

# Effects of Divorce on Children's Behavior

Children of divorced or separated parents exhibit increased behavioral problems,<sup>1)</sup> and the marital conflict that accompanies parents' divorce places the child's [social competence](#) at risk. Even in intact families that have low to medium levels of conflict, children still have "fewer behavior problems than those in the high-conflict, disrupted families."<sup>2)</sup> Another study suggests that parental conflict affects the outcomes of children's behavior problems, regardless of parents' marital status, and sometimes "there is no statistical difference in the level of behavior problems observed for children whose parents separated or divorced and for children whose parents remained together."<sup>3)</sup> Overall, young adults are best off when raised by two continuously married parents with a low-conflict relationship.<sup>4)</sup>

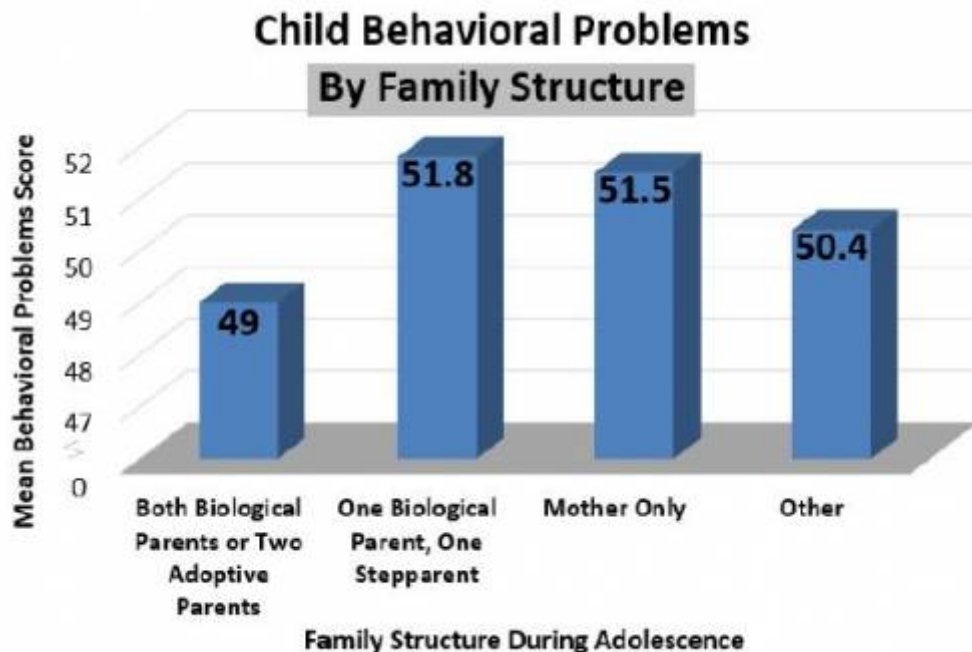
During a divorce, conflict between parents is often accompanied by less affection, less responsiveness, and more inclination to punish their children, which leaves their children feeling emotionally insecure.<sup>5)</sup> These children are more likely to perceive their social milieu as unpredictable and uncontrollable.<sup>6)</sup> Children who engage in [fighting and stealing](#) at school are far more likely to come from broken homes than are well-behaved children.<sup>7)</sup> Children of divorced families are more than twice as likely to [drop out of high school](#) than children from intact families.<sup>8)</sup> Other studies have confirmed that children of divorced parents exhibit more behavioral problems than do children from intact families.<sup>9)</sup> Boys whose parents divorced while they were in elementary school tend to develop problems in the years following their parents' separation. While problem behavior increases immediately following the divorce among boys whose parents divorced while they were in middle school, their problem behavior steadily decreases in the year after the divorce.<sup>10)</sup>

## 1. Behavior at School

Divorce and separation correlate positively with [diminished school achievement and performance](#).<sup>11)</sup> Children from intact families have fewer behavioral [problems in school](#).<sup>12)</sup> For example, first-grade children born to married mothers are less likely to exhibit disruptive behavior, such as disobeying a teacher or behaving aggressively towards peers, than children born to cohabiting or single mothers.<sup>13)</sup>

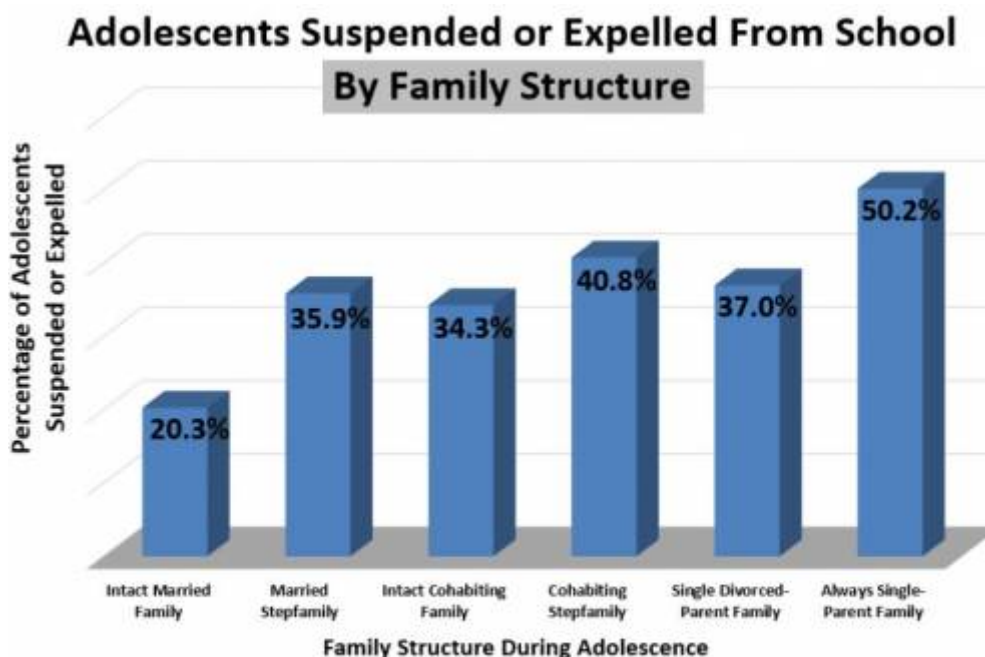
### 1.1 Related American Demographics

According to the National Survey of Children's Health, children who live with both biological parents are less likely to exhibit behavior problems than those who do not.<sup>14)</sup> (See [Chart](#))



Source: National Survey of Children’s Health, Adolescents Aged 6-17.

Similarly, the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health shows that adolescents from intact married families are less frequently suspended, expelled, or delinquent, and less frequently experience [school problems](#) than children from other family structures.<sup>15)</sup> (See [Chart](#))



Source: National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health. Adolescents Grades 7-12.

## 2. Ability to Handle Conflict

Divorce diminishes children’s capacity to handle conflict. The difference between marriages that remain intact and those that end in divorce lies primarily in the couple’s ability to handle marital conflict and move towards agreement. Parental modeling in divorce diminishes many children’s capacity for [stable marriage later in life](#), though some children may react by doubling their efforts to

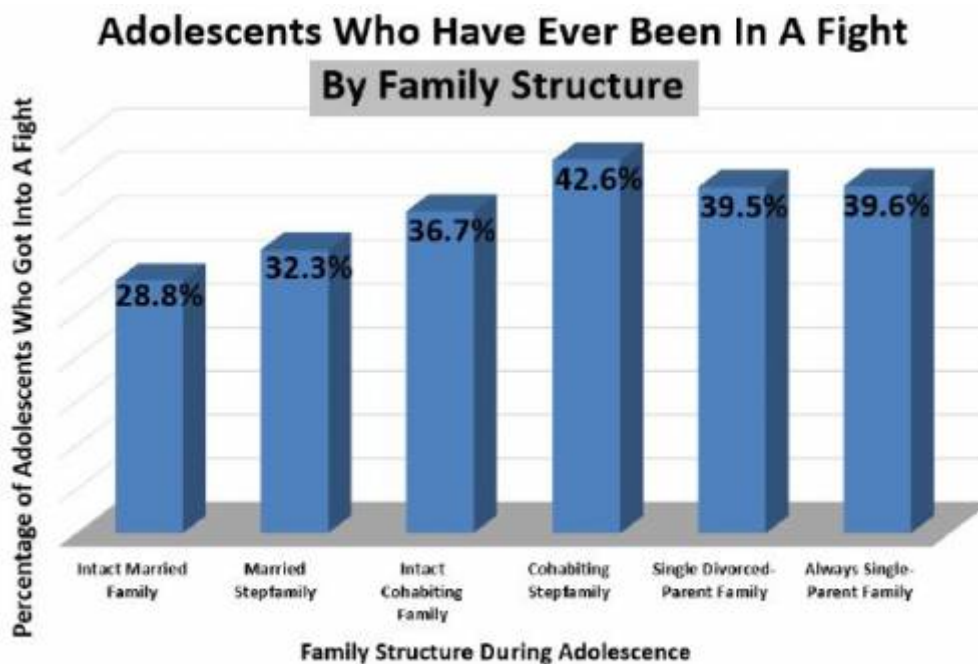
ensure stability.

For instance, compared to students from intact families, college students from divorced families use violence more frequently to resolve conflict and are more likely to be aggressive and physically violent with their friends, male or female.<sup>16)</sup> Parental divorce during adolescence frequently leads to more violent partnerships in adolescence and adulthood.<sup>17)</sup>

In their own marriages, [children of divorced parents](#) are more likely to be unhappy, to escalate conflict, to communicate less, to argue frequently, and to shout or to physically assault their spouse when arguing.<sup>18)</sup> Thus, the likelihood of divorce is transmitted [across generations](#).<sup>19)</sup>

## 2.1 Related American Demographics

According to the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health (Waves I and II), 42.6 percent of adolescents living with one biological, cohabiting parent have been in a fight, whereas only 28.8 percent of those with two married parents have ever been in one. Among other family structures, 32.3 percent of adolescents living in stepfamilies, 36.7 percent of those living with two cohabiting biological parents, 39.5 percent of those whose parents are divorced, and 39.6 percent of those whose parents have never married have ever been in a fight.<sup>20)</sup> (See [Chart](#) )



Source: National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health, Waves I and II.  
Adolescents Grades 7-12.

## 3. Sexual Practice

(See [Effects of Divorce on Children's Sexual Activity](#))

When parents divorce, their children's approval of premarital sex, cohabitation, and divorce tends to rise dramatically, while their endorsement of marriage and childbearing falls.<sup>21)</sup> They are also more likely to believe that marriage is not important prior to having children and to have a [child out of wedlock](#). This holds true even after controlling for socioeconomic status.<sup>22)</sup>

## 4. Crime

(See [Effects of Family Structure on Crime](#))

Children in intact families have lower rates of delinquency than children in non-intact families.<sup>23)</sup> Robert Sampson (then professor of sociology at the University of Chicago) reported, after studying 171 cities in the United States with populations over 100,000, that the divorce rate predicted the robbery rate of any given area, regardless of its economic and racial composition. In these [communities](#), he found that lower divorce rates indicated higher formal and informal social controls (such as the supervision of children) and lower crime rates.<sup>24)</sup>

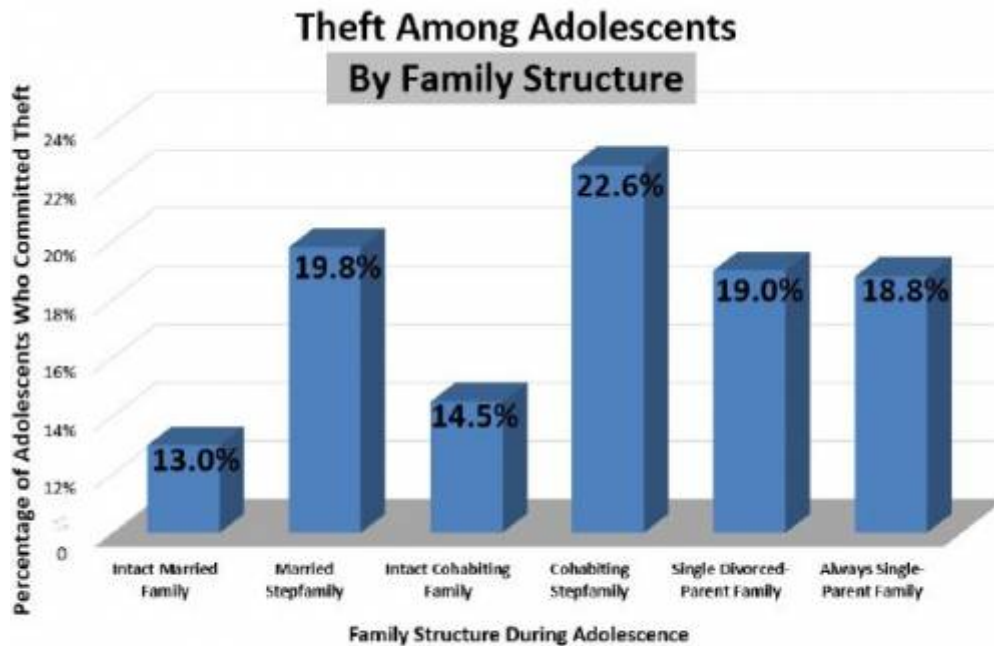
In 1994, it was reported in Wisconsin that the incarceration rate of juvenile delinquents was 12 times higher among children of divorced parents than among children of [married parents](#).<sup>25)</sup> A 2004 study showed that children from stepparent and single mother families also have significantly higher incarceration rates than children in intact families.<sup>26)</sup> In a British longitudinal study of males aged eight to 32, David P. Farrington, professor of criminology at Cambridge University, found experiencing parental divorce before age 10 to be a major predictor of adolescent delinquency and adult criminality.<sup>27)</sup> Another study found that boys who go through family transitions at the age of 14 or 15 are more likely to be delinquent when they are 16 or 17.<sup>28)</sup> Adolescents from divorced families (particularly those in divorced single-father families) display more antisocial and violent behavior than adolescents in biologically intact families.<sup>29)</sup> An Australian parliamentary review of the literature found that divorce increases the likelihood that children will [feel hostility and rejection](#).<sup>30)</sup>

Children of divorced parents are significantly more likely than children of intact married families to be delinquent by age 15, regardless of when the divorce took place.<sup>31)</sup> A 1985 study that tracked one thousand families with children ages six to 18 for six years found that children living in intact married families exhibited the least delinquency, while children with stepfathers were more likely to exhibit the most disruptive behavior. In this study, the behavior of single-parent children fell between that of children of intact and stepfather families.<sup>32)</sup>

Parental divorce contributes to what some studies term “externalizing behaviors,” which include weapon carrying, fighting, substance abuse, and binge drinking.<sup>33)</sup> Another study found that the sons of divorced parents are at no greater risk of involvement in delinquent behavior than boys living in intact families if the mother and father “engage in competent parenting.”<sup>34)</sup> Good parenting on the part of divorced fathers achieved no such effects for the daughters of divorce, according to this same study. Among adolescent girls, there is a strong correlation between family structure and delinquency,<sup>35)</sup> hostile behavior,<sup>36)</sup> drug use, larceny, skipping school,<sup>37)</sup> and alcohol abuse.<sup>38)</sup>

### 4.1 Related American Demographics

According to the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health, 13 percent of children who live in an intact married family admit to having stolen at least \$50 worth of goods. By comparison, 19 percent of children whose parents never married or are divorced, 20 percent of children living with a stepparent, 15 percent of those living with cohabiting biological parents, and 23 percent of those living with one cohabiting biological parent have stolen at least \$50 worth of goods.<sup>39)</sup> (See [Chart Below](#))



Source: National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health, Adolescents Grades 7-12.

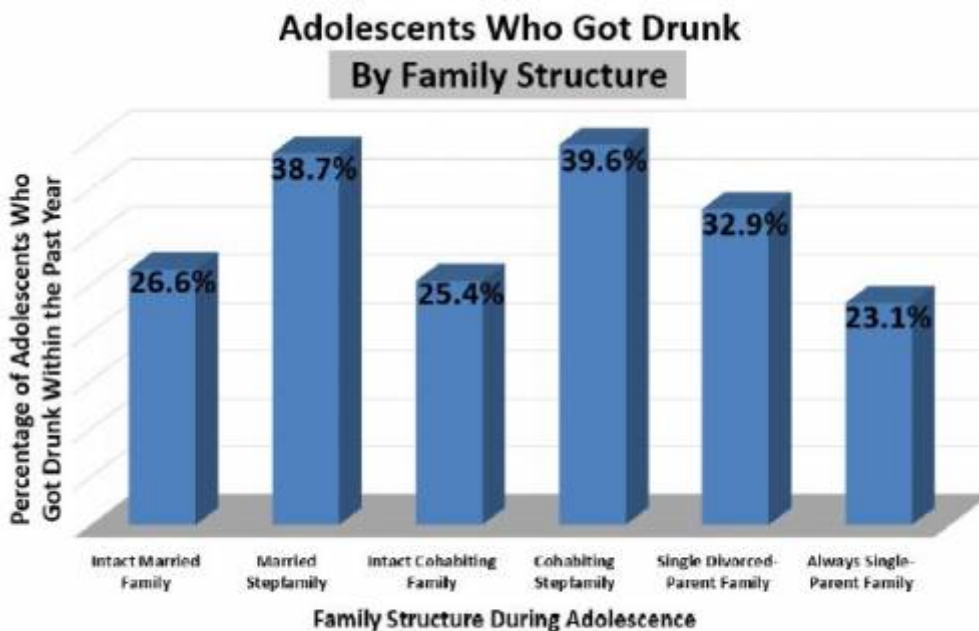
## 5. Drugs and Alcohol

Parental divorce (as previously stated) predicts externalizing behavior, such as tobacco use, alcohol consumption and binge drinking,<sup>40)</sup> and marijuana use.<sup>41)</sup> Parental divorce or separation also predicts increased adolescent use of other illegal drugs.<sup>42)</sup> The negative effects of divorce on adolescent substance use are not temporary, and tend to persist over time.<sup>43)</sup>

Men who experienced their parents' divorce as children (between ages seven and 16) are more likely to smoke as adults.<sup>44)</sup> Males who have experienced parental divorce are also more likely to use alcohol and drugs.<sup>45)</sup> Women who experienced parental divorce between ages seven and 16 (but not those whose parents divorced later) are more likely to smoke and to drink heavily as adults than women whose parents remained married.<sup>46)</sup> One study found that, in families where the mother-daughter relationship was satisfying, parental divorce and maternal nonresidence led to delinquent behavior in girls.<sup>47)</sup>

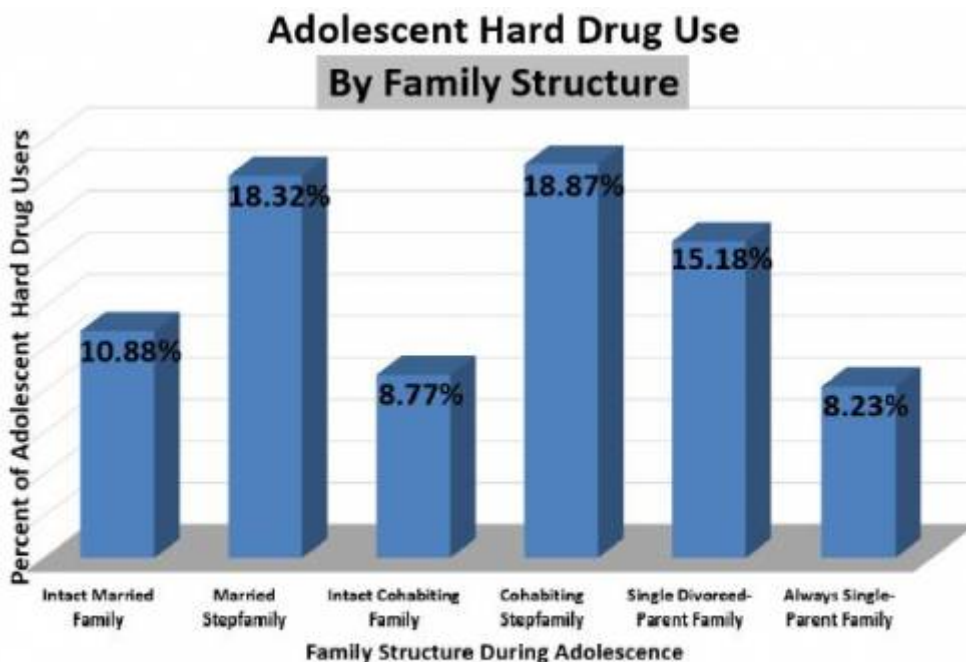
### 5.1 Related American Demographics

According to the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health (Waves I and II), children who live with both biological parents are less likely to get drunk than adolescents with stepparents, one biological cohabiting parent, or divorced parents.<sup>48)</sup> (See [Chart](#) Below)



Source: National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health, Waves I. Adolescents Grades 7-12.

According to the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health, more than 15 percent of adolescents whose parents are divorced have used hard drugs; this figure rises to roughly 18 percent for children living with a stepparent or one biological cohabiting parent.<sup>49)</sup> (See [Chart](#))



Source: National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health, Wave I. Adolescents Grades 7-12.

## 6. Suicide

Child suicide is often triggered by thoughts that his divorced parents reject him<sup>50)</sup> or have lost interest in him.<sup>51)</sup> The fact that the suicide rate has risen along with the divorce rate is no coincidence.<sup>52)</sup> One study reported that risk of a suicide attempt was higher in divorced families, though the association

was eliminated after controlling for adverse experiences.<sup>53)</sup> As the work of Patricia McCall, a sociology professor at North Carolina State University, shows, the strongest demographic indicator of suicide is the family structure within which a person resides: the divorced family structure has the highest suicide rate.<sup>54)</sup> For adults, having children decreases the parents' risk of suicide.<sup>55)</sup>

Women from divorced families are 1.46 times as likely to attempt suicide as women from intact families.<sup>56)</sup> An earlier study by the same author found that women raised in divorced families are 1.33 times as likely to attempt suicide; this finding holds true even after adjusting for various confounding factors, such as age, race, and income.<sup>57)</sup> This link between parental divorce and the rise in adolescent suicide has been found again and again in the literature.<sup>58)</sup> Cross-cultural studies of Japan and the United States have clearly demonstrated the link between divorce and suicidal thought.<sup>59)</sup>

<sup>1)</sup> Donna R. Morrison and Mary Jo Coiro, "Parental Conflict and Marital Disruption: Do Children Benefit When High-Conflict Marriages Are Dissolved?" *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 61, (1999): 626.

Jennifer M. Weaver, and Thomas J. Schofield, "Mediation and Moderation of Divorce Effects on Children's Behavior Problems," *Journal of Family Psychology* 29, no. 1 (2015): 39, 43, 45.

<sup>2)</sup> Donna R. Morrison and Mary Jo Coiro, "Parental Conflict and Marital Disruption: Do Children Benefit When High-Conflict Marriages Are Dissolved?" *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 61, (1999): 634.

<sup>3)</sup> D.R. Morrison and M.J. Coiro, "Parental Conflict and Marital Disruption: Do Children Benefit When High-Conflict Marriages Are Dissolved?" *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 61, (1999): 632.

<sup>4)</sup> Juliana M. Sobolewski and Paul R. Amato, "Parents' Discord and Divorce, Parent-Child Relationships and Subjective Well-Being in Early Adulthood: Is Feeling Close to Two Parents Always Better Than Feeling Close to One?," *Social Forces* 85, no. 3 (2007): 1121.

<sup>5)</sup> Patrick T. Davies and E. Mark Cummings, "Marital Conflict and Child Adjustment: An Emotional Security Hypothesis," *Psychological Bulletin* 116, (1994): 387-411. As cited in Paul R. Amato and Arland Booth, *A Generation at Risk*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997), 137.

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<sup>6)</sup> Paul R. Amato, *Children in Australian Families: The Growth of Competence*, (Sydney: Prentice Hall of Australia, 1987). As cited in Paul R. Amato and Alan Booth, *A Generation at Risk*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997), 137.

<sup>7)</sup> R. Forehand, "Family Characteristics of Adolescents Who Display Overt and Covert Behavior Problems," *Journal of Behavior Therapy and Experimental Psychiatry* 18, (1987): 325-328.

<sup>8)</sup> Chunyan Song, Mary Benin, and Jennifer Glick, "Dropping Out of High School: The Effects of Family Structure and Family Transitions," *Journal of Divorce & Remarriage* 53, no. 1 (2012): 28-29.

<sup>9)</sup> Jeffrey J. Wood, Rena L. Repetti, and Scott C. Roesch, "Divorce and Children's Adjustment Problems at Home and School: The Role of Depressive/Withdrawn Parenting," *Child Psychiatry and Human Development* 35, no. 2 (2004): 131.

<sup>10)</sup> P.S. Malone, J.E. Lansford, D.R. Castellino, L.J. Berlin, K.A. Dodge, J.E. Bates, and G.S. Pettit, "Divorce and Child Behavior Problems: Applying Latent Change Score Models to Life Event Data," *Structural Equation Modeling* 11, no. 3 (2004): 417.

<sup>11)</sup> Milling Kinard and Helen Reinherz, "Effects of Marital Disruption on Children's School Aptitude and Achievement," *Journal of Marriage and Family* 48, (1986): 289-290.

Paul R. Amato, "Children of Divorce in the 1990s: An Update of the Amato and Keith (1991) Meta-Analysis," *Journal of Family Psychology* 15, (2001): 355-370.

<sup>12)</sup> Wendy Manning and Kathleen Lamb, "Adolescent Well-Being in Cohabiting, Married, and Single-Parent Families," *Journal of Marriage and Family* 65, (November 2003): 876-893. As cited by The Heritage Foundation: Family Facts. Available at <http://www.familyfacts.org/briefs/35/family-structure-and-childrens-education>. Accessed 20 July 2011. Paul R. Amato and Alan Booth, "Consequences of Parental Divorce and Marital Unhappiness for Adult Well-Being," *Social Forces* 69, (1991): 895-914.

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Ruth B. Ekstrom, et al., "Who Drops Out of School and Why: Findings From a National Study," *Teachers College Record* 87, (1986): 356-73.

D.R. Featherstone, B.P. Cundick, and L.C. Jensen, "Differences in School Behavior and Achievement between Children from Intact, Reconstituted, and Single-Parent Families," *Adolescence* 27, no. 105 (1992): 1-12.

Debra J. Mulholland, et al., "Academic Performance in Children of Divorce: Psychological Resilience and Vulnerability," *Psychiatry* 54, (1991): 268-280.

<sup>13)</sup> Shannon E. Cavanagh and Aletha C. Huston, "Family Instability and Children's Early Problem Behavior," *Social Forces* 85, no. 1 (September 2006): 551-581.

<sup>14)</sup> This chart draws on data collected by the National Center for Health Statistics in the National Survey of Children's Health (NSCH) in 2003. The data sample consisted of parents of 102,353 children and teens in all 50 states and the District of Columbia. 68,996 of these children and teens were between six and 17 years old, the age group that was the focus of the study. The survey sample in this age range represented a population of nearly 49 million young people nationwide.

Patrick F. Fagan, "Behavior Problems and Family Structure," Mapping America Project. Available at <http://marri.us/wp-content/uploads/MA-28-30-158.pdf>

<sup>15)</sup> This chart draws on a large national sample (16,000) from the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health. This work was done by the author in cooperation with former colleagues at The Heritage Foundation, Washington, D.C

Patrick F. Fagan, "Family Structure and Expulsion or Suspension from School." Available at <http://marri.us/wp-content/uploads/MA-19-21-155.pdf>. Accessed 22 September 2011.

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Annette U. Rickel and Thomas S. Langer, "Short-Term and Long-Term Effects of Marital Disruption on Children," *American Journal of Community Psychology* 13, (1985): 599-661.

<sup>16)</sup> Robert E. Billingham and Nicole L. Notebaert, "Divorce and Dating Violence Revisited: Multivariate Analyses Using Straus's Conflict Tactics Subscales," *Psychological Reports* 73, (1993): 679-684.

<sup>17)</sup> David M. Fergusson, Geraldine F. H. McLeod, and L. John Horwood, "Parental Separation/Divorce in Childhood and Partnership Outcomes at Age 30," *Journal Of Child Psychology & Psychiatry* 55, no. 4 (2014): 357.

<sup>18)</sup> Pamela S. Webster, Terri L. Orbuch, and James S. House, "Effects of Childhood Family Background on Adult Marital Quality and Perceived Stability," *American Journal of Sociology* 101, (1995): 404-432.

Galena K. Rhoades, et al., "Parents' Marital Status, Conflict, and Role Modeling: Links With Adult Romantic Relationship Quality," *Journal Of Divorce & Remarriage* 53, no. 5 (2012): 348, 358.

<sup>19)</sup> Researchers have found that the children of violent parents do better if their parents separate. However, if the parents' conflict is not violent or intense, their children fare better in their own marriages if their parents remain married. Obviously, the best solution for all concerned is that parents learn how to handle conflict and to cooperate with each other, thereby restoring family harmony.

<sup>20)</sup> This chart draws on a large national sample (16,000) from the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health. This work was done by the author in cooperation with former colleagues at The Heritage Foundation, Washington, D.C

Patrick F. Fagan, "Family Structure and Fighting," Mapping America Project. Available at <http://marri.us/wp-content/uploads/MA-13-15-153.pdf>

<sup>21)</sup> William G. Axinn and Arland Thornton, "The Influence of Parents' Marital Dissolutions on Children's Attitudes toward Family Formation," *Demography* 33, (1996): 66-81.

William H. Jeynes, "The Effects of Recent Parental Divorce on Their Children's Sexual Attitudes and



Behavior," *Journal of Divorce and Remarriage* 35, (2001): 125.

<sup>22)</sup> William H. Jeynes, "The Effects of Recent Parental Divorce on Their Children's Sexual Attitudes and Behavior," *Journal of Divorce and Remarriage* 35, (2001): 125.

<sup>23)</sup> Ryan D. Schroeder, Aurea K. Osgood, and Michael J. Oghia, "Family Transitions and Juvenile Delinquency," *Sociological Inquiry* 80, no. 4 (November 2010): 579, 596.

<sup>24)</sup> Robert J. Sampson, "Crime in Cities: The Effects of Formal and Informal Social Control," *Communities and Crime* 8, *Crime and Justice*, ed. Albert J. Reiss and Michael Tonry (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 271-311.

Walter Forrest, "Cohabitation, Relationship Quality, and Desistance From Crime," *Journal of Marriage and Family* 76, (2014): 547-549, 551.

<sup>25)</sup> Wisconsin Department of Health and Social Services, Division of Youth Services, "Family Status of Delinquents in Juvenile Correctional Facilities in Wisconsin" (1994). The data from the report were merged with Current Population Survey data on family structure in Wisconsin for that year to derive rates of incarceration by family structure.

<sup>26)</sup> Cynthia C. Harper, and Sara S. McLanahan, "Father Absence and Youth Incarceration," *Journal of Research on Adolescence* 14, no. 3 (2004): 384-386.

<sup>27)</sup> David P. Farrington, "Implications of Criminal Career Research for the Prevention of Offending," *Journal of Adolescence* 13, (1990): 93-113

<sup>28)</sup> Marvin D. Krohn, Gina Penly Hall, and Alan J. Lizotte, "Family Transitions and Later Delinquency and Drug Use," *Journal Of Youth And Adolescence* 38, no. 3 (2009): 473.

<sup>29)</sup> Kyrre Breivik and Dan Olweus, "Adolescent's Adjustment in Four Post-Divorce Family Structures: Single Mother, Stepfather, Joint Physical Custody and Single Father Families," *Journal of Divorce and Remarriage* 44, no. 3 (2006): 114.

<sup>30)</sup> Parliament of the Commonwealth of Australia, House of Representatives, Standing Committee on Legal and Constitutional Affairs, *To Have and To Hold: Strategies to Strengthen Marriage and Relationships* (Canberra, Australia, Parliament of Australia: 1998), 36.

<sup>31)</sup> Abbie K. Frost and Bilge Pakiz, "The Effects of Marital Disruption on Adolescents: Time as a Dynamic," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry* 60, (1990): 544-555.

Others have found that children of divorced parents are up to six times as likely to be delinquent as children from intact families. See David B. Larson, James P. Swyers, and Susan S. Larson, *The Costly Consequences of Divorce* (Rockville, MD: National Institute for Healthcare Research, 1995), 123.

<sup>32)</sup> Annette U. Rickel and Thomas S. Langer, "Short-term and Long-term Effects of Marital Disruption on Children," *American Journal of Community Psychology* 13, (1985): 599-661.

<sup>33)</sup> Kathleen B. Rodgers and Hilary A. Rose, "Risk and Resiliency Factors Among Adolescents Who Experience Marital Transitions," *Journal of Marriage and Family* 64, (2002): 1028-1029.

<sup>34)</sup> Ronald L. Simons, Kuei-Hsiu Lin, Leslie C. Gordon, Rand D. Conger, and Frederick O. Lorenz, "Explaining the Higher Incidence of Adjustment Problems Among Children of Divorce Compared with Those in Two-Parent Families," *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 61, (1999): 1030.

<sup>35)</sup> Karen Heimer, "Gender, Interaction, and Delinquency: Testing a Theory of Differential Social Control," *Social Psychology Quarterly* 59, (1996): 39-61

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<sup>36)</sup> Bilge Pakiz, Helen Z. Reinherz, and Rose M. Giaconia, "Early Risk Factors for Serious Antisocial Behavior at Age 21: A Longitudinal Community Study," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry* 67, (1997): 92-100.

<sup>37)</sup> Neil Kalter, Barbara Riemer, Arthur Brickman, and Jade Woo Chen, "Implications of Parental Divorce for Female Development," *Journal of the American Academy of Child Psychiatry* 24, no. 5 (1985): 538-544.

<sup>38)</sup> Abbie K. Frost and Bilge Pakiz, "The Effects of Marital Disruption on Adolescents: Time as a

Dynamic," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry* 60, (1990): 544-555.

Ronald G. Thompson, Dana Alonzo, Bridget F. Grant, and Deborah S. Hasin, "Parental Divorce, Maternal-Paternal Alcohol Problems, and Adult Offspring Lifetime Alcohol Dependence," *Journal Of Social Work Practice In The Addictions* 13, no. 3 (2013): 295, 302.

<sup>39)</sup> This chart draws on a large national sample (16,000) from the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health. This work was done by the author in cooperation with former colleagues at The Heritage Foundation, Washington, D.C.

Patrick F. Fagan, "Family Structure and Theft," Mapping America Project. Available at <http://marri.us/wp-content/uploads/MA-22-24-156.pdf>

<sup>40)</sup> Kathleen B. Rodgers and Hilary A. Rose, "Risk and Resiliency Factors among Adolescents Who Experience Marital Transitions," *Journal of Marriage and Family* 64, (2002): 1028-1029.

<sup>41)</sup> John P. Hoffmann, "Exploring the Direct and Indirect Family Effects on Adolescent Drug Use," *Journal of Drug Issues* 23, (1993): 535-557.

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<sup>42)</sup> R.H. Needle, S.S. Su, and W.J. Doherty, "Divorce, Remarriage, and Adolescent Substance Use: A Prospective Longitudinal Study," *Journal of Marriage and Family* 52, (1990): 162

Kyrre Breivik and Dan Olweus, "Adolescent's Adjustment in Four Post-Divorce Family Structures: Single Mother, Stepfather, Joint Physical Custody and Single Father Families," *Journal of Divorce and Remarriage* 44, no. 3 (2006): 115.

<sup>43)</sup> Jeremy Arkes, "The Temporal Effects of Parental Divorce on Youth Substance Use," *Substance Use & Misuse* 48, no. 3 (2013): 294, 296

<sup>44)</sup> Frank F. Furstenberg and Kathleen E. Kiernan, "Delayed Parental Divorce: How Much Do Children Benefit?" *Journal of Marriage and Family* 63, (2001): 453.

<sup>45)</sup> William J. Doherty and Richard H. Needle, "Psychological Adjustment and Substance Use among Adolescents Before and After a Parental Divorce," *Child Development* 62, (1991): 332.

Jeremy Arkes, "The Temporal Effects of Parental Divorce on Youth Substance Use," *Substance Use & Misuse* 48, no. 3 (2013): 293, 296.

<sup>46)</sup> Frank F. Furstenberg and Kathleen E. Kiernan, "Delayed Parental Divorce: How Much Do Children Benefit?" *Journal of Marriage and Family* 63, (2001): 452.

<sup>47)</sup> Tami M. Videon, "The Effects of Parent-Adolescent Relationships and Parental Separation on Adolescent Well-being," *Journal of Marriage and Family* 64, (2002): 498

<sup>48)</sup> This chart draws on a large national sample (16,000) from the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health. This work was done by the author in cooperation with former colleagues at The Heritage Foundation, Washington, D.C.

Patrick F. Fagan, "Family Structure and Drinking," Mapping America Projects. Available at <http://marri.us/wp-content/uploads/MA-16-18-154.pdf>

<sup>49)</sup> This chart draws on a large national sample (16,000) from the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health. This work was done by the author in cooperation with former colleagues at The Heritage Foundation, Washington, D.C.

Patrick F. Fagan, "Family Structure and Adolescent Use of Hard Drugs," Mapping America Project. Available at <http://marri.us/wp-content/uploads/MA-7-9-151.pdf>

<sup>50)</sup> David B. Larson, James P. Swyers, and Susan S. Larson, *The Costly Consequences of Divorce*, (Rockville, MD: National Institute for Healthcare Research, 1995), 126.

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<sup>51)</sup> John S. Wodarski and Pamela Harris, "Adolescent Suicide: A Review of Influences and the Means for Prevention," *Social Work* 32, (1987): 479.

<sup>52)</sup> Richard J. Cebula and Tatyana V. Zelenskaya, "Determinants of Youth Suicide: A Friendly Comment with Suggestions," *American Journal of Economics and Sociology* 65, no. 4 (2006): 996.

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