

# Children's Adjustment Following Divorce: Risk and Resilience Perspectives

Joan B. Kelly\* and Robert E. Emery

*The empirical literature on the longer-term adjustment of children of divorce is reviewed from the perspective of (a) the stressors and elevated risks that divorce presents for children and (b) protective factors associated with better adjustment. The resiliency demonstrated by the majority of children is discussed, as are controversies regarding the adjustment of adult children of divorce. A third dimension of children's responses to divorce, that of lingering painful memories, is distinguished from pathology in order to add a useful complement to risk and resilience perspectives. The potential benefits of using an increasingly differentiated body of divorce research to shape the content of interventions, such as divorce education, by designing programs that focus on known risk factors for children and that assist parents to institute more protective behaviors that may enhance children's longer-term adjustment is discussed.*

**P**arenal divorce has been viewed for 40 years as the cause of a range of serious and enduring behavioral and emotional problems in children and adolescents. Divorced families have been widely portrayed by the media, mental health professionals, and conservative political voices as seriously flawed structures and environments, whereas, historically, married families were assumed to be wholesome and nurturing environments for children (Popenoe, Elshain, & Blankenhorn, 1996; Whitchhead, 1998). Although, on average, children fare better in a happy two-parent family than in a divorced family, two essential caveats that distinguish our position from the neo-ecotypical view are underscored. First, unfortunately, many two-parent families do not offer a happy environment for parents or for children (e.g., Cummings & Davies, 1994; Amato, Loomis, & Booth, 1995). Second, although there are differences in the average psychological well-being of children from happy married families and divorced families, it also is true that the majority of children from divorced families are emotionally well-adjusted (Amato, 1994, 2001; Hetherington, 1999).

A continuing stream of sophisticated social science and developmental research has contributed a more complex understanding of factors associated with children's positive outcomes and psychological problems in the context of both marriage and divorce. As a result, most social scientists relinquished a simplistic view of the impact of divorce more than a decade ago. Research demonstrating that children's behavioral symptoms and academic problems could be identified, in some instances, for a number of years before their parents' divorces was particularly important in facilitating this conceptual shift (Block, Block, & Gjerde, 1986; Cherlin et al., 1991). However, compelling stories of negative outcomes for children of divorce continued to be reported by the media in the past decade, stimulated in part by a 10-year longitudinal study of divorced families that emphasized the enduring psychological damage for children of divorce (Wallerstein & Blakeslee, 1989). More recently, two longitudinal studies that report quite different long-term outcomes for children and young adults (Hetherington & Kelly, 2002; Wallerstein, Lewis, & Blakeslee, 2000) have interested the media in taking a more discriminating look at divorce research, although the preference in the media for drama and simple dichotomous an-

swers remains evident (e.g., *Time Magazine*, September 25, 2000).

We believe that social science researchers need to look more closely at the varied evidence on children and divorce within and across disciplines and across methodological approaches. Among the basic empirical issues of concern are (a) the confounding of correlation with cause such that any psychological problems found among children from divorced families often are portrayed as "consequences" of divorce, whereas both logic and empirical evidence demonstrate otherwise; (b) the overgeneralization of results from relatively small, unrepresentative, often highly select samples, most notably clinical or troubled samples as in the widely discussed work of Wallerstein; (c) the too ready acceptance of the null hypothesis of no differences in the face of limited and sometimes superficial assessment, particularly in large, often representative samples; and (d) the failure to distinguish between normative outcomes and individual differences in drawing implications for practice and policy, for example, by noting that the majority of children from divorced families are not "at risk" and that family processes after divorce are strong predictors of risk versus resilience. These methodological considerations are of vital importance for the conduct of research, and they point to an interpretation of empirical findings that offers a more nuanced and, we think, more complete understanding of the psychological meaning of divorce for children.

Here we review the empirical research literature on the adjustment of children of divorce from the perspective of the stressors that divorce generally presents for children, the type and extent of risk observed in divorced children when compared with those in still married families, and factors that have been demonstrated to ameliorate risk for children during and after divorce. A third dimension of children's post-divorce outcomes, that of painful memories and experiences, is distinguished from the presence of pathology, and some of the differences and controversies between quantitative and clinical research reports regarding longer-term adjustment are highlighted.

## Stressors of the Divorce Process

More than two decades ago, divorce was reconceptualized as a process extending over time that involved multiple changes and potential challenges for children, rather than as a single event (Hetherington, 1979; Wallerstein & Kelly, 1980). The number, severity, and duration of separation and divorce-engendered stressors were observed to vary from child to child, from family to family, and over time. The nature of the initial separation, parental adjustment and resources, parental conflict and

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*Key words:* adjustment, children, divorce, resiliency, risk

# Children Of Divorce Empirical Perspectives On Adjustment

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## **Children Of Divorce Empirical Perspectives On Adjustment:**

Children of Divorce Sharlene Wolchik, Paul Karoly, 1988      Resilience and Vulnerability Suniya S. Luthar, 2003-05-05  
Integrated in this book are contributions from leading scientists who have each studied children's adjustment across risks common in contemporary society. Chapters in the first half of the book focus on risks emanating from the family; chapters in the second half focus on risks stemming from the wider community. All contributors have explicitly addressed a common set of core themes including the criteria they used to judge resilience within particular risk settings, the major factors that predict resilience in these settings, the limits to resilience, vulnerabilities coexisting with manifest success, and directions for interventions. In the concluding chapter, the editor integrates evidence presented through all preceding chapters to distill a substantive consideration for future research and salient directions for interventions and social policies based on accumulated research knowledge.

Narrative Play Therapy Aileen Taylor de Faoite, 2011. Beginning with detailed accounts of the theory and history that has shaped the approach, this book provides necessary background knowledge for the successful application of Narrative Play Therapy. It looks at different client circumstances and demonstrates how the approach can be used in practice to support each client group therapeutically.

Depressive Disorders in Children and Adolescents Cecilia Essau, Franz Petermann, 1999. Depression is not only increasing among the younger generation but also emerging at an earlier age, its presence in adolescence increasing the risk for developing comorbid disorders in adulthood. When depression has an early onset, it tends to be chronic and associated with long-term psychosocial impairment. This is a comprehensive summary of depressive disorders, prevalence rates, risk and protective factors, and choice of treatment and treatment guidelines.

**Handbook of Marriage and the Family** Marvin B. Sussman, Suzanne K. Steinmetz, Gary W. Peterson, 1999-01-31. A host of scholars in sociology, communications, human development, economics, history, and psychology join Sussman, Union Institute, Cincinnati, OH; Steinmetz, Indiana U; and Peterson, Arizona State U to complete this volume on marriage and the family. Articles reflect a broad range of interests, discussing such topics as demography, ethnic variation in the family, divorce, adolescence in contemporary families, work, religion, law, communication, abuse, and violence, and sexuality. The book also includes a variety of articles on theories and methods of family research and marital and family therapy.

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**Love and Intimate Relationships** Norman M. Brown, Ellen S. Amatea, 2013-06-17. Using a style that draws students into the ongoing inquiry into how intimate relationships work, *Love and Intimate Relationships* investigates the life cycle of relationships, influences that affect them, theories behind them, and ways to improve them. Dozens of stories from students themselves, case examples, and over 150 tables, figures, and the cartoons of Don Edwing of *Mad Magazine* help bring the material alive. The book is also unique in exploring aspects of human relationships not covered in other textbooks on the subject. *Love and Intimate Relationships* helps bring the complex issues surrounding intimate relationships into focus for students from diverse backgrounds. The multidisciplinary perspective of the textbook

makes it ideal for introductory courses in psychology marriage counseling human relations and sexuality and interpersonal relationships *Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development*, 1935 **Mediating Child Custody Disputes** Donald T. Saposnek, 1998-05-15 Effective Mediation Seasoned mediator Donald Saposnek has revised and updated his classic primer which offers the most current information on issues and procedures concerning child custody mediation and includes important updates on new research and laws Using metaphors drawn from Aikido Saposnek's compassionate book offers guidance for developing the essential therapeutic skills and mediation techniques that will help solve difficult problems and create cooperation Encyclopedia of Primary Prevention and Health Promotion Thomas P. Gullotta, Martin Bloom, 2003-01-31 Foundational topics such as history ethics and principles of primary prevention as well as specific issues such as consultation political issues and financing The second section addresses such topics as abuse depression eating disorders HIV AIDS injuries and religion and spirituality often dividing such topics into separate entries addressing childhood adolescence and adulthood **Interventions for Children of Divorce** William F. Hodges, 1991-08-19 Offers up to date principles for working with children of divorce The approach uses a theoretical context based on research and clinical findings to propose interventions for custody access and therapeutic interventions Topics include developmental stages of the child and adjustment to divorce mediation custody evaluations and visitations single parenting and remarriage school based programs parent consultation and family therapy **Developmental Issues in the Clinical Treatment of Children** Wendy K. Silverman, Thomas H. Ollendick, 1999 Developmental and Clinical Issues in the Treatment of Children is the first volume to address the needs of practicing clinicians and other professionals who work in applied mental health settings It represents the first interface of clinical child psychology developmental psychopathology specific child disorders and contextual issues This text's primary purpose is to bring these areas together to build upon the current knowledge base about children child problems and child treatment In summary this compendium integrates the major clinical and developmental issues involved in the real treatment of children The contents of each chapter are relevant to the needs and concerns of practitioners while based on findings from the empirical literature Handbook of Group Intervention for Children and Families Karen Callan Stoiber, Thomas R. Kratochwill, 1998 In response to the increasing appreciation of groups for prevention and intervention this handbook provides school and community mental health care professionals with a valuable resource for developing competence in group work This title provides the latest information on specific disorders and psychological issues that children and families face **Handbook of Parent Training** James M. Briesmeister, Charles E. Schaefer, 1998 Unlike other books on parent training this Handbook takes a purely prescriptive approach Each author begins by identifying a specific problem and then describes an approach to identifying assessing and treating the problem In every instance descriptions of therapeutic techniques are multimodal integrating theory research implementation strategies and extensive case material **Short-term Psychotherapy Groups for Children** Charles E. Schaefer, 1999-11 This

comprehensive manual offers specific how to guidelines for conducting a wide range of psychotherapy groups and detailed session by session descriptions of sixteen structured group interventions Time limited structured educational and goal oriented these groups focus on such core treatment issues as separation and divorce alcoholism bereavement sexual abuse fears and anxieties anger management weight loss and encopresis Handbook of Prescriptive Treatments for Children and Adolescents Robert T. Ammerman,1993 Provides guidelines for treatment of children and adolescents that are derived from the empirical literature The Handbook is divided into three parts Part One consists of an introductory chapter Part Two which comprises the bulk of the book is composed of chapters examining specific disorders w **Caught in the Middle** Carla B. Garrity,Mitchell A. Baris,1994-04-11 Takes a hard look at the consequences of intense conflict between divorced parents This book explores both the causes and consequences of high level stressful conflict between divorced parents on their children s development It also provides concrete advice to help parents work together to the benefit of all involved most importantly the children *Mediating and Negotiating Marital Conflicts* Desmond Ellis,Noreen Stuckless,1996-08-20 Conflicts associated with marital separation and divorce have traditionally been settled by lawyers through negotiations Since 1980 in the United States an increasing proportion of these conflicts have been settled or resolved through the process of marital conflict mediation Critics of mediation contend that the process fails to protect women from violent partners and that agreements neutralize the impact of gender based power imbalances Mediators argue that it is lawyers who are responsible for escalating conflict and that the legal process is costly and causes stressful delays in the separation process The authors of this volume find that these arguments are ideologically driven and rarely supported by empirical **Adolescence** ,1991 **Family in Transition** Arlene S. Skolnick,Jerome H. Skolnick,1992 Balanced and comprehensive scholarly but unintimidating this collection captures the remarkable diversity of family life and offers a superb collection of current and classic readings for courses in family sociology *Handbook of Program Development for Health Behavior Research and Practice* Steve Sussman,2001 The Handbook of Program Development for Health Behavior Research and Practice guides the reader from program development theory through program activity analysis and selection immediate impact studies and intermediate and long term outcome measurement The handbook consists of five parts providing a wealth of information about The history and rationale for engaging in health behavior program development including a case study that shows how to apply the six step program development model and ways of surmounting the hurdles to engaging in program development The role of theory in program development the use of assessment studies to fill in gaps in theory regarding what leads to health related behavior and many issues and resources relevant to pooling information about prior interventions Perceived efficacy i e concept evaluation methods of activity selection including verbal and paper and pencil methods of selecting potentially useful activities Immediate impact studies of activities and program creation Ways to find immediate outcome measures that predict longer term outcome measures and future issues to consider in the arena of health

behavior program development Each section consists of an overview one or more commentaries from recognized theorists researchers and practitioners in the health field and case studies that provide guidelines on addressing relevant aspects of program development These case studies will provide useful information for discussion research and application In all this handbook provides 20 chapters of detailed and useful information for researchers academics public health practitioners students policymakers and those who engage in any aspect of health program development or evaluation

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