide a vehicle to engage parents and their children in a more interactive process for sharing thoughts and feelings.

Limitations of the Study and Implications for Future Research

One potential limitation of this study is the fact that the researcher conducted all aspects of the intervention and the research itself, except for the narrating of the audiotapes. This could have introduced a researcher bias, in the sense that treatment interventions might have been carried out slightly differently due to expectations by the researcher.

The small sample size used in this study imposed limitations in a number of ways. For example, statistical analysis of apparent gender differences was not feasible due to small cell sizes. Also, the trends noted in

terms of time-since-divorce differences must be considered with caution, since the numbers were so small.

The landmark longitudinal research of Mavis Hetherington and colleagues (Hetherington, Stanley-Hagan, & Anderson, 1989) has established that residing in a divorced, mother-headed household can potentially impact negatively, and with long-term deleterious consequences, on boys, following them from early childhood through adolescence. In contrast, girls assessed in preadolescence do not display comparable negative effects. However evaluations conducted with these same girls six years later revealed that as these girls embarked on adolescence they frequently engaged in disputes with their mothers, were less compliant, suffered lowered self-esteem, and experienced relational difficulties, stemming from their psychosexual development.

Another study by these researchers (Hetherington et. al., 1982) found that girls more readily, and in greater depth, expressed their divorce-related feelings. If the process of divorce does impact on boys and girls in differing ways, then there may be differences in boys' and girls' understanding of the process of divorce and their feelings associated with it.

While informal observations made in this study indicate a lack of support for Hetherington's findings, it must be kept in mind that even a slight increase in sample size could change the outcome significantly, even in terms of direction of change. The possibility of gender differences in the effects of therapeutic interventions aimed at increasing verbalization of feelings and enhancing parent-child communication are an important area for future examination.

On several other analyses that were performed, it is unknown whether lack of significant differences between groups was due to this limited statistical power or to some other cause. In particular, no statistically significant differences were found among groups' scores on two standardized psychometric inventories, the NSLCS and PHSCS. Both of these instruments examine potential change in two relatively stable personality dimensions: locus of control and self-concept. Posttest evaluations employing these two instruments were conducted upon completion of an eight week intervention. To more effectively determine if changes in locus of control or self-concept occur as a result of interventions such as that used here, more time prior to follow up testing may be required.

Conclusions and Suggestions for Practice

Ending a matrimonial union is disruptive and former spouses may face years of upheaval in their lives. Often, arguing and various forms of emotional infighting escalate over time, until couples elect to separate. For many parting couples, months or years may pass prior to their marriage finally ending with a divorce decree. Throughout this period, ex-husbands and ex-wives face numerous changes in their lives and so, too, does the rest of society. However, divorced persons may experience bouts of emotional instability. They may feel a forfeiture of the security inherent in a marriage and family which can buffer life's stressful vicissitudes.

Granting a divorce does not necessarily provide a cornerstone of emotional relief when one is facing the failure and finality of marriage. Many divorced persons may experience years of transition, adjusting to new

living arrangements, new careers, new educational experiences, custodial or non-parenting situations, and possibly new marriages and reconstituted families. Contending with the divorce process can translate into multiple losses. Adults faced with these constant demands may question their beliefs or temporarily adopt erroneous beliefs. This can often lead to negative feelings, self-defeating behaviours, and lowered self-esteem.

As divorced parents continually adjust their beliefs and behaviours, so too must their children. Some children of divorce may believe that their parents have all the power, in terms of decisions and choices made for them. Children sensing this power imbalance may feel helpless, afraid, frustrated, and overwhelmed. Conversely, children of divorce who feel free in expressing their own beliefs and feelings can achieve their own sense of power. Children growing up in intact families may have parents with a greater sense of long-term stability and, therefore, greater ability and willingness to give their children some latitude. This flexibility may ease children's developmental struggle as they strive toward self-hood and the establishment of their own will. As children embark upon puberty, they confront parental values, tastes, and authority; in stable families, this emerging independence may be more easily tolerated. For children of divorced parents, particularly those of late latency age, forms of reactivity common to children approaching adolescence may prove highly disruptive.

Expressing one's feelings and questioning belief systems is acceptable in healthy families, where disengaging from the family to achieve a sense of autonomy is promoted. This does not imply that non-intact families cannot be emotionally healthy and nurturing environments for children. However,

some divorced adults riding an emotional roller-coaster and contending with constant changes may develop coping mechanisms such as psychological defenses to protect themselves from the pain they are experiencing. In psychoanalytic terms, such defenses might take the form of denial, in which reality becomes relinquished, replaced by illogical thinking or fantasy. While a parent's denial may minimize the negative experience of reality, the children who are invested in that parent's emotional well-being may experience a sense of conspiracy in denial, which may undermine their self-concept and increase their dependency. A psychoanalytic view also would posit other possible defense mechanisms, such as projection, in which ex-spouses harboring resentments may displace their hurt feelings for their previous mates onto their children. Rationalization is a third possible defense mechanism. In this case, divorced adults may justify erratic behaviours by continually citing wrong-doings of their ex-mate, exacerbating the divided loyalties their children are likely to experience. In several instances, for example, children in this study commented that they did not express their feelings to their parent(s) because they did not want to burden them with more problems.

Children have fundamental developmental dependency needs -- their parents' time, attention, and direction. For children to develop into capable, confident, and emotionally healthy adults, they need to have modeled for them behaviours such as asserting one's rights, setting limits, well-defined boundaries, and taking ownership for one's feelings. The ability to express one's feelings and have a parent acknowledge and validate these feelings helps children to achieve a sense of their own self-concept and personal

power in terms of formulating choices and being responsible for the consequences. On-going failure to express their feelings will lead children to explosive outbursts of rage or implosive depression. Similarly, the inability to express feelings of guilt can translate into children feeling they are unable to make mistakes and learn from them, resulting in feeling shamed -- not that they have done something "bad," but that they, themselves, are "bad." Children also need to be able to grieve their losses in order to regenerate their emotional energies and to celebrate life's joys.

The research described in this study was tailored to provide a specific group intervention for children of divorce. As previous research has indicated, counselling interventions can become an important support for children of divorce and their parents. Coping with this transition is a complex process taking place over considerable time. Often, coping may be successful in certain domains, but not in others. For children of divorce, the problems endured can occur before, during, and long after the divorce is adjudicated. Antecedents of these difficulties have complex origins stemming from skewed family relationships manifesting as disruptive parent-child relations, periods of psychological distress for one or both parents, and the perils of parental interaction continuously fraught with conflict. How long children will deal with these various exigencies in the wake of divorce is uncertain, but concerned caregivers need to become more cognizant of the potentially perilous nature of the divorce process. What seems to be of paramount importance for counsellors is working with parents to increase their awareness of their children's needs and feelings concerning divorce. At the same time, it appears imperative that counsellors

continuously refine innovative strategies to assist children in exploring, understanding, and feeling comfortable sharing their divorce-related feelings.

This research employed audiocassettes as an aid, helping children of divorce to generate other ways of communicating formerly unexpressed feelings, fears, ideas, and questions, as advocated by other researchers (e.g., Bonkowski et al., 1984). This study has demonstrated the benefits of audiocassettes as a therapeutic adjunct to a group intervention for children of divorce. It appears that listening to tapes in which actors narrated an exploration of the process of divorce, and their feelings related to that process, further facilitated a preparedness for children in the group to do likewise. Increases in the number of feeling words expressed between pre- and posttest results on the CFEI seem to indicate that these children took greater ownership for their feelings. Differences from pre- to posttest on the Parent's Form of the CFEI seem to indicate a greater willingness, on the part of children who listened to the tapes, to share their feelings with their parents.

The goal of the research described here was to advance knowledge of the phenomenon of divorce and its impact on the children involved, and at the same time advance knowledge of preventative interventions. Future programs aimed at ameliorating the potentially negative impact of parental divorce on children need to have a specialized focus which ensures opportunities for children to discuss their feelings, while allowing for the privacy needs of each child individually. At the same time, it seems important to help parents and their children to build a more constructive, open and honest communication conduit; to provide a more stable environment based on engaging in supportive communication and

maintaining consistent expectations and routines. For example, it might be useful to offer parents group interventions of their own which involve the use of audiotapes designed to help them work through their own conflicts and issues. These tapes could also be designed to parallel those that the children are using for their group intervention, since many of the same issues will likely be problematic for both children and parents.

Finally, future studies may also show that therapeutic adjuncts such as audiocassettes, employed in longer-term group counselling interventions for children of divorce, may result in concomitant increases in self-concept and locus of control. While the number of families in which divorce occurs does not appear to be declining, perhaps in the years to come it will be possible to prevent or at least partly ameliorate some of the prolonged emotional and social problems experienced in its wake today.

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APPENDIX A

**SCRIPTS FOR EIGHT AUDIOTAPES
(GIRLS' VERSION)**

TAPE #1 - (female voice)

My Parents Won't Stop Fighting

Boy! I sure am glad I have a new friend to talk to. You know, there's been something that's been bothering me a lot lately, but I've been kind of embarrassed to talk about it with anyone. Well, actually, I did try to tell a couple of my friends at school, but after a little while it seemed like they really didn't want to have to listen to me....and I didn't want to seem like I was always complaining....yeah, if you're always complaining, it doesn't take long before nobody wants to hear it anymore and then they don't want to play with you anymore either.

Well, the other thing about telling my friends about my problem is that none of them really seem to understand it.

Well, like I said, I'm real glad I can tell you about it....and who knows hopefully you'll be able to understand it.

Anyways....here goes....

Well, my problem is that my Mom and Dad won't stop fighting. They say they're just arguing, but a lot of the time....when I'm in another room, or at night when they think I'm sleeping, I hear them shouting and screaming....and sometimes I hear things being broken and doors being slammed.

I was hoping that things would be getting better....and at least that's what they promised after the last time that Daddy moved out of the house and then came back. Yeah, that's right -- my Daddy left us after a big fight and he was gone for a whole month, and that's not the first time either. My Mommy said that that's the third time in two years that Daddy has moved out and then come back after a few weeks or even a month....And you know, each time I get so scared that my Daddy will never come back and that I'll never be able to see him again.

And you know, the last time Mom and Dad had a big fight, he told her he doesn't love her anymore. I wonder if he doesn't love me anymore either....It makes me so worried and confused.

Just last week my Daddy came home late....he missed the supper Mommy made....and when he came in the kitchen Mommy said something about Daddy liking his friends and his bottle more than his family.

Right away....Daddy yelled at my little sister for leaving her bike in the driveway, and then he turned and yelled at me for leaving my toys all over the floor in the family room.

Well, next thing I know Daddy sends both of us to our rooms....I felt so frightened I didn't know what was going to happen next.

I just got in bed and pulled the covers up over my head, and then I put the pillow over my head....but it didn't stop me from hearing the shouting and screaming,

and Mommy was crying....I wanted to go and help Mommy but I was too frightened....I guess I was afraid Daddy might get angry at me too.

The next morning when I woke up Daddy was sleeping on the couch....so I tiptoed by him to go and have some breakfast....Mommy was standing in the kitchen getting some cereal for my little sister.

As soon as I sat down, Mommy started crying and telling my sister and I that if we tidied up after ourselves and did our chores around the house, that she and Daddy wouldn't get into these fights.

Well, my little sister started crying and it wasn't long after that, that I ran to my room and started crying too....I just felt so awful.

Well....that big fight was about three months ago and it seems like every other day since, there has been a fight around here. That is, up until two weeks ago when the big bomb dropped....

That was the night Mommy and Daddy took my little sister and I out to dinner because they had something important to tell us. At first I thought they were going to tell us that they were going to get us the dog we've been pestering them about....or that maybe we were going to go on a holiday....my little sister thought maybe even Disneyland.

Well, we got to the restaurant and Mommy and Daddy said we could order whatever we wanted....so my little sister and I both said at the same time....Pizza!

When the pizza arrived at our table my little sister dug right in....but I was so excited wondering what "the News" was that my parents wanted to tell me, that I couldn't concentrate on the pizza....Well it didn't take long before they told us.

Mommy and Daddy took turns starting to say something, but I didn't hear any of it, because the third or fourth word I did hear clearly was **divorce**....after that all I could hear was my heart pounding, my head began swimming and I thought I was going to be sick.

When we got home Mommy was crying, I was crying, my sister was crying, and my Daddy said he had to step out, and he left the house slamming the door behind him....I tried to make him stay....I pleaded with him....and I promised to keep my room tidier....and pick up my things like he asks, but please don't leave, please don't get a divorce... but it was no good, it didn't work.

Oh, I forgot to tell you, my baby sister didn't know what a divorce was, but I did, because it's happened to some of my friends.

My friend Pam told me that her parents got a divorce....and that it meant going to court and that the judge told his parents that they were no longer married and that Pam and her little sister would live with their mother and that their father would have visitation rights. She explained that visitation rights meant that she

and her sister would go and stay at her Dad's place on the weekends, over Xmas, and during summer holidays.

I asked my Mom if that was what getting a divorce was going to mean for our family. She explained that it would be basically like that, but that there was some other information she wanted my sister and I to hear, that she said was very important.

She said that she wanted to make it quite clear that the reason why she and Daddy were getting a divorce had nothing to do with us....that in no way was it our fault....WHOA!!....I tell you, what a relief it was to finally hear that. Then Mom went on to explain that when she and Daddy first met they were really in love and so they decided to get married. And then, over the years she said they both changed, and now they felt like they didn't love one another anymore and so they didn't want to be married anymore either.

But....the one thing that Mommy pointed out that hasn't changed is how much both she and Daddy loved my sister and me -- and she said that **that will never change.**

I gave Mommy one big hug and I felt a lot better after hearing her explain things to me.

TAPE #2 - (female voice)

Court and Lawyers

Hi! I'm really glad we could get together again and talk. You know, I'm feeling a lot better since the last time we talked. I certainly don't feel guilty anymore about my parents divorcing. I know now it's not my fault and that it's probably not anyone's fault. I still feel sad though, that Mom and Dad don't live together anymore. And all this divorce stuff is so hard to understand, that I'm really confused.

It's been several months now since Dad moved out, but I still miss him. It's just not the same when he doesn't come home for dinner every night like before. The divorce still scares me because I don't know what it means about the divorce itself and what it will finally mean for all of us....nothing seems settled yet. Before, when I'd ask Mom about the divorce she'd begin to cry and just say it's in the lawyer's hands. I don't want to make her upset, so I just don't ask her about it anymore. I've tried asking my Dad about it, when my little sister and I have gone to visit him, but he usually tries to avoid the subject, or else he gets angry and starts banging things around.

I'm not really sure what my life will be like once the divorce is over, but I have some ideas from what my friends whose parents divorced have been through, and the changes that I've already had to figure out. Before I tell you about the changes I've been through, there's something I need to tell you. Everyone keeps talking about my parent's divorce....like my sister and I aren't affected or

something. And that really burns me up. You know, the way I see it, it's not just Mom and Dad who are going through a divorce, it feels like our whole family is coming apart. (Thanks for listening to that -- I really needed to tell somebody that ,and I've been afraid to say it to Mom or Dad or any other adults....but it really makes me mad!)

.... Oh yeah, I was going to tell you about all the things that have been changing around here. Well, first off, Mom said we couldn't afford to live in the house anymore, and so we had to move into an apartment. At first I really hated it...I had to change schools, I didn't get to see my friends anymore, and we had to find a home for our dog, Sheeba. As if that wasn't bad enough, Mom had to start working full-time, plus she's taking courses a couple of nights a week. We don't get to see her nearly as much as before.

My friend Pam told me that that's exactly what happened to her when her parents divorced. She said she had to move and her Mom wasn't around as much and things became different between her and her relatives and her old friends. She told me that she used to see her grandparents and uncles, aunts, and cousins on her father's side all the time. They used to get together for picnics and special outings, and birthdays and Xmas, and holidays like that. But....after the divorce her Dad's relatives stopped visiting her so often. This made her and her little sister sad, so her Mom took her to visit her Dad's parents....but it didn't work out very well. She said they didn't seem the same....everyone was acting really weird. And Pam said she couldn't get comfortable with everyone being so weird and asking so many dumb questions.

And as for Pam's friends, well they kept avoiding her at school. And when she called on them at their homes after school, their Moms said they were too busy doing homework to come out and play. Yeah **suuure....**too busy doing homework....**not!**

So finally, Pam asked a couple of them at school what was going on with them and they told her their Moms didn't want them hanging around with kids from broken homes....because they've heard so many stories about how kids from broken homes are always getting into trouble.

Boy! Can you believe that nonsense?!! Well, she said after a while things settled down and her relatives started visiting again. Some of her old friends came around calling on her and she started to make some new friends. I don't know if the same things will happen to me or not....but it's good to know it doesn't last forever....that eventually things have got to change and get better.

Guess what we did last week? We all went to the lawyers....again, but this was the real thing....my parents were finally really getting divorced. I was so nervous and scared the whole day before we had to go to court....and I couldn't sleep that night. The next day Mom got us all dressed up. I couldn't eat breakfast -- I still had butterflies in my stomach. When we got to court, there was Dad, and everything seemed so weird. But you know it didn't take very long and then all of a sudden I realized, it's over. Part of me felt really empty....and sad. But part of me felt relieved. I talked to Mom right after and asked her, does this mean it's

now **finally** all over? She told me partly yes....and partly no. She said the battles over custody and maintenance and lawyers and courts and my sister and me feeling like pawns in a chess game... that part's over. But then she explained to my sister and I that divorce isn't just about going to lawyers and getting a piece of paper saying that your marriage is over. She said that all of us needed to be ready to still expect lots of changes....but that that's what life's all about....and you know, before I would have gotten really scared....but now I feel like I can deal with changes....I've been through so many already....and heck, I'm still okay. And then Mommy hugged both of us and told us how much she loved us and that **that** would never change.

That weekend we went to visit my Dad. I was a little worried that things would be weird. But as soon as my sister and I got to his place he gave us both a big hug and told us how much he loved us. And then I felt much better. I liked feeling that change.

TAPE #3 - (female voice)

Disneyland Mom/Dad

Hi again, how have you been?

Well, for me, things have started to settle down somewhat. Mom, my sister and I pretty much have a schedule worked out. Mom is working full-time now, so that means my sister and I have to get up bright and early in the morning, get ourselves dressed, and tidy our room. Then we go downstairs, have breakfast with Mom, and then Mom drops us off at school, before she goes to work. Three nights a week my Mom goes to night school, so those nights we get a ride home with a neighbour. I throw frozen dinners in the microwave, and my little sister and I have supper together. After supper we both tidy up the dishes, then I make lunches for all of us for the next day. When I've finished with that chore I make sure my sister is doing her homework.

All of this may sound like a lot of chores, but you know, I kinda like being able to help out and have some more responsibilities. By the time my sister and I finish our homework, Mom is home. We all visit for a while, and then she tucks us into bed. Well, that's pretty much the routine at Mom's house, but it's a whole different story when my sister and I go to visit our Dad.

At first I was really worried about visiting Dad. I thought he was going to be really strict and we wouldn't be able to play with anything or have any friends over. But boy, was I in for a surprise! It turned out to be just the opposite. The

very first weekend we were there, my Dad took my sister and I out shopping. He bought both of us all new clothes. Then he asked both of us what we really wanted -- what have we been thinking we'd like to have for a long time, but couldn't get....and you know what? He took us to a couple more stores and bought us everything we wanted! Then Dad asked us what we wanted to eat, and of course we said **Pizza!** So he took us to a restaurant and we got to order pizza and soft drinks. Then he asked us what we wanted to do and we said "movies," so he took us to the movies. That was just Saturday -- then on Sunday, he took us out for lunch, we went to the circus and then he took us out to dinner. Well, you can imagine my surprise.

Guess what happened the next weekend? Same thing -- he bought us some more neat stuff and we got to do whatever we wanted. And then the weekend after that, I thought it would be fun to have some of my old friends over to Dad's place for a sleepover. But I never thought in a million years he'd say yes. But guess what?....No problem! My sister and I had our friends over all weekend and we got to do whatever we wanted. Every weekend since has been the same....Dad buys us whatever we want, takes us wherever we want to go, and let's us do whatever we want. In fact, the biggest surprise of all that my sister and I thought would never, ever happen did. Do you know what it was?...If you were thinking taking us to Disneyland for Xmas, then you were right.

Sounds pretty terrific doesn't it? But you know, it got so that it wasn't really terrific. For one thing, all the presents kept making Mom upset. She kept complaining that there was no way she could ever compete with Dad, she just

doesn't have the time or the money....And so she's been feeling really badly about it.

And the other problem is Dad. Ever since Dad moved out and Mom and Dad got a divorce, Dad hasn't been the same with my little sister and me. One day I had had enough and I just had to say something to Dad. So I worked up my courage and I told him last weekend. I said that both Susie (she's my little sister) and I loved him very much....but that we'd just like him to be the way he was. And I also told him it was kind of fun to have all the presents and do all the cool things, but that sometimes it feels like he's been trying to buy back our love.

Daddy just sat there for a couple of minutes without saying anything and then he called both of us over to him and gave us both a big hug and told us how much he loves us. He told us how guilty he has felt about the divorce and everything, and he sees where he's gone overboard in buying us stuff. Well, I don't know if you've ever been through anything like this, but I can tell you, talking about it with your parents sure seems to make a big difference. Makes me feel like Mom and Dad are really concerned about my feelings and what I have to say.

TAPE #4 - (female voice)

I Spy . . . Please Don't Shoot the Messenger

Hi! It's me again. How're you doing? Did you have a good week? (Pause)...I'm doing okay, I had a pretty good week. That is, except for this problem that I've been wanting to talk to you about.

It first started with Dad. He'd come to pick my sister, Susie, and me up at Mom's place, and as soon as we got in the car it would be "20 questions". First thing he wanted to know was, who was it that parked the green car in the driveway last Sunday night when he dropped us off. I told Dad it was Mom's new friend, Ben....Well then he wanted to know what Ben looked like, and how old was Ben, and what does Ben do for a living. And then when I got through answering all these questions, Dad wanted to know if Ben played with us or took us with him on outings? He also wanted to know what Mommy and Ben did together. Did Ben ever stay over at Mom's house? As if this wasn't enough, Dad wanted to know if Mommy had any other male friends, and if so, what were their names and what did they and Mommy do?

I don't know if you've ever been through anything like this, but I'm beginning to feel like Daddy wants me to be playing "I Spy" on Mommy. (Pause)...Oh! But that isn't the end of the story -- oh no, far from it. Can you guess what else has been happening? (Pause)...You got it....The last few weekends when Dad has taken us back to Mom's house, it's 20 questions all over again. But this time it's Mom who is asking. For instance, last weekend when we got home, Mom

wanted to know who was the woman who answered the phone when she called Dad's to check if we remembered our bathing suits. And then of course, Mom wanted to know her name, and what did she look like, and how old was she, and what does she do. Oh, and then, of course, she wanted to know, did Dad's new friend named Sarah spent the night. And then what kinds of things did she do with Dad? And with us? Mom asked if Dad was seeing any other women and what were their names, and what did they and Daddy do together ,and on and on. Boy, the whole thing makes me sick. I really feel like I'm caught in the middle between my parents. I don't know about you, but even though my parents can make me angry sometimes, and even though they're divorced, it doesn't mean that I don't still love them both very much. That's why I don't want to feel like I'm playing "I Spy" and having to answer all their questions. Has any of this ever happened to you? (Pause)...

Oh, and another thing -- the other part of the problem is having to be a messenger. First, it started with Mom being mad at Dad. She said that she thinks the divorce was all Dad's fault and she wanted me to tell Dad that. And then the next weekend when my sister and I were getting ready to go to Dad's, Mom started up again. She said, "tell your Father I'm surprised he has so much time to spend with Susie and you on the weekends. And that when we were still a family, his drinking buddies were far more important than his family ever was. And on and on it goes....before we'd leave every weekend she practically be shrieking that "your Father's always been a lazy good-for-nothing," and it would make me feel frightened. Anything like this ever happen to you? (Pause)....Well let me finish the rest of the story and then I'll tell you how I've dealt with it.

Can you guess what's been happening every weekend when Dad's been getting us ready to go back to Mom's? (Pause)...Yup, you guessed it! Dad gets worked up thinking about Mom and he tells us to tell her "The reason why he wasn't around on weekends was because she was such a nag". And for us to also tell her that she's always pestering him and doesn't seem to have a kind word to say.

Well, as you can imagine, I got so sick of being a messenger -- and besides, whenever I'd tell either of them anything, they'd just get mad at me. So, finally I sat down and had a talk with Mom, and then on the weekend I had a talk with Dad. And here's what I told them. I just said that I loved them both and that for the last few months I feel like I've been walking a tight-rope....and that I don't want to have to be a spy or a messenger anymore. You know what happened? Both of them apologized and told me that they love me and that they would try not to make my sister or I feel like we're caught in the middle between them anymore. It's been a while now, and they're both trying really hard to make it work....and the great news is, that so far it's working, and I'm feeling much more comfortable around both of my parents.

TAPE #5 - (female voice)

Relaxation Tape

Hi, it's me again. We've been talking about all the things that can happen when parents divorce, and I've shared with you some of the ways it's made me feel, like: guilty, sad, confused, angry, and sometimes pretty stressed out. We've also talked about some of the things I've learned and new ways to cope with my problems.

Well, my friend Pam, whose parents are divorced, used to get stressed out a lot too. And then her Mom took her to see a counsellor and the counsellor taught her how to use "deep muscle relaxation." Pam taught it to me and you know what? It really works!

So I thought I'd share it with you in case you find you could use it when you're feeling stressed out. I should explain what Pam told me. She said, first you have to figure out what it feels like when your body gets really tight and tense. She says when she gets tense, the muscles around her forehead and neck seem to tighten up, and she gets a headache. When I get tense, I feel like I have butterflies in my stomach, my palms get all sweaty, and my lower back aches. Well, Pam says with deep muscle relaxation, what you do is become aware of what your muscles feel like when they're tense, and then what they feel like when you're relaxed. And if you practice this, eventually you'll train yourself so that whenever you feel your muscles tensing you can replace it with a relaxed feeling. You see, your muscles can't be tensed and relaxed at the same time. Oh!

Before we get started, she said there was something else that's important to remember while you're learning how to do deep muscle relaxation, and that's your breathing. To relax, try taking longer, deeper breaths. You can do that by filling your lungs with air and then hold it there briefly -- maybe count to five in your head--and then just let it slowly out.

Alright, if you're ready to try deep muscle relaxation, then here goes. To start, find a really comfortable spot to sit or to lie down. Some people close their eyes when they do this....It's up to you. Try in your mind getting rid of all stressful thoughts. An easy way to do this is to just picture pleasant thoughts, like being **at the beach, or in the woods, or any favourite relaxing place.** Okay, now we're going to start with your toes and we're going to tighten and loosen our way right through all the muscle groups right up to your head and neck muscles. And with each muscle group I'll name them, and then I'll get you to tense them for a count of ten....and then I'll ask you to relax them.

Okay let's start with your toes -- first just wriggle your toes to get used to moving them. Okay, now I want you to imagine that you're trying to pick up a big marble with your toes. Now let's start with your left foot and when I say go I want you to curl in your toes and then hold that position for a count of ten. Okay -- ready, set, go....(*count slowly*) 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10.

Great, now just relax your toes, enjoy the resting feeling in just letting all the tension go. Now let's do the toes on the right foot. Get ready, set, tense, and....1,

2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10. Good! Now relax these toes -- just let all the tension go. Just enjoy the pleasant, restful feeling or sensations.

Okay, next let's work on relaxing your feet. Here, I want you to imagine that you're stepping on a tennis ball, so you'll need to curl up your feet. Let's start with the left foot, and ready, set, tense, and....1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10. Let go, and now just relax that foot -- you might want to try shaking out any remaining tension. Now we'll do the right foot. Ready, set, tense, and....1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10. Good, now relax that foot and just enjoy the resting sensations.

Now we're going to begin working on your legs. We'll start with your lower legs -- your calves, and then we'll work on your upper legs, or thighs. To help you first tense, then relax your calves (if you're not sitting you may find it easier to do so) I want you to begin by lifting your left leg and pointing your toes. Ready, set, and hold, and 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10. Good, now put your leg down and enjoy the warming sensation of allowing your leg to be completely relaxed. Just sit back and enjoy the pleasant feeling. Now we'll do the other leg. Lift the leg up, point your toes to the sky and hold, and....1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10. Good, now put this leg back down and rest. Just sit for a moment and enjoy the relaxing feeling in your toes, ankles, feet and calves.

As you're enjoying this very restful state, remember your breathing. You want to take deep breaths, hold it in and then slowly let it out. That's good. Now again, another deep breath, hold it, now slowly let it out. Now we'll work on your upper legs. Your thigh muscles.

We'll do one exercise to tense and relax both of your thigh muscles. So, begin by picturing that you have a large soccer ball between your knees and that you're going to squeeze this ball as hard as possible. When I say go, I want you to SQUEEZE. Ready, set, go....and 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10.

Good work, now let your thighs relax. Good, just relax and enjoy. Now let's work on your stomach muscles,...For this part you can either suck your stomach muscles in as far as you can, or you can push them out as far as they will go....Whichever you want. Now get ready, set, go, and....1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10. Great, now let it go and just relax. Notice how relaxed and comfortable your body feels.

Okay, now we're going to work your hands, upper arms, and chest. Let's start with your hands....Beginning with your left hand, stretch your left arm straight out and make a fist. When I say go, squeeze tightly with your left fist....okay, ready, set, SQUEEZE....1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10. Good -- now shake out your fingers, hand, and left arm, and then just let it drop comfortably at your side. Now stretch out your right hand and make a fist and get ready, set and SQUEEZE....1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10... and relax! Good job, you're doing a terrific job of tensing your muscles and then relaxing them.

Now, for the next part I want you to picture that you've got a baseball and that it's in the crook you make when you bend your elbow....you know, that part of your arm between your lower arm and your upper arm. Okay, let's start with

your left arm, picture that baseball...get ready, set and SQUEEZE....1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10. Great, now relax your whole left arm....from your finger tips to your shoulder, just allow your whole arm to be completely at rest. Now let's do your right arm....Again, picture that baseball....get ready, set and SQUEEZE....and 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10. That's it. Now allow that arm to be completely relaxed. Let's take some more deep breaths....ready? Breathe in, hold it, and slowly let it go.... and again, breath in, hold it, and slowly let it out.

Good, now the next exercise will work on your upper chest. This time I want you to picture that you have a basketball and that you're holding it on your chest and squeezing it between your hands. Alright then, when you're ready, set, and SQUEEZE and....1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10. Terrific, now let your arms fall to your sides and relax. Just sit back and allow your upper chest to feel completely relaxed.

Next, we're going to work on relaxing your neck and your head. To start with, we'll get you to try touching your left ear to your left shoulder by pulling your shoulder up to your ear -- and get ready, set, go....1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10. Great job, now relax that part of your shoulder and neck -- and now get ready and we'll do the other side. Okay, get ready to touch your right ear to your right shoulder, and.... ready, set, and go....1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10. Good job....Now allow your right shoulder and neck muscles to completely relax.

All right then, the next step needs you to picture that you've got a tennis ball under your chin and that you're squeezing as tightly as possible. Okay, when I

say go, SQUEEZE....Ready, set, GO....1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10. That's it, good!
Now shake your head and let your neck muscles completely relax. All right,
mouth and eyes to go and we're done.

Let's begin with your mouth. When I say go, I want you to clench your teeth
tightly together....ready, set, go....1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10. Good, now open and
close your mouth a few times and allow all of your mouth and lower face
muscles to relax. Next your eyes -- when I say go, I want you to close both of
your eyes and keep them squeezed shut for a count of 10. Okay, ready, set,
go...1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10. Good, now open your eyes, blink them a few times
and then just let your eye lids close and your eyes completely relax. And as you
sit there, allow the warm relaxing feeling to wash over your whole body from
your toes, feet, ankles up your legs and thighs, across your stomach, up over
your chest, across your fingers, hands, arms, up to your neck and finally to your
head. Now let's concentrate on your breathing again, and as you do so, I want
you to picture yourself floating on water. Breathe in, hold it, breath out slowly.
Again, breath in, hold it, and then slowly let it out.

Now, whenever you're ready you may open your eyes and get up and move
around....Feeling completely refreshed and relaxed. Now,(pause 45 seconds).
How does that feel?...Good....Well, my friend, Pam, says that it's really helped
her to relax. Of course, to get to really used to it, you've got to practice so that
you train your body to know when it's tense and then replace it with a relaxed
feeling....Oh -- and the more often you do it, the easier it is to relax and the less
time it takes. Bye for now, I'll talk to you soon, and don't forget to practice!

TAPE #6 - (female voice)

I Don't Always Want to be Your "Friend"

or the "New Man Around the House"

Hi, it's me again, how have you been? Have you had an okay week? (Pause)....

Well, you know, I thought I had it made at Mom's house. Sure, I've had to look after Susie more, and do more chores around the house, but I kinda liked it. And more and more, whenever Mom was trying to make a decision about something she'd ask me....and you know what?...She'd listen to what I'd say. I'll tell you, sometimes it's just like being an adult, and it's kind of neat. But on the other hand I don't want to have to be like an adult all the time. Sometimes Mom treats me too much like a grown-up friend, and shares with me all the problems she used to have with Dad and why their marriage broke up. A lot of this stuff I figure is between Mom and Dad, and I don't think I should be hearing it, and I don't want to hear it.

And another thing, Mom let's me stay up and be at her parties. Well, you may be thinking, pretty cool, right? But let me tell you, I don't like it anymore. Oh yeah sure, at first it was neat to be treated like a grown-up, after all I have a lot of grown-up responsibilities -- but I'm still a kid, and a lot of times I just want to play like a kid and not have to have any responsibilities, or make any decisions, or be Mom's friend at grown-up parties.

Oh, and another thing that bugs me is that Mom never acts the same. For instance, one day she'll want me to come home from school: fix dinner for myself and Susie, tidy the house, get myself and Susie ready for bed, and then she comes home all upset about her new boyfriend and she's crying on my shoulder and asking for advice.

And then a couple of days later she's having her boyfriend over, and so now she's fixing dinner and looking after Susie, and why don't I go play....And didn't I know when adults are around I should be seen and not heard. I'll tell you, talk about feeling like a yo-yo. Boy, it really makes me mad.

Heh! Speaking about being really mad, what do you do when you get angry?

(Pause)....

Well, let me tell you what I used to do, and then what I do now, and then I'll tell you what I did about feeling like a yo-yo.

Well, before, whenever I got mad at home, I'd go and pick a fight with Susie or I'd go kick the cat, or sometimes I'd yell something mean at my Mom and then I'd storm off to my room and slam the door, and then I'd sit on my bed and sulk. When I think about it, that way of behaving really didn't do a whole lot of good -- it just ended up making me feel worse - not to mention getting my Mom good and mad.

I was talking about this problem with my friend Pam -- remember I told you about her? Yeah, that's right, her parents are divorced as well. Pam told me that she used to scream at her Mom and hit her younger sisters when she got mad. She said it didn't do her much good either. Then her Mom took her to see a counsellor, and the counsellor told her about the difference between constructive and destructive anger. First, the counsellor told Pam that whatever she was feeling, whether she was happy, sad, angry, disgusted, or frightened...whatever she was feeling, it was really important to get those feelings out. The counsellor told Pam that she saw lots of boys and girls who had kept their feelings all "bottled up" inside for a long time, and she said that they were just like volcanoes, about to explode, completely out of control, and sometimes you couldn't tell because the kids would be so quiet and never say anything.

Then the counsellor helped Pam to identify destructive anger. The counsellor told her that destructive anger was when she said or did something that could hurt someone else or herself, or hurt some property like walls, or windows....then she told Pam that constructive anger was when she could express her anger, getting it all out, and letting it go, without hurting herself, without hurting anyone else, or anything else. The counsellor asked Pam if the way she dealt with his anger was constructive or destructive. Pam told her that it seemed destructive. Well, then the counsellor told Pam about some constructive or "good" ways of dealing with her anger. First, she said that screaming was okay, but that yelling at someone else was usually destructive, it usually hurt their feelings. So a constructive way of getting her anger out by screaming could be to just say to the other person that she's angry right now and that she doesn't want

to talk. And then she could go outside, or in the basement or in her own room to scream. Then the counsellor asked if hitting her sister, or kicking the cat or dog were constructive or destructive ways of expressing anger. Pam guessed it was destructive because someone else was getting hurt. So then the counsellor asked Pam what she could hit that might be a constructive way of getting her anger out, and Pam suggested she could go and hit her pillow or her bed. The counsellor agreed, that that could be more constructive.

Then Pam and the counsellor talked about other constructive ways of expressing anger. The counsellor shared with Pam that usually some physical activity helped to get rid of the anger. Some boys and girls talked about going out for a walk, or running, or playing some physical sport. One girl said that when she got angry she went to her room, put on her headphones, and listened to her favorite song. Other boys and girls talked about writing down on paper whatever it was they were angry about. They'd include what happened, who was there and just how they felt. One boy put all of that on his computer, and then when he had got it all out, he would just dump it.

I don't know if when you get angry it's constructive or destructive, but I've been trying more constructive ways of getting rid of my anger, and you know what? Yeah, you got it, it's working.

Oh, I almost forgot -- I was going to tell you how things worked out between Mom and me. Well, finally I just told Mom how I was feeling, that it was nice sometimes to be her friend and be treated like an adult, but a lot of times it

bothered me and that I just wanted to be a kid and for my Mom to just be a Mom. After I'd spoken, Mom sat down at the kitchen table and was quiet for a little while, then she came over to me and gave me a big hug and said that, since Daddy moved out she missed having another adult around, and at times she's probably replaced that missing adult with me. Then she said it was really important for me to just be allowed to be a kid and to grow up at my own pace. So she'd try harder from now on to just let that happen. Well, Mom's been trying harder and I sure feel better being a kid now.

TAPE #7 - (female voice)

**Mom and Dad are Getting Real Serious About Other People,
and I Just Don't Like It**

Hi again, it's me -- how're you doing? You're probably wondering what's the latest news, right? Well, it's about Mom and Dad dating. At first, neither of them saw anyone else, and I was always hoping they'd get back together again. Then after a while, both Mom and Dad started dating other people. At first it didn't bother me, 'cause they both kept seeing lots of people and they didn't seem too serious about any of them. Besides, some of their new friends would do stuff with us, and Susie and I got to go out with Mom and some of her boyfriends, and Dad and some of his girlfriends.

But all that was a while ago. The first problem started with Mom and her boyfriend Tom. After Mom met Tom, she wouldn't go out with anyone else, and she started acting all funny whenever Tom was around -- Which kept getting to be more and more often. Then one day Mom sat Susie and I down at the kitchen table for a "family conference". I already knew what she was going to say. And I was right, she told us that Tom and her were in love with each other and that she wanted Tom to move in with us. Well, I was really steamed, but I didn't want to hurt Mom's feelings. Besides, I didn't think there was much I could do about it. Oh, did I mention that Tom has two little girls from his previous marriage and they're moving in too? Oh, yecchh!

Well, as if that isn't bad enough, guess what else has been happening? Yup, you guessed it, my Dad started getting serious about a woman named Barb a little while ago, and then guess what? Right! Another big surprise! Dad and Barb are in love and are planning on living together, and Barb has a little boy and girl from her previous marriage. So they'll be moving in as well.

I'm sure you can imagine just how upset I've been. Finally, I had a talk, first with Mom and then with Dad, and they both said the same things. They told me that they knew that Susie and I wanted to see them get back together again, but that that was just not going to happen. They both said that they no longer loved one another, but that each of them had found new people that they had fallen in love with. They both explained how much they loved Susie and I, and that that wouldn't change. They said adults also need another special adult to love and to be with. They both told me that neither Tom nor Barb were meant as replacements for Mom or Dad, but that hopefully they could each become our friends.

After I had a chat with Mom and Dad I felt a bit better about things. Boy, you know, talking things over with your parents sure seems to help. It's nice to be told again how much your parents love you.

TAPE #8 - (female voice)

Step Families and Closure Tape

Hi again, how are you? Remember the last time we talked, I was telling you my Mom's boyfriend and his two kids were moving in? As if that wasn't bad enough, my dad's girlfriend and her two kids moved in with Dad. See if you can guess what the latest news is? (Pause)...If you guessed that Mom is getting married to Tom, and that Dad is going to marry Barb, you're right.

So, all together now, I'm going to have two new stepparents and four new stepbrothers and sisters. Can you imagine that! I don't think I like this, and I certainly don't feel ready for it. The other thing that really bugs me is that I was just **told** -- I wasn't asked about it.

It's been kind of rough already and some things have been really hard. When Tom moved in with Mom, Susie got moved out of her room, and now I have to share my room with her. This was done so that Tom's girls, Vicky and Karen, could have a room of their own. It was the same thing at Dad's place. Barb's two kids needed a room, so Susie got moved into my room at Dad's place. It doesn't matter whether I'm at Mom's or Dad's place -- these new kids are hogging the bathroom, or else playing with my stuff, and that really bugs me.

The other thing that really bugs me is Tom or Barb giving orders or telling Susie and me what to do. Before, I would just say, "You're not my parent and I don't

have to listen to what you're telling me to do." But now that Tom is going to be my stepdad and Barb my stepmom, everything is going to change again.

There's all kinds of other things to think about too: like Xmas, and birthdays and special days. Where are Susie and I supposed to spend those days, and who with, and what do we have to share? There's still another couple of problems that are worrying me. For instance, Mom and Tom have been talking about buying a bigger place to live--but if they do that, then I'll have to go to another school again and try to make brand new friends all over. If that isn't enough, all of Barb's relatives live in the United States and she's got Dad talked into moving down there. So, for Susie and I, we won't get to see Dad as often, and when we do it'll be in a strange place and we won't know anybody. Anybody except Billy and Margaret, Barb's two kids, who'll have a chance to get used to the place -- and that makes me jealous.

There's another thing that really bugs me. My friend Annie's parents got divorced, and then both her Mom and Dad got remarried to other people, and within a year both her Mom and her Dad and their new husband and wife were having their own babies! Annie said, between the new marriages, moving, having new stepbrothers and sisters and now new babies, her parents never had any time for her. And it made her mad, too -- too many changes, too much to do, too much sharing. I can just imagine, it's already been starting to happen to me, and I don't like it.

I figured the only thing to do is to sit down with my Mom and Tom and then with Dad and Barb and to talk it over. So that's exactly what I did. First I spoke with Mom and Tom, and they listened really closely and they agreed with me -- that there's been a lot of changes, and that there will probably be some more. But Mom told me that she loved Susie and I as much as ever and that nothing and no one would change that. Then Tom said he was not going to try and replace my Dad, but that he would like for all of us to try and get along. He also said that once a week we'd all sit down and have a meeting so that people could talk about whatever had happened that week and what bugged them.

Hearing all that made me feel better, so the next weekend I was at Dad's, and I had pretty much the same talk with Dad and Barb. Both of them said the same things as Mom and Tom. Dad made a point of saying that Susie and I were still very much a part of his family and a very important part. He also said that he valued whatever Susie and I had to say and that he wanted to hear from us and would include us in all family decisions. I felt a lot better after having a chance to get out all my feelings with Mom and Tom and Dad and Barb.

We've been talking a lot over the last few weeks. I'm glad you're my friend and that I could talk to you about really personal stuff. It's really hard when your parents decide to split up and it sure doesn't seem to end there. It doesn't seem to end even after they've gotten a divorce. Before I go, I'll tell you a few things, but maybe you already know what I'm going to say. I've learned it's really important to identify my feelings, and then talk about them, to get them out. I've learned when I'm tense there is a new way to relax myself, and if I'm angry, I've

learned some helpful ways of letting it go. I've also learned that I'm not to blame for this divorce--all that stuff is only the beginning of what I've learned about divorce and people. I've also learned that it helps to talk things over with other people rather than keeping things that are bugging you all bottled up inside.

Also I'm happy to have been able to talk with you, I feel like I made a new friend. Hopefully you have learned a few new things that might help you with your split parents. Good luck!

APPENDIX B

**CHILDREN OF DIVORCE FEELINGS EXPRESSION INVENTORY
- CHILDREN'S FORM -**

INSTRUCTIONS

There are 20 statements in this questionnaire. There are no right or wrong answers. Take your time to read each one carefully and try to answer all the questions. The twenty statements are about some of the feelings that boys and girls experience before, during, and after their parents' divorce.

Read each statement. Then, in the space provided, write the **FEELING** you have about the event(s) described. Use the "feelings Chart" to help you choose feeling words. If the event described does not apply in your situation, write N/A in the space instead of a feeling word -- then skip the rest of that question and go on to the next one.

Part (a) of each question asks whether or not you've been able to talk about these feelings. You can answer this part by placing a checkmark () beside: usually ____, sometimes ____, or never ____.

Part (b) asks who you've been able to share these feelings with. For this part, you can check as many answers as apply. The possibilities are: mother ____, father ____, brother/sister ____, relative ____, teacher ____, counselor ____, or nobody ____.
For example, if you've been able to talk with your parents and your sister and your uncle, then place a checkmark beside mother, father, brother/sister, and relative.

1. When my parents argue (or used to argue), I (would) feel _____.

(a) I can talk to someone about these feelings

- usually
- sometimes
- never

(b) I can talk about these feelings with:

- | | |
|--|---------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> my mother | <input type="checkbox"/> a teacher |
| <input type="checkbox"/> my father | <input type="checkbox"/> a friend(s) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> my brother/sister | <input type="checkbox"/> a counselor |
| <input type="checkbox"/> a relative | <input type="checkbox"/> someone else |
| | <input type="checkbox"/> nobody |

2. When my parents fight and there is yelling and screaming, I feel _____.

(a) I can talk to someone about these feelings

- usually
- sometimes
- never

(b) I can talk about these feelings with:

- | | |
|--|---------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> my mother | <input type="checkbox"/> a teacher |
| <input type="checkbox"/> my father | <input type="checkbox"/> a friend(s) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> my brother/sister | <input type="checkbox"/> a counselor |
| <input type="checkbox"/> my relatives | <input type="checkbox"/> someone else |
| | <input type="checkbox"/> nobody |

3. When I think about my Mom/Dad moving out of our house it makes me feel _____.

(a) I can talk to someone about these feelings

- usually
- sometimes
- never

(b) I can talk about these feelings with:

- | | |
|--|---------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> my mother | <input type="checkbox"/> a teacher |
| <input type="checkbox"/> my father | <input type="checkbox"/> a friend(s) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> my brother/sister | <input type="checkbox"/> a counselor |
| <input type="checkbox"/> my relatives | <input type="checkbox"/> someone else |
| | <input type="checkbox"/> nobody |

4. When I heard my parents telling one another that they didn't love each other anymore, I felt like they didn't love me anymore either. And whenever I think about this I feel _____.

(a) I can talk to someone about these feelings

- usually
- sometimes
- never

(b) I can talk about these feelings with:

- | | |
|--|---------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> my mother | <input type="checkbox"/> a teacher |
| <input type="checkbox"/> my father | <input type="checkbox"/> a friend(s) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> my brother/sister | <input type="checkbox"/> a counselor |
| <input type="checkbox"/> my relatives | <input type="checkbox"/> someone else |
| | <input type="checkbox"/> nobody |

5. When my parents first told me that they were separating/getting a divorce, it upset me, and whenever I think about it I feel _____.

(a) I can talk to someone about these feelings

- usually
- sometimes
- never

(b) I can talk about these feelings with:

- | | |
|--|---------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> my mother | <input type="checkbox"/> a teacher |
| <input type="checkbox"/> my father | <input type="checkbox"/> a friend(s) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> my brother/sister | <input type="checkbox"/> a counselor |
| <input type="checkbox"/> my relatives | <input type="checkbox"/> someone else |
| | <input type="checkbox"/> nobody |

6. There have been times both before and since my parents split up when I feel partly to blame for their divorce. Whenever I think about this I feel _____.

(a) I can talk to someone about these feelings

- usually
- sometimes
- never

(b) I can talk about these feelings with:

- | | |
|--|---------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> my mother | <input type="checkbox"/> a teacher |
| <input type="checkbox"/> my father | <input type="checkbox"/> a friend(s) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> my brother/sister | <input type="checkbox"/> a counselor |
| <input type="checkbox"/> my relatives | <input type="checkbox"/> someone else |
| | <input type="checkbox"/> nobody |

7. Since my parents split up, sometimes my relatives and friends of the family have acted differently toward me. Whenever I think about this I feel _____.

(a) I can talk to someone about these feelings

- usually
- sometimes
- never

(b) I can talk about these feelings with:

- | | |
|--|---------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> my mother | <input type="checkbox"/> a teacher |
| <input type="checkbox"/> my father | <input type="checkbox"/> a friend(s) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> my brother/sister | <input type="checkbox"/> a counselor |
| <input type="checkbox"/> my relatives | <input type="checkbox"/> someone else |
| | <input type="checkbox"/> nobody |

8. Sometimes, when kids at school find out that my parents split up, they won't play with me anymore. And some of them tease me and ask stupid questions about it. Whenever I think about this I feel _____.

(a) I can talk to someone about these feelings

- usually
- sometimes
- never

(b) I can talk about these feelings with:

- | | |
|--|---------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> my mother | <input type="checkbox"/> a teacher |
| <input type="checkbox"/> my father | <input type="checkbox"/> a friend(s) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> my brother/sister | <input type="checkbox"/> a counselor |
| <input type="checkbox"/> my relatives | <input type="checkbox"/> someone else |
| | <input type="checkbox"/> nobody |

9. There have been a lot of changes happening around our house. Whenever I think about all the new demands placed on me I feel _____.

(a) I can talk to someone about these feelings

- usually
- sometimes
- never

(b) I can talk about these feelings with:

- | | |
|--|---------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> my mother | <input type="checkbox"/> a teacher |
| <input type="checkbox"/> my father | <input type="checkbox"/> a friend(s) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> my brother/sister | <input type="checkbox"/> a counselor |
| <input type="checkbox"/> my relatives | <input type="checkbox"/> someone else |
| | <input type="checkbox"/> nobody |

10. I don't like to have to check up on one parent for the other one, or to pass nasty comments between them. Whenever I do this or think about it I feel _____.

(a) I can talk to someone about these feelings

- usually
- sometimes
- never

(b) I can talk about these feelings with:

- | | |
|--|---------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> my mother | <input type="checkbox"/> a teacher |
| <input type="checkbox"/> my father | <input type="checkbox"/> a friend(s) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> my brother/sister | <input type="checkbox"/> a counselor |
| <input type="checkbox"/> my relatives | <input type="checkbox"/> someone else |
| | <input type="checkbox"/> nobody |

11. At times, not having to listen to my parents arguing and fighting is great. Because of this, when I think about my parents splitting up, I sometimes feel _____.

(a) I can talk to someone about these feelings

- usually
- sometimes
- never

(b) I can talk about these feelings with:

- | | |
|--|---------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> my mother | <input type="checkbox"/> a teacher |
| <input type="checkbox"/> my father | <input type="checkbox"/> a friend(s) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> my brother/sister | <input type="checkbox"/> a counselor |
| <input type="checkbox"/> my relatives | <input type="checkbox"/> someone else |
| | <input type="checkbox"/> nobody |

12. After my parents split up I began to regularly visit my Dad/Mom. At first I really enjoyed receiving new gifts and being taken to exciting places all the time. But lately, whenever I think about it I feel like Dad/Mom is trying to buy back my love. When I think about this I feel _____.

(a) I can talk to someone about these feelings

- usually
- sometimes
- never

(b) I can talk about these feelings with:

- | | |
|--|---------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> my mother | <input type="checkbox"/> a teacher |
| <input type="checkbox"/> my father | <input type="checkbox"/> a friend(s) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> my brother/sister | <input type="checkbox"/> a counselor |
| <input type="checkbox"/> my relatives | <input type="checkbox"/> someone else |
| | <input type="checkbox"/> nobody |

13. Sometimes I like to have more responsibilities and be asked my opinion about family matters, because it makes me feel more grown up. Whenever I think about this I feel _____.

(a) I can talk to someone about these feelings

- usually
- sometimes
- never

(b) I can talk about these feelings with:

- | | |
|--|---------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> my mother | <input type="checkbox"/> a teacher |
| <input type="checkbox"/> my father | <input type="checkbox"/> a friend(s) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> my brother/sister | <input type="checkbox"/> a counselor |
| <input type="checkbox"/> my relatives | <input type="checkbox"/> someone else |
| | <input type="checkbox"/> nobody |

14. There are times when I have to take care of my brother/sister(s) or my mother/father. Whenever I think about this I feel _____.

(a) I can talk to someone about these feelings

- usually
- sometimes
- never

(b) I can talk about these feelings with:

- | | |
|--|---------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> my mother | <input type="checkbox"/> a teacher |
| <input type="checkbox"/> my father | <input type="checkbox"/> a friend(s) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> my brother/sister | <input type="checkbox"/> a counselor |
| <input type="checkbox"/> my relatives | <input type="checkbox"/> someone else |
| | <input type="checkbox"/> nobody |

15. Sometimes Mom or Dad shares really personal things with me, or treats me like I'm a grown-up friend. Whenever I think about this I feel _____.

(a) I can talk to someone about these feelings

- usually
- sometimes
- never

(b) I can talk about these feelings with:

- | | |
|--|---------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> my mother | <input type="checkbox"/> a teacher |
| <input type="checkbox"/> my father | <input type="checkbox"/> a friend(s) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> my brother/sister | <input type="checkbox"/> a counselor |
| <input type="checkbox"/> my relatives | <input type="checkbox"/> someone else |
| | <input type="checkbox"/> nobody |

16. My Mom/Dad has started to date other people. Sometimes they behave really silly. Whenever I think about this I feel _____.

(a) I can talk to someone about these feelings

- usually
- sometimes
- never

(b) I can talk about these feelings with:

- | | |
|--|---------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> my mother | <input type="checkbox"/> a teacher |
| <input type="checkbox"/> my father | <input type="checkbox"/> a friend(s) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> my brother/sister | <input type="checkbox"/> a counselor |
| <input type="checkbox"/> my relatives | <input type="checkbox"/> someone else |
| | <input type="checkbox"/> nobody |

17. Sometimes my Mom/Dad expects me to act like a grown-up and take on adult responsibilities. Other times, when his/her boyfriend/girlfriend is around, they want me to act like a child. Whenever I think about this I feel _____.

(a) I can talk to someone about these feelings

- usually
- sometimes
- never

(b) I can about these feelings with:

- | | |
|--|---------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> my mother | <input type="checkbox"/> a teacher |
| <input type="checkbox"/> my father | <input type="checkbox"/> a friend(s) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> my brother/sister | <input type="checkbox"/> a counselor |
| <input type="checkbox"/> my relatives | <input type="checkbox"/> someone else |
| | <input type="checkbox"/> nobody |

18. My Mom/Dad has begun dating only one special person. My Mom/Dad has told me that that he/she loves this person, and wants the person to move in with us. When I think about this I find myself feeling _____.

(a) I can talk to someone about these feelings

- usually
- sometimes
- never

(b) I can talk about these feelings with:

- | | |
|--|---------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> my mother | <input type="checkbox"/> a teacher |
| <input type="checkbox"/> my father | <input type="checkbox"/> a friend(s) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> my brother/sister | <input type="checkbox"/> a counselor |
| <input type="checkbox"/> my relatives | <input type="checkbox"/> someone else |
| | <input type="checkbox"/> nobody |

19. My Mom/Dad have told me that they're planning to marry the person they've been seeing. And that we'll be moving into a new house, or they'll be moving in with us. I might even end up with some new step-brother/sister(s). When I think about this I feel _____.

(a) I can talk to someone about these feelings

- usually
- sometimes
- never

(b) I can talk about these feelings with:

- | | |
|--|---------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> my mother | <input type="checkbox"/> a teacher |
| <input type="checkbox"/> my father | <input type="checkbox"/> a friend(s) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> my brother/sister | <input type="checkbox"/> a counselor |
| <input type="checkbox"/> my relatives | <input type="checkbox"/> someone else |
| | <input type="checkbox"/> nobody |

20. My Mom/Dad have remarried. I've had to adjust to a lot of changes: a new home, a step-parent, and step-brothers and sisters. Now I've found out that there's going to be a new baby in the family too. I don't feel like sharing my parents with anybody else, and when I think about this I feel _____.

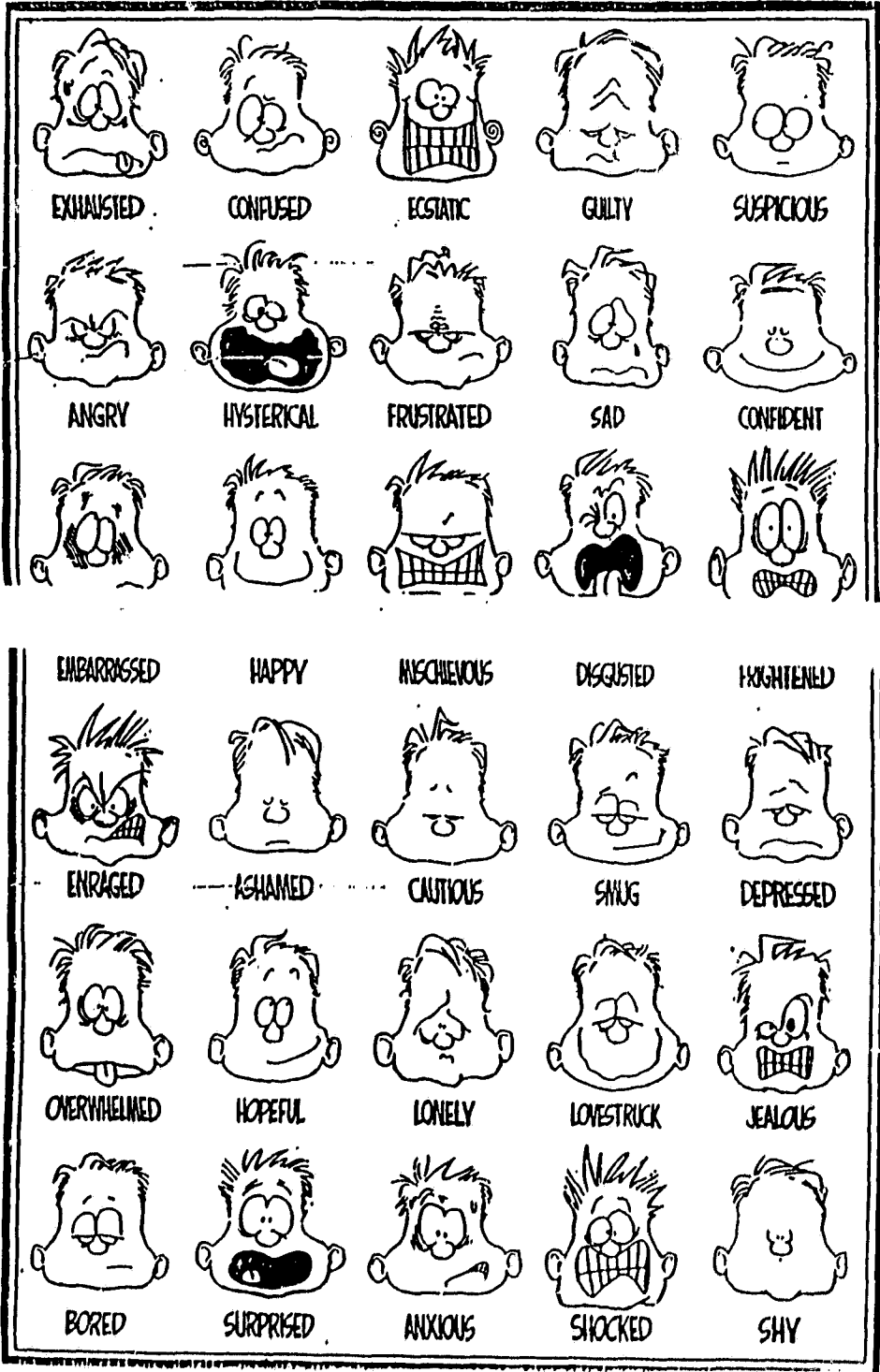
(a) I can talk to someone about these feelings

- usually
- sometimes
- never

(b) I can talk about these feelings with:

- | | |
|--|---------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> my mother | <input type="checkbox"/> a teacher |
| <input type="checkbox"/> my father | <input type="checkbox"/> a friend(s) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> my brother/sister | <input type="checkbox"/> a counselor |
| <input type="checkbox"/> my relatives | <input type="checkbox"/> someone else |
| | <input type="checkbox"/> nobody |

FEELINGS CHART



APPENDIX C

**CHILDREN OF DIVORCE FEELINGS EXPRESSION INVENTORY
- PARENT'S FORM -**

INSTRUCTIONS:

Please read the following statements carefully. This questionnaire deals with some of the emotional issues children wrestle with prior to, during, and after their parents' separation and divorce. There are no right or wrong answers.

For **Part (a)** of each question please indicate with a check mark () whether you discussed the issue described with your child/children: ___ often, ___ sometimes, or ___ never. Then, in **Part (b)**, indicate whether your discussions with your child/children were typically when you were alone together, with the other parent present, or with someone else present (such as a relative, friend, or counsellor). If the situation described does not apply in your case, check "not applicable" in Part (a) and leave Part (b) blank.

1. Leading up to (and since) your separation, there may have been times when you and your ex-spouse argued in the presence of your child/children. If so, did you ever discuss with your child/children how they felt about this?

- (a) ___ often
___ sometimes
___ never
___ not applicable

- (b) ___ by yourself
___ with other parent present
___ with someone else present

2. There may have been instances of yelling and screaming when fighting in front of the children. If so, did you ever discuss this with your child/children?

- (a) ___ often
___ sometimes
___ never
___ not applicable

- (b) ___ by yourself
___ with other parent present
___ with someone else present

3. Did you and your child/children ever discuss their feelings for their absent parent?

- (a) ___ often
___ sometimes
___ never
___ not applicable

- (b) ___ by yourself
___ with other parent present
___ with someone else present

4. Sometimes when couples are divorcing they tell one another that they are no longer in love. Upon hearing this, some children may feel they are no longer loved either. Did you ever discuss with your child/children their feelings about this?

- | | |
|---|--|
| (a) <input type="checkbox"/> often | (b) <input type="checkbox"/> by yourself |
| <input type="checkbox"/> sometimes | <input type="checkbox"/> with other parent present |
| <input type="checkbox"/> never | <input type="checkbox"/> with someone else present |
| <input type="checkbox"/> not applicable | |

5. Have you ever discussed with your child/children how they felt upon first learning that you and your ex-spouse were splitting up?

- | | |
|---|--|
| (a) <input type="checkbox"/> often | (b) <input type="checkbox"/> by yourself |
| <input type="checkbox"/> sometimes | <input type="checkbox"/> with other parent present |
| <input type="checkbox"/> never | <input type="checkbox"/> with someone else present |
| <input type="checkbox"/> not applicable | |

6. Many children whose parents divorce tend to feel in some way responsible for the problems or the outcome. Have you ever discussed this issue with your child/children?

- | | |
|---|--|
| (a) <input type="checkbox"/> often | (b) <input type="checkbox"/> by yourself |
| <input type="checkbox"/> sometimes | <input type="checkbox"/> with other parent present |
| <input type="checkbox"/> never | <input type="checkbox"/> with someone else present |
| <input type="checkbox"/> not applicable | |

7. Sometimes when people divorce, relatives and family friends have mixed loyalties or take sides. Children may experience a sense of uneasiness, or feel their relationships are now different. Did you ever discuss this with your child/children?

- | | |
|---|--|
| (a) <input type="checkbox"/> often | (b) <input type="checkbox"/> by yourself |
| <input type="checkbox"/> sometimes | <input type="checkbox"/> with other parent present |
| <input type="checkbox"/> never | <input type="checkbox"/> with someone else present |
| <input type="checkbox"/> not applicable | |

8. Unfortunately, some of the old stereotypical myths about children "from broken homes" still exist. As a result, other children from non-divorced homes may be inquisitive or even tease children whose parents have divorced. Have you discussed with your child/children how they are getting along with their friends, now that you and your ex-spouse are not living together?

- | | |
|---|--|
| (a) <input type="checkbox"/> often | (b) <input type="checkbox"/> by yourself |
| <input type="checkbox"/> sometimes | <input type="checkbox"/> with other parent present |
| <input type="checkbox"/> never | <input type="checkbox"/> with someone else present |
| <input type="checkbox"/> not applicable | |

9. The process of divorce often brings about numerous changes, demands, and challenges for all family members. At times this can be a stressful transition. Did you ever discuss with your child/children how they were experiencing the transition?

- | | |
|---|--|
| (a) <input type="checkbox"/> often | (b) <input type="checkbox"/> by yourself |
| <input type="checkbox"/> sometimes | <input type="checkbox"/> with other parent present |
| <input type="checkbox"/> never | <input type="checkbox"/> with someone else present |
| <input type="checkbox"/> not applicable | |

10. Often, when two people chose to no longer remain married, the actual process of completely letting go of the other person takes time. And often there is still a lot of emotional energy that needs to be discharged. While often not a conscious effort, children may feel they are acting as a spy for both parents, or that they are messengers between parents for communicating their unresolved emotions. Have you ever discussed this possibility with your child/children, or their feelings about it?

- | | |
|---|--|
| (a) <input type="checkbox"/> often | (b) <input type="checkbox"/> by yourself |
| <input type="checkbox"/> sometimes | <input type="checkbox"/> with other parent present |
| <input type="checkbox"/> never | <input type="checkbox"/> with someone else present |
| <input type="checkbox"/> not applicable | |

11. For some children there may be both pros and cons to their parents' separation/divorce. On the upside, children whose parents have been fighting a lot may experience a sense of relief, just to have it over. Have you ever sensed your child/children may have felt this way, and if so has this topic been talked about?

- | | |
|---|--|
| (a) <input type="checkbox"/> often | (b) <input type="checkbox"/> by yourself |
| <input type="checkbox"/> sometimes | <input type="checkbox"/> with other parent present |
| <input type="checkbox"/> never | <input type="checkbox"/> with someone else present |
| <input type="checkbox"/> not applicable | |

12. Sometimes, the non-custodial parent, or the one with greater financial resources, may become like a "Disneyland Mom/Dad." While initially enjoying new presents and special outings, children may feel their parents are competing, leaving one parent with hurt feelings. Children also may feel the "Disneyland" parent is somehow trying to buy their love back. Have you ever talked about this issue with your child/children?

- | | |
|---|--|
| (a) <input type="checkbox"/> often | (b) <input type="checkbox"/> by yourself |
| <input type="checkbox"/> sometimes | <input type="checkbox"/> with other parent present |
| <input type="checkbox"/> never | <input type="checkbox"/> with someone else present |
| <input type="checkbox"/> not applicable | |

13. Often, when parents separate, the children are treated as though they were a little more mature now -- they may be asked their opinion more often and be given added responsibilities within the family. Have you ever discussed with your child/children how this makes them feel?

- | | |
|---|--|
| (a) <input type="checkbox"/> often | (b) <input type="checkbox"/> by yourself |
| <input type="checkbox"/> sometimes | <input type="checkbox"/> with other parent present |
| <input type="checkbox"/> never | <input type="checkbox"/> with someone else present |
| <input type="checkbox"/> not applicable | |

14. Sometimes when parents separate, an older child is asked to take on more responsibility for younger siblings, and this makes him/her feel proud. Have you ever discussed with your older child how he/she feels about this new responsibility?

- | | |
|---|--|
| (a) <input type="checkbox"/> often | (b) <input type="checkbox"/> by yourself |
| <input type="checkbox"/> sometimes | <input type="checkbox"/> with other parent present |
| <input type="checkbox"/> never | <input type="checkbox"/> with someone else present |
| <input type="checkbox"/> not applicable | |

15. There are times when parents are riding an emotional roller-coaster as a result of their divorce. At times they may feel the need to have a confidante or supportive friend, and one of their children may fill this role. This may also involve sharing personal details about your relationship, or past relationship, with your ex-spouse. If this has happened in your situation, have you ever discussed with your child how he/she feels about hearing this information?

- | | |
|---|--|
| (a) <input type="checkbox"/> often | (b) <input type="checkbox"/> by yourself |
| <input type="checkbox"/> sometimes | <input type="checkbox"/> with other parent present |
| <input type="checkbox"/> never | <input type="checkbox"/> with someone else present |
| <input type="checkbox"/> not applicable | |

16. For divorced persons, when and if they chose to begin seeing new people and formally dating, the experience can seem initially intimidating. Some people may find themselves behaving like teenagers again. It can sometimes be difficult or awkward for children to see their parent in this new role or type of behaviour. Have there been times when it appeared as though your child/children may have been feeling this way, and if so did you discuss it with them?

- | | |
|---|--|
| (a) <input type="checkbox"/> often | (b) <input type="checkbox"/> by yourself |
| <input type="checkbox"/> sometimes | <input type="checkbox"/> with other parent present |
| <input type="checkbox"/> never | <input type="checkbox"/> with someone else present |
| <input type="checkbox"/> not applicable | |

17. As parents wrestle with transitional "growing pains" post-divorce, they may need to depend more on their children. This may take the form of added household responsibilities, emotional support, and sharing in some adult decisions on family-related matters. Children may feel empowered in response to these challenges. However, there may be times when the same parents are concerned that their children will "grow up too fast", or become overly sure of their power and no longer listen to them. For some children this "yo-yoing" process can prove confusing and frustrating. Have you ever sensed that your child/children may have felt this way, and if so did you talk about it with them?

- | | |
|---|--|
| (a) <input type="checkbox"/> often | (b) <input type="checkbox"/> by yourself |
| <input type="checkbox"/> sometimes | <input type="checkbox"/> with other parent present |
| <input type="checkbox"/> never | <input type="checkbox"/> with someone else present |
| <input type="checkbox"/> not applicable | |

18. Divorced parents may resume dating and find themselves in a relationship with a special person. This may eventually lead to a mutually loving relationship and perhaps cohabitation. If you have been in this situation, did you discuss with your child/children how they were feeling about the situation?

- (a) ___ often
___ sometimes
___ never
___ not applicable

- (b) ___ by yourself
___ with other parent present
___ with someone else present

19. For divorced persons there is always the possibility of remarriage, which often represents multiple changes for the children. These changes may mean not only adjusting to a new step-parent, but also to new step-siblings and new homes. If you have remarried, have you talked with your child/children how they were feeling about all these changes and adjustments?

- (a) ___ often
___ sometimes
___ never
___ not applicable

- (b) ___ by yourself
___ with other parent present
___ with someone else present

20. After remarrying, some couples choose to have another child resulting from their new union. While this can be an exciting new experience for the older children, they may also experience feelings of jealousy, or fear that they will no longer be important to their biological parent. If this situation has or is about to happen in your new family, have you discussed with your child/children their feelings about it?

- (a) ___ often
___ sometimes
___ never
___ not applicable

- (b) ___ by yourself
___ with other parent present
___ with someone else present

**APPENDIX D:
Norwicki-Strickland Locus of Control Scale (Revised)**

	<u>YES</u>	<u>NO</u>
1. Do you believe that most problems will solve themselves if you just don't fool with them?	1.	
2. Do you believe you can stop yourself from catching a cold?	2.	
3. Are some kids just born lucky?	3.	
4. Most of the time do you feel that getting good grades means a great deal to you?	4.	
5. Are you often blamed for things that just aren't your fault?	5.	
6. Do you believe that if somebody studies hard enough he or she can pass any subject?	6.	
7. Do you feel that most of the time it doesn't pay to try hard because things never turn out right anyway?	7.	
8. Do you feel that if things start out well in the morning that it's going to be a good day no matter what you do?	8.	
9. Do you feel that most of the time parents listen to what their children have to say?	9.	
10. Do you believe that wishing can make good things happen?	10.	
11. When you get punished does it usually seem it's for no good reason at all?	11.	
12. Most of the time do you find it hard to change a friend's (mind) opinion?	12.	
13. Do you think that cheering more than luck helps a team to win?	13.	
14. Do you feel that it's nearly impossible to change your parent's mind about anything?	14.	
15. Do you believe that your parents should allow you to make most of your own decisions?	15.	

		YES	NO
16.	Do you feel that when you do something wrong there's very little you can do to make it right?	16.	
17.	Do you believe that most kids are just born good at sports?	17.	
18.	Are most of the other kids your age stronger than you are?	18.	
19.	Do you feel that one of the best ways to handle most problems is just not to think about them?	19.	
20.	Do you feel that you have a lot of choice in deciding who your friends are?	20.	
21.	If you find a four leaf clover do you believe that it might bring you good luck?	21.	
22.	Do you often feel that whether you do your homework has much to do with what kind of grades you get?	22.	
23.	Do you feel that when a kid your age decides to hit you, there's little you can do to stop him or her?	23.	
24.	Have you ever had a good luck charm?	24.	
25.	Do you believe that whether or not people like you depends on how you act?	25.	
26.	Will your parents usually help you if you ask them to?	26.	
27.	Have you felt that when people were mean to you it was usually for no reason at all?	27.	
28.	Most of the time, do you feel that you can change what might happen tomorrow by what you do today?	28.	
29.	Do you believe that when bad things are going to happen they just are going to happen no matter what you try to do to stop them?	29.	
30.	Do you think that kids can get their own way if they just keep trying?	30.	
31.	Most of the time do you find it useless to try to get your own way at home?	31.	

		YES	NO
32.	Do you feel that when good things happen they happen because of hard work?	32.	
33.	Do you feel that when somebody your age wants to be your enemy there's little you can do to change matters?	33.	
34.	Do you feel that it's easy to get friends to do what you want them to do?	34.	
35.	Do you usually feel that you have little to say about what you get to eat at home?	35.	
36.	Do you feel that when someone doesn't like you there's little you can do about it?	36.	
37.	Did you usually feel that it was almost useless to try in school because most other children were just plain smarter than you were?	37.	
38.	Are you the kind of person who believes that planning ahead makes things turn out better?	38.	
39.	Most of the time, do you feel that you have little to say about what your family decides to do?	39.	
40.	Do you think it's better to be smart than to be lucky?	40.	
41.	Do you feel that if you are used as a reason for your parent's fighting that there's nothing you can say or do to stop them?	41.	
42.	Do you feel that if your mother or father has a new boyfriend or girlfriend who is bossing you around there is little you can do about it?	42.	
43.	Do you believe that if your parents want to share really personal things with you there's nothing you can do about it?	43.	
44.	Do you feel there's nothing you can do about having added responsibilities at home?	44.	
45.	Do you believe that if you don't look after your siblings then something may happen to them?	45.	

Note: Items #41-45 were added for this investigation.

APPENDIX E
Piers-Harris Children's Self Concept Scale

Here are a set of statements. Some of them are true of you and so you will circle the yes. Some are not true of you and so you will circle the no. Answer every question even if some are hard to decide, but do *not* circle both *yes* and *no*. Remember, circle the yes if the statement is generally like you, or circle the no if the statement is generally not like you. There are no right or wrong answers. Only you can tell us how you feel about yourself, so we hope you will mark the way you really feel inside.

1. My classmates make fun of me..... yes no
2. I am a happy person..... yes no
3. It is hard for me to make friends..... yes no
4. I am often sad..... yes no
5. I am smart..... yes no
6. I am shy..... yes no
7. I get nervous when the teacher calls on me..... yes no
8. My looks bother me..... yes no
9. When I grow up, I will be an important person..... yes no
10. I get worried when we have tests in school..... yes no
11. I am unpopular..... yes no
12. I am well behaved in school..... yes no
13. It is usually my fault when something goes wrong..... yes no
14. I cause trouble to my family..... yes no
15. I am strong..... yes no
16. I have good ideas..... yes no
17. I am an important member of my family..... yes no
18. I usually want my own way..... yes no
19. I am good at making things with my hands..... yes no
20. I give up easily..... yes no

21. I am good in my school work yes no
22. I do many bad things yes no
23. I can draw well yes no
24. I am good in music yes no
25. I behave badly at home yes no
26. I am slow in finishing my school work..... yes no
27. I am an important member of my class yes no
28. I am nervous..... yes no
29. I have pretty eyes yes no
30. I can give a good report in front of the class yes no
31. In school I am a dreamer..... yes no
32. I pick on my brother(s) and sister(s) yes no
33. My friends like my ideas..... yes no
34. I often get into trouble..... yes no
35. I am obedient at home..... yes no
36. I am lucky yes no
37. I worry a lot yes no
38. My parents expect too much of me yes no
39. I like being the way I am yes no
40. I feel left out of things yes no

41. I have nice hair.....yes no
42. I often volunteer in school yes no
43. I wish I were different yes no
44. I sleep well at night..... yes no
45. I hate school..... yes no
46. I am among the last to be chosen for games..... yes no
47. I am sick a lot yes no
48. I am often mean to other people..... yes no
49. My classmates in school think I have good ideas yes no
50. I am unhappy yes no
51. I have many friends yes no
52. I am cheerful yes no
53. I am dumb about most things yes no
54. I am good looking yes no
55. I have lots of pep..... yes no
56. I get into a lot of fights yes no
57. I am popular with boys..... yes no
58. People pick on me yes no
59. My family is disappointed in me yes no
60. I have a pleasant face yes no

61. When I try to make something, everything seems to go wrong. yes no
62. I am picked on at home yes no
63. I am a leader in games and sports yes no
64. I am clumsy..... yes no
65. In games and sports, I watch instead of play yes no
66. I forget what I learn..... yes no
67. I am easy to get along with..... yes no
68. I lose my temper easily yes no
69. I am popular with girls yes no
70. I am a good reader yes no
71. I would rather work alone than with a group yes no
72. I like my brother (sister) yes no
73. I have a good figure yes no
74. I am often afraid..... yes no
75. I am always dropping or breaking things yes no
76. I can be trusted yes no
77. I am different from other people..... yes no
78. I think bad thoughts yes no
79. I cry easily..... yes no
80. I am a good person..... yes no

APPENDIX F
Demographic Survey

This questionnaire is part of a study on the effects of divorce on children. All responses will be kept strictly confidential. Please answer all questions. Mark the appropriate answers with an "X", unless a more specific answer is requested.

Birthdate _____ Current age _____

Age at marriage _____ Age at separation _____

Where do you live _____ (please specify place)

Do you live in a: city _____ suburb _____ rural area _____

Where does your former spouse reside? _____

Level of education:

Some High School _____ (specify grade completed)

High School graduate _____

College graduate _____

Grad./prof. degree _____

Income level: below \$ 10,000 _____

10-20,000 _____

40-60,000 _____

above 60,000 _____

How many children are there from your previous marriage(s)? _____

What were the ages of the children at the time of divorce? _____

What are your children's present ages? _____

Who is the primary custodian of the children?

husband _____ wife _____ joint _____

Length of marriage to divorce _____

Length of time elapsed since divorce to present day _____

How many times married? _____

Was there a period of disillusionment and/or conflict before the decision to divorce?

yes _____ no _____ if so, how long did it last? _____

Has there been any ongoing conflict with your ex-spouse since the divorce?

yes _____ no _____

APPENDIX G

Overview of Caught in the Middle Program

The following are brief summaries of the eight group sessions. The activities are modifications of suggestions from the "Caught in the Middle Program" (Achem & Hett, 1988).

Session One: Program Introduction

Members became acquainted with one another. Informal discussions were initiated by the group leaders focusing on the purpose of the group meetings. Concepts discussed included: (a) establishing a trust level, (b) recognizing the personal courage it has taken to come, (c) developing a safe environment in which to share personal feelings and concerns, (d) ground rules as a necessary part of establishing a well-functioning group. Children usually participated in four activities during this first session.

The first activity was the DOT-A-THOUGHT. The purposes of this activity were to develop group bonding, to get to know one another, and to have fun. The second activity was to identify group guidelines. Here, the purposes were to establish a recognized working format for conducting group meetings, to establish a feeling of safety and personal control while sharing experiences surrounding family break-up issues, and to create a framework for cohesive group interaction. The third activity was vignette number one: I'M TO BLAME. The purposes of this activity were to develop an awareness of divorce-related issues among group members, to encourage expression of feelings surrounding family breakup, and to dispel any feelings in children

that they are to blame for their parents' divorce. The final activity was a closing "appreciations," the purposes of which were to begin building self-esteem, to practice saying and thinking positive things, and to end the group on a positive note.

Session Two: Communication Skills and Relaxation Training

During this session children were encouraged to develop appropriate listening skills, to participate in group support and discussion and to develop relaxation skills. To facilitate these objectives, the children participated in five activities. The first activity was a Check In, in which the children could share any thoughts or feelings they had become aware of since the last session. The second activity was known as Warm-up Telephone Line, in which the emphasis was on developing good listening skills. The third activity was known as Role Play Good vs. Poor Listening Skills, in which children gained an appreciation for good listening skills and realized that it takes effort. The fourth activity was known as How Does Stress and Anxiety Affect us. The purpose of this activity was to have the children become aware of how they experience stress and anxiety. The final activity was referred to as Reducing Stress in Children Through Relaxation, and taught the children a progressive muscle relaxation technique developed by Dr. Edmund Jacobson.

Session Three: Problem Solving and Stress Reduction

In this session, children were helped in exploring typical divorce related problems and were exposed to a problem-solving model. In addition, they were encouraged to develop an awareness of the benefits of deep muscle

relaxation. The third activity was called Introduction to Problem Solving Techniques. In this exercise, group members were exposed to the concept of brainstorming for problem solving and encouraged to implement it in practical situations. The fourth activity consisted of a vignette permitting children to employ the problem solving model to a "simulated but nonthreatening, family scene." Activity number five was a muscle relaxation exercises similar to that employed in Session Two.

Session Four: Assertive Behaviors: The 1-2-3 Formula

Group members were encouraged to discriminate between assertive and aggressive behaviors. In addition, the children were encouraged to "own" their feelings by employing "I" statements. This session consisted of six activities, again the first one being a check-in. Activity number two was another relaxation training exercise. The third activity was known as Assertive versus Aggressive Behavior (hand pressure exercises). In this activity group members were paired up and told to place their palms together. One partner then attempted to push the other's hands backwards while the other tried to resist without being "pushy". This procedure was repeated with partners exchanging positions. In the final run of this exercise, both partners were instructed to neither push nor resist but to follow each other around with their hands. A discussion followed in which members talked about lack of control/power, the reciprocal nature of pushing someone and, finally, that equal postures allow the freedom to relate to one another. The fourth activity incorporated "I" messages. Group members were taught to distinguish between assertive "I" messages and blaming "You" messages. The fifth

activity was a problem solving exercise with a vignette. Group members viewed a vignette related to communication skills. They were then encouraged to discuss the vignette and work through the problem-solving model. The final activity of this session was designated appreciation. Group members were to recall an uncomfortable feeling they had at the onset of the session and to relate how they feel they have changed.

Session Five: Families and Social Influences

In this session, group members were made aware of different kinds of families. Again, there were six activities, the first one being a check-in activity, the second being a relaxation exercise and the fifth activity being a closure exercise. Activity three explored family constellations and exposed the group members to the varied forms families may take. The fourth activity was called a Public Interview, in which invited guests openly discussed their parents' divorce and answer questions posed by the group.

Session Six: Anger Management

The main objective in this session was to familiarize group members with an activity known as Anger Mountain. The anger mountain illustrates the physiological and emotional cycle that is typical of an experience in which one gets angry. This illustration shows how anger escalates, peaks, and then recedes, and identifies the most effective point(s) in the cycle to attempt to regain or avoid losing control. In addition, group members were helped in distinguishing between constructive and destructive ways of expressing anger. Following the check-in activity, children were shown a chart

displaying an "anger mountain". Children were encouraged to discuss similarities between an anger mountain and a volcano, and to discuss what happens when a volcano erupts. This was followed by a discussion of how some stressful situations may make children feel like a "volcano about to explode." Next, group members were asked to speculate on the five stages of an anger mountain which include: (1) unresolved stressors, (2) our physical responses to stress (fight/flight), (3) angry reaction, (4) others' response to our anger, and (5) how we feel afterwards. A group discussion followed, setting the stage for identifying the differences between constructive and destructive anger. Participants were asked to share constructive ways they presently, or might in the future, deal with anger.

Session Seven: Introduction to Problem Solving

Following the check-in activity, group members participated in an activity known as Family Knot. Two central themes typically arise experientially from this exercise: (1) some problems are solvable, while others are not, and (2) some problems children may be responsible for and capable of solving, while some they do not need to solve. Another activity followed, in which group members chose a problem to solve using the Problem Solving Formula. This formula is comprised of four parts: (1) feelings identification, (2) problem identification using "I" statements, (3) brainstorming some solutions, and (4) choosing one solution to try. Participants are encouraged to give one another feedback regarding feasibility of their solutions.

Session Eight: Rights and Responsibilities and Group Closing

This session was intended as a forum in which group members discussed their responsibilities to themselves and their families. As in previous weeks, the first activity was a check-in. The second activity was called Responsibilities, in which cards, printed with parent and child responsibilities, were shared with the group. Group members then determined who should own each responsibility. A discussion followed addressing the fact that in a happily functioning family, all members are aware of and deal with their responsibilities. The third activity was known as Rights, in which members receive a worksheet entitled, Every Child's Bill of Rights. The 16 rights were then reviewed by the group for their meaning and intent. The fourth activity was an evaluation in which group members were asked to give constructive feedback on the parts of the program they found the most and least helpful. The fifth activity was a final closure. Group members were encouraged to summarize their experience of the group or make a concluding statement to their peers, and to then state one positive thing about themselves and one positive thing about the group they would pass to other interested children.

APPENDIX H

Incorporation of Tapes into Weekly Discussions - Overview

Session One

Group participants were given their first tape upon completion of the introductory session. At this time members also were informed about a weekly activity called Tape Talk. Members were told that each week during Tape Talk the group would discuss last week's tape using six questions as a format. The six questions were: (1) weekly theme(s) of the tape, and have any members of the group been in similar situations; (2) those feelings experienced by the children on the tape resulting from the situation(s), and have any group members had similar feelings; (3) any new insights gained about adult relationships and/or the process of divorce; (4) how did the children on tape deal with their feelings; (5) with whom did the children on tape share their feelings, and with whom have group members shared their feelings; and (6) how the children on the tapes felt after talking to someone.

Session Two

Parental infighting and confirmation of their intent to divorce are central issues faced by children on tape one. During Tape Talk #1 participants were reminded of the six questions to be discussed each week, and then were introduced to question one. Throughout future sessions, when concerns identified in tape one (e.g., fears about continued parental fighting, concerns of abandonment, etc.) resurfaced, participants were challenged to recall Tape Talk #1. At this time, group members were asked if they could remember the

feelings expressed, with whom, and the results. This process of interweaving themes from the tapes and re-examining feelings generated, expressed, and resolved was incorporated into future sessions when opportunities arose.

Session Three

Thematically, tape two explores four main issues. The first topic deals with the mixed emotions of feeling guilty about their parents' divorce, and at the same time being angered by people discussing, "their parents' divorce," as though the children are not affected. The next topic looks at changing relationships with other family members and friends after the breakup. Children being included in the decision-making process of the finality of divorce is central to the third topic. The last topic examines concerns about children's relationships with their non-custodial parent. Children were guided through Tape Talk #2 discussion, working with the six questions.

Session Four

Tape three explores the Disneyland mom/dad phenomenon. Prior to Tape Talk #3, participants discussed differences between comfortable feelings and uncomfortable feelings, which the children were told can be experienced simultaneously. A discussion followed, using the six questions as a guideline.

Session Five

Tape four looks at the predicament children experience when confronted with having to spy on their parents. Another issue examined is the impact

on children of divorce serving as communication conduits for their parents' pejorative remarks about one another. During Tape Talk #4, group members were encouraged to identify these central themes, and then were guided through the remaining six questions.

Session Six

Tape number five briefly summarizes some feelings children of divorce typically experience. Also discussed on tape is a technique for dealing with stress, known as deep muscle relaxation. Unlike previous Tape Talks, rather than addressing the six questions, participants were asked if they would like to try deep muscle relaxation. They responded in the affirmative and were guided through this technique.

Session Seven

Children's responses to being treated inconsistently, at times like an adult, at other times like a child, were the focus of tape number six. Again, during Tape Talk, children were guided through a discussion of the six questions.

Session Eight

Tape seven examines feelings generated in children when their divorced parents resume serious relationships with new partners. As in all previous sessions, participants discuss the six questions related to this week's Tape Talk. At the completion of session eight, participants were reminded that the

group would meet briefly the following week to have a wrap-up discussion of the final tape and to fill out some additional questionnaires.

A final group meeting was then held the following week, at which time group members took some time for Tape Talk #8. During this final discussion, members were encouraged to dialogue about issues faced by children in blended families. Upon completion of Tape Talk, children filled out questionnaires comprising the post-test assessment and were thanked for their cooperation.

APPENDIX I

CHECKLIST FOR LISTENING TO TAPE

Name: _____

(please show which night your Divorce Lifeline Group meets):

My group meets on Tues. _____ Thurs. _____.

In the spaces provided below, please check () which days and how often each day you listened to the Tape of the Week.

MON	TUES	WED	THUR	FRI	SAT	SUN
Did you Listen?	Did you Listen?	Did you Listen?	Did you Listen?	Did you Listen?	Did you Listen?	Did you Listen?
Yes ___ No ___	Yes ___ No ___	Yes ___ No ___	Yes ___ No ___	Yes ___ No ___	Yes ___ No ___	Yes ___ No ___
How many Times:	How many Times:	How many Times:	How many Times:	How many Times:	How many Times:	How many Times:

Please respond to the following questions by placing a check mark () beside either YES ___ or NO ___:

1. Do you or your family experience events described on this week's tape?
YES _____ NO _____
2. Have you felt any of the feelings described on the tape?
YES _____ NO _____

APPENDIX J

Letter of Informed Consent

Dear Parent(s);

This letter invites you to have your child participate in an enhanced version of the "Caught in the Middle" program, offered by Divorce Lifeline. As part of my doctoral work in Counselling Psychology at the University of Victoria, I have designed a series of audiotapes which help children to recognize and express their feelings. The tapes deal with some of the issues typically faced by children when their parents divorce. These issues are discussed in a non-threatening manner and potential coping skills are offered.

In order for us to evaluate the effectiveness of the tapes, parents and their participating children will need to complete a simple questionnaire at the beginning and at the end of the program. Also, as part of the overall evaluation of the Caught in the Middle program, participants will complete questionnaires on self-esteem, anxiety, and locus of control (which measures the extent to which they see themselves as being in control of events that happen to them).

Participation in the program is strictly voluntary and all information will be maintained in the strictest of confidence. You or your children may withdraw from the study at any time. At the end of the study, all results will be shared with any interested parents (excluding any information that might reveal any participant's identity).

If you are willing to have your child participate, and to complete the Parent Questionnaire, please read and sign the enclosed permission form. Thank you.

Sincerely,

Christopher D. Rose, M. A.

CAUGHT IN THE MIDDLE

Pre-Adolescent Research Project Parental Consent Form

I, _____ hereby agree to have my child, _____ become part of this study. The investigation and my child's part in it have been defined and fully explained to me by the researcher and I understand the explanation.

I understand that complete confidentiality will be maintained throughout the study and that my involvement and the involvement of any member of my family is completely voluntary, and that we may decide to withdraw at any time.

Signed: _____

Date: _____

APPENDIX K

Feeling Words used by Children in Treatment and Control Groups

Control	PRE	POST
	nuts..... 1	nuts..... 1
	sad..... 15	sad..... 16
	scared..... 1	scared..... 1
	lonely..... 1	lonely..... 1
	mad..... 24	mad..... 24
	o.k..... 1	o.k..... 1
	angry..... 4	angry..... 4
	pissed off..... 1	pissed off..... 1
	allright..... 1	allright..... 1
	lost..... 1	lost..... 1
	confused..... 1	confused..... 1
	upset..... 1	upset..... 1
	fine..... 1	fine..... 1
	happy..... 1	happy..... 1
Treatment	PRE	POST
	sad..... 17	sad..... 20
	lost..... 1	lost..... 1
	frightened..... 1	frightened..... 1
	mad..... 22	mad..... 33
	angry..... 5	angry..... 1
	confused..... 1	confused..... 1
	happy..... 1	0
	fine..... 1	0
	okay..... 1	0
	bad..... 3	bad..... 1
	worried..... 2	worried..... 1
		scared..... 4
		upset..... 3
		sick..... 1
		hurt..... 4
		guilty..... 3
		sorry..... 1
		embarrassed..... 2
		stressed..... 1
		confused..... 1
		betrayed..... 1

Treatment (Cont'd)		PRE	POST
			burdened..... 1
			bought..... 1
Audio Treatment		PRE	POST
	bad.....	2	mad..... 6
	mad.....	21	sad..... 24
	sad.....	20	scared..... 1
	scared.....	1	shocked..... 1
	shocked.....	1	lonely..... 2
	lonely.....	1	pissed off..... 0
	pissed off.....	3	weird..... 3
	weird.....	1	fine..... 0
	fine.....	3	sick..... 0
	sick.....	2	hurt..... 7
	hurt.....	2	perplexed..... 1
	perplexed.....	1	happy..... 1
	happy.....	1	angry..... 7
	angry.....	2	don't know..... 0
	don't know.....	1	unhappy..... 3
	unhappy.....	1	okay..... 0
	okay.....	3	grown up..... 0
	grown up.....	1	horrible..... 0
	horrible.....	1	enraged..... 1
	enraged.....	1	shy..... 4
			upset..... 7
			unsure..... 2
			mixed up..... 3
			overwhelmed..... 3
			weird..... 4
			creepy..... 1
			uncertain..... 2
			like running away... 1
			like crying..... 1
			in the middle..... 3
			frustrated..... 2
			burdened..... 2
			saying no..... 1
			infuriated..... 2
			good..... 3

Audio Treatment (Cont.)	PRE	POST
		funny..... 1
		nasty..... 1
		mature..... 1
		unconcerned..... 1
		embarrassed..... 3
		nervous..... 2
		left out..... 1
		guilty..... 6
		undecided..... 1
		puzzled..... 1
		idiotic..... 1
		suspicious..... 1
		disgusted..... 1
		surprised..... 1
		confused..... 1
		frightened..... 1
		pained..... 2
		rejected..... 1
		used..... 1
		relieved..... 1
		awkward..... 1
		no control..... 1
		jealous..... 1
		stressed out..... 1
		strange..... 1
		"gorpy"..... 1

VITA

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Given Names: Christopher Donald

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Date of Birth: 01/19/52

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Memorial University of Newfoundland	1981-1985
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Howard-Rose, D. & Rose, C. (1994). Students' adaptation to task environments in resource room and regular class settings. The Journal of Special Education, 28(1), 3-26.

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Title of Dissertation:

The Use of Audiotaped Dialogues to Enhance Feelings Expression
for Children of Divorce

Author: _____
Christopher Donald Rose
September 25, 1995